

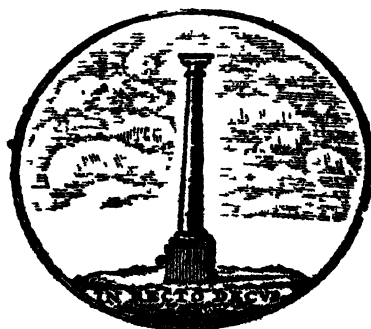
THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time.
VOL. XVIII.

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

V O L. .XVIII.



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Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

B O O K XVIII.

C H A P. I.

The Modern History of Barbary ; containing a general Account of that vast Tract of Land ; its several Nations, Governments, Wars, and Changes, previous to its Establishment into the various Kingdoms and Republics of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly, in which they have continued to this present Time.

WE have, by this time, finished our stated progress *A general* around the eastern, southern, and western coasts of *account of* this vast *African* peninsula^a, and given the best *Barbary* account we could procure, not only of the several kingdoms and states situate upon them, but likewise of the various inland countries, empires, and nations contiguous to them, as far as our best modern authors and travellers have been able to penetrate into, or receive any certain intelligence about them. Our next task, of course, leads us through the only remaining northern tract, commonly known by the general name of *Barbary*, and, by reason of its limits, and more ample commerce with *Europe*, the part best known to us of any we have hitherto had occasion to speak of, and, on that ac-

^a See before, vol. xiv. p. 154, et seq.

Situation, boundaries, and extent of coast. count, as well as its advantageous situation along the *Mediterranean* sea, and its rich and fertile soil, highly coveted, and by turns possessed, by the *Romans, Greeks, Saracens, Vandals, Arabs, Moors, and Turks*, not to mention the various attempts which the *Spaniards, Portuguese*, and other *European* nations have made upon, and their several settlements in some convenient parts of, this extensive coast, which stretches itself in length from east to west, that is, from the southernmost limits of *Egypt* to the straits of *Gibraltar*, full 39 degrees of longitude, and from thence to *Santa Cruz*, the utmost western verge of it, about six more, in all 41 degrees; and is there bounded on the north by the *Atlantic* ocean, as it is within by the *Mediterranean* sea. The whole extent of the *Barbary* coast is computed to amount to above 757 *German* leagues. On the south, indeed, it is confined within much narrower bounds, stretching itself no farther than from the 27th to the 35th degree and a half of latitude, or about 128 *German* miles^b; but it must be remembered, that it is by far the richest and most fertile part of that whole tract; all that lies beyond it, as well as a considerable part of it on the south, being nothing else, for the most part, but sandy and barren deserts; but chiefly the continued ridge of the great *Atlas*, intersected by sandy deserts, and inhabited by wild and other *Arabs*, some of whom live, as we have elsewhere observed^c, altogether upon plunder, and others are tributary to the *Algerines, Tunisians, &c.* but all of them are such enemies to husbandry, that a country must be bad to the highest degree, if they do not, in a short time, leave it worse than they found it.

Fertility.

We shall not here relate what we have said of its antient state, in a former part of this work, but refer our readers to it, as much of it relates to the knowledge which the *Romans* and other antient nations had of it, the various names, limits, nations, &c. they gave to it, commerce they drove with it, and their several conquests of it, all which have been sufficiently displayed in the volumes quoted in the margin^d. We here chiefly confine ourselves to that part of its history from the time of their shaking off the yoke of the *Roman and Greek* emperors, and resuming their liberty under their own natural, or at least *African*, princes, down to that of their forming themselves into that variety of kingdoms in which we now find them, the principal of which are those of *Morocco, Fez,*

^b LEO AFRIC. l. i. c. 1, et seq. GRAMMAY AFRIC. l. i. c. 3, et seq. MARMOL AFRIC. lib. i. c. 6. DAVITY, DAPPER, LINSCHOT, & al. plur. RAMUS. Voyag. lib. i. c. 1. SHAW'S Travels, p. 5, & seq. & alib. pass. ^c Before, vol. xiv. p. 39, & seq. ^d Anc. Hist. vol. x. p. 105, & seq. 245. vol. xviii. p. 115, & alib. pass.

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly; for it must be here observed, that those of *Telenfin*, or *Tremecen*, have been since incorporated with that of *Algiers*; and that of *Barca*, or *Barce*, hath been since reduced to a dependence on that of *Tripoly*.

ACCORDING to this division, therefore, and the route we have hitherto followed round the whole *African* coasts, *Barbary* begins on the west at the famed *Mount Atlas*, called by the *Arabs* *Ayduacal*, or *Al Duacal*, and incloses the ancient kingdoms of *Suez* and *Dela*, now provinces of *Morocco*; thence steering northeastward along the *Atlantic* coast, to the pillars of *Hercules* at *Cape Finister*, thro' the streights of *Gibraltar*, and so on, by an eastern course, along the *Mediterranean* coast, one comes at length to the city of *Alexandria*, which is the southern boundary of *Egypt*, and where it joins to this of *Barbary*. Both coasts, whether that which is watered by the *Atlantic* ocean, or by the *Mediterranean*, are most fertile in corn and pasturage; the former lying towards, and being watered by a multitude of small and large rivers which come down from, the great *Atlas*, and empty themselves into the ocean; the other extends itself by and along the declivity of a vast ridge of mountains, some of them of a considerable height, and spreading themselves in depth above 40 leagues into the inland, all of them watered by a multitude of rivers, which, after a great number of long and various windings, some of them several hundreds of leagues, through a vast variety of pleasant and fertile vallies, discharge themselves into the *Mediterranean*. We may add, that the temperature of its climate, being all the way situate under the temperate zone, adds not a little to its fecundity; and of course, if not altogether yet in a great measure, frees it from the ill effects of the extremes of blasting cold and burning heat, felt by the other two. If in any thing it comes nearer to either, it is to the former; and it may be truly affirmed of both the coasts and mountains along the *Mediterranean*, that they partake more of the extreme coldness of the one than of the heat of the other. They have great quantities of snow in the winter, and the tops of some of their mountains are quite covered with it, especially the great *Atlas*, all the year round.

THEIR winter, which begins about the middle of *October*, proves frequently very severe, and is attended with long and hiping frosts. The rains commonly begin about the end of the month, and continue till the end of *January*, and often beyond it; with this difference, nevertheless, that how severe soever the weather may be in the morning, the afternoons are commonly warm enough to dispense with a fire. In *February* it

* LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

Spring
season.

becomes milder, and the weather changes usually three or four times in a day. In *March* the west and north winds begin to blow powerfully, gradually unlock the earth, and spread universal life and verdure, which is completed by the next month. During the whole spring season, which begins about the latter end of *February*, the weather continues for the most part serene and pleasant, except from the latter end of *April* to that of *May*, when the kind refreshing showers begin to fall in great plenty, which, warmed by the moderate rays of the sun, bring every product of the earth to a gradual maturity; inasmuch that, by the latter end of *May*, they begin to gather ripe figs and cherries in *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and some parts of *Morocco*; by the middle of *July* their apples, pears, and plums, are in their full maturity, and the gathering of grapes and other later fruits is completed by the latter end of *September*, which are commonly more or less copious according to the quantity of rain they have had from the 25th of *April* to the 25th of *May*; on which account they style this rain by the title of *Naisan*, or water sent from heaven, and lay in a provision of it in vessels for their future use.

Summer
excessive
hot.

THE summer begins, according to their reckoning, on the 28th of *May*, and lasts till the 26th of *August*; during which the heats are excessive and dangerous, especially if they have great rains in *June* and *July*; at which time the atmosphere becomes inflamed to such a degree, as to cause malignant fevers, and other dangerous diseases of the pestilential kind, which carry off myriads of people, for want of proper caution in preventing, or proper skill and remedies to cure them (A).

THEIR

• LEO, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

(A) This, as we have formerly had occasion to observe, is chiefly owing to a religious, though senseless prejudice not only common amongst, but deeply rooted in, the far greater part of the *Mahomedans*, that all such sublimary disasters are pre-ordained, by an unerring and unalterable decree of the Divine Providence; so that all precautions either to prevent or avoid,

and every kind of remedy used against them, are not only fruitless but impious (1). If must be owned, however, that this stupid notion hath been in some measure exploded among the more sensible part of the inhabitants of this coast, in their vicinity to *Europe*, and frequent commerce with, as well as the example of, such Christians as were conversant with them; but as

(1) See before, vol. X. p. 166 (B). Maillet, Greenhill, Perry, & al. plur.

THEIR autumn begins on the 27th of *August*, and ends on *Autumn*. the 16th of *November*; and from the first of these one begins to feel a sensible diminution of the heat. The winter begins on the 17th of *November*, and ends on the 16th of *February*; on which month they begin to plough and sow their low lands, but set about that work on the high lands and mountainous parts a month sooner. They reckon the year to have 40 *Length of* days of excessive cold, and as many of excessive hot weather; *heat and* the former begins on or about the 12th of *December*, and the latter on or about the 12th of *June*. Their two equinoxes begin with them on the 16th of *March* and *September*, according to which they regulate all their matters relating to agriculture and navigation; and they have a great number of men among them, who are very expert in directing and establishing settled rules for both, though they can neither write nor read.

THE people of *Barbary* reckon three sorts of winds which are extremely dangerous and detrimental to them; viz. the east, south-east, and south, and all of them most so in the months of *May* and *June*, in which they seldom fail of blasting all the fruits, and burning up every kind of growing grain; to which the fogs and mists, which usually reign at such times, greatly contribute. They are moreover greatly exposed during the latter end of their autumn, their whole winter, and the beginning of the spring, to violent rains, snow, hail, thunders and lightnings, and are frequently damaged by them.

As for those who inhabit the higher lands, especially along *But two* the ridge of mountains of the great *Atlas*, they reckon but two *seasons in* seasons in the year; viz. the winter and the summer; the Mount former whereof lasts from *October to April*, during which *Atlas*. there fall such vast quantities of snow, but mostly in the night, that they are forced every morning to remove them with their hovels from their doors, before they can get a step passage out of them. From *April to September* is their summer, which, in the vallies, is commonly excessive hot, but on the higher grounds more temperate and pleasant, and, on the tops, not warm enough to melt away the winter snow, which is there to be seen from one end of the year to the other, as it is on the *Alps*, *Pyrenees*, and other more northern regions; though both corn and barley grow under it in many parts of that ridge, and put forth their stems through it,

to the rest, they continue still so fixed in it, that they deem it a most damnable impiety to go a step out of their way to avoid a plague, or any other disastrous

calamity, or to use any means, or remedy against them; and this is the cause why such epidemic diseases make such dreadful havock amongst them.

*Its pro-
ducts.*

and rise up to the eye as fast as the snow melts away. The grain, however, especially the barley, we are told, is apt to contract a sourish taste by it; which being the chief food of their horses, sets their teeth on-edge, so that they eat it with great difficulty, unless it be mixed with some alkalious alloy^f. Thus much may serve for a general view of the climate, seasons, and produce of this country, which admits but of a small difference, and extends itself, from end to end, though in a kind of parallel, through the heart of the temperate zone. As to what relates to its most considerable rivers, mountains, lakes, and other such particulars, they will be better seen in the description of the respective kingdoms and provinces to which they belong.

*Inhabi-
tants.*

BARBARY is chiefly inhabited by three sorts of people; viz. *Moors*, or *Maures*, who are the original natives; the *Arabs*, who have over-run this country, as we have seen them do in many other parts of *Africa*; and the *Turks*, who have since made themselves masters of some of the best provinces of it, and the several kingdoms of *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, tho' under a kind of tribute to, or dependence on, the *Ottoman Porte*; besides a great variety of foreign nations, Christians, *Jews*, and others, who live intermixed amongst them; not to mention a most shameful, as well as innumerable, multitude of renegades, who, either through mere avarice, or to free themselves from slavery, have renounced their faith, and become the most grievous nuisance to Christianity; and, though hated and abhorred by those who call them their apostasy, are yet suffered to live, and thrive amongst them, and to be employed not only in the most profitable branches of trade and commerce, but in some of the highest posts in the army, navy, and state, for the sake of the service they do to it; by the ill offices and cruelties they affect to do, above all others, to all Christians in general, and frequently to those of their own nation, as will be more evidently seen in the sequel of this chapter^g.

WITH respect to the three nations above mentioned, which chiefly inhabit this *Barbary* coast, we have had occasion to speak of them in a former volume^h, under the name of *Africans*, and seen what a wretched character they bear among other nations, and even amongst those of their own; so that we are fully persuaded that our readers have not met, in the whole course of this *African* history, with an author^{ath} not helped to confirm rather than extenuate the justness

^f MARMOL, ubi sup. c. 8. & al. ubi sup.
GRAMMAT, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.
& seq.

^g LEO, MARMOL,
^h Vol. xiv. p. 18,

to them. Nor will these we are, now upon be found to deserve a more favourable one, seeing if they differ in any thing from the rest, it is only in being, in all respects, still worse than they, and out-doing them by many degrees in laziness, ignorance, superstition, thieving, lying, cheating, treachery, cowardice, lewdness of all, even the most infamous, kinds, and every sort of baseness and vice, ever since they fell under the tyrannic government of the Sharifs of *Morocco*; all which will be more fully seen in the subsequent history of those kingdoms and states, by whom they have been depressed to the lowest degree of misery and wretched servitude, beyond what any other *Moor*s ever underwent in any other part of *Africa* (B).

It

(ⁿ) It will not, however, be displeasing to our readers, if, in sight of this strange degeneracy amongst them, and amidst their extreme poverty and contempt, we can, in justice to them, mention one remarkable virtue universally reigning amongst them, and no less conspicuous in the one than in the other sex, and that in a most surprising degree, namely, that of an unparalleled patience under all the various branches of their wretchedness and thralldom, such as the most pinching hunger and want, the oppression and most inhuman treatment of their insolent masters, and innumerable other hardships their abject condition daily exposes them to. And for this we need not look for more pregnant and unquestionable vouchers than the two following: *viz.*

1. That peace and contentment reign in every family amidst all those great shocking miseries they labour under, the men under the yoke of tyrannic government, and the women under the no less galling one of their husbands, and the servile drudgery they are forced to submit to. And,

2dly, And which we think by far the more cogent proof, that their excessive oppression and misery hath not, as yet, driven them to coin or adopt into their language any phrases or expressions of impatience, discontent, murmuring, or repining at their unhappy condition, much less of curses and imprecations against the authors of it; and which, though nothing is more commonly heard to come out of the mouths of renegades and profligate christian slaves, seldom fail of meeting some severe rebukes, and sincere marks of dislike and abhorrence.

To all this we may add, that to see a circle of them sitting at the doors of their poor cots, with empty bellies and naked bodies, some either smoking or telling merry tales, others singing or dancing, and, when weary, lying supinely on the ground, we would hardly fail of deeming them a happy and contented, though lazy, people. And from this easy disposition results another kind of virtue; *viz.* that they seldom quarrel or fight amongst themselves; or if they do, they use no other weapon

*The abject
condition
of its an-
tient inha-
bitants.*

It cannot but be owned, however, that the cruel oppression they suffer under their several tyrannic governments, hath greatly contributed to their degeneracy, and that one can hardly imagine a more abject and miserable condition than theirs is, crushed on the one hand with a heavy load of taxes, and treated with the utmost cruelty by their insulting masters; and, on the other, exposed to the continual inroads of the plundering *Arabs*, who, on such occasions, never fail of stripping them of the small pittance they are able to lay up; and they dare not provide more than barely serves them the year round, lest a greater abundance should either induce those freebooters to visit them the oftener, or their *Maorish* landlords to raise their rents upon them; and if they chance to have any superfluity, through an unexpected good crop, and take ever so great care to conceal it, by burying it under ground, or stowing it in chests or caverns, they are in no less danger of being bastinadoed, and even tortured by both, to oblige them to discover it; so that, upon the whole, in order to avoid the cruel oppressions of the one, and the insults and ravages of the other, they are content to buy their safety and ease, at the expence of the most pinching and contemptible penury, hunger and indigence; and how satisfied they live under all these hardships, may be easily judged by what has been said in the foregoing note.

It will not be improper, however, to apprise our readers, that what we have already said of this wretched people relates chiefly to the *Moors* who live at large in the country, where very few follow any trade or manufacture, but live altogether upon their agriculture and breeding of cattle, like one class of the *Arabs*. As to those who live in sea-ports along the coast, they are allowed to follow variety of handicraft trades, and manufactures, and even to carry on some commerce by land and sea, and, of course, live a little better, and more creditably, tho' no less oppressed with taxes and other exactions, and, if any thing, more cruelly treated and insulted by their lordly masters, of whom they stand in the greatest awe and dread; the least oversight in point of respect to the meanest soldier or scoundrel officer in the government, being deemed

¹ See the authors quoted under it,

² *Ibid.*

more than the fist; so that there war lasteth no longer, the age few, if any, homicides to be heat of the blood, and ends as seen amongst them; and the soon as that is cooled (1).

(1) *De bo, vid Lps, Grammay, Marmol, Devoty, Dapper, Ramusio, Purbani, & al plur.*

crime enough to procure them a sound beating, if poor, or a heavy mulct, if otherwise ^k.

THE second sort of inhabitants in *Barbary* is that of the *The Arabs*; but these we have elsewhere so fully described, accord-^{ing} to their three distinct classes, and different ways of life^l, ^{ry describ-} that we shall have the less to say now concerning them. They ^{ed.} are here the same as we have seen them in other parts of *Africa*, follow the three same ways of living, are governed by their own despotic Cheyks, and all of them, except those of the wandering kind, and those who live under the dominion of the emperors of *Morocco* and *Fez* (of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter) in some sort tributary to the *Turks*, ever since they have made themselves masters of the remainder of the *Barbary* coast, and on that condition only permit them to live among them; and if there be any difference between these and those who are dispersed in other parts, it is this, by being under more severe and tyrannic governments, they are more grievously oppressed, and oftener punished with military execution, either for non payment of tribute, or even for running too far in arrear; which often obliges them to abandon their habitations, and seek for new ones among the most rocky and inaccessible mountains, where they are sure the *Turk* ^{is} forces cannot come at them. This, however, is to be understood only of those who live in the country, and along the ridge of *Mount Atlas*; but, as we have observed elsewhere, there is another and more civilized sort of them, who are, like the *Moors*, settled in some of the towns and villages, and apply themselves to agriculture, and especially in breeding that fine and so much esteemed race of horses, known to us by the name of *Barbs*, for which their country is famed all over *Europe* and the eastern parts, and of which we have given an account in a former volume ^m.

As for the wild or wandering *Arabs*, who range at *Their* large towns the great *Atlas* and other parts of *Barbary*, they dreadful are not only as great a nuisance as in other parts of *Africa*, plunder- but, in the respects, a more dangerous one, being common- ings. ly more warlike, bold, and even desperate, in all their plundering excursions, especially in their attempts on the large and rich caravans, which go from *Morocco* into *Egypt*, in which they spare none that oppose them, but slay and butcher, and carry off all that come in their way, of which we shall have occasion to give some pregnant instances ⁿ; and these are some of their most advantageous excursions, so

^k Ibid. ^l Ibid.

⁴⁹ & seq.

^l See before, vol. xiv. p. 37, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 41, & seq.

ⁿ Ibid.

are they the more diligent in watching for them, and most desperate in attacking them.

THE *Arabs* of each class are commonly much given to the study of astronomy and astrology, to both which their pastoral life, and a sort of husbandry, not only incline them, but give them time and leisure to apply themselves to it; and the natural superstition of the whole race, makes them the most fond of the latter. They neither sow, reap, plant, travel, buy or sell, or undertake any expedition or matter, without previously consulting the stars, or, in other words, their *Almanacks* (C), or some of the makers of them, whether they be *Mohammedans* or Idolaters.

The Turks
in Barba-
ry describ-
ed.

THE third and last sort of inhabitants of *Barbary* are the *Turks*; and these are not only of much later date, and by far the fewest in number, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, but one may add by far the worst, and in all respects, except their surprising and uncontrouled power and sway, the most contemptible of all the three, being originally no better than a wretched crew of indigent, tattered, and famished, loose, idle, and thievish fellows, inked in and about *Constantinople*, and sent from thence thither once in three years, to recruit the soldiery, and who, having once been furnished with a gun, sword, and other martial furniture, and learned their exercise, are initiated into some regiment, and from that time have a

(C) As it is from them, and their vicinity to *Europe*, that this art, no less useful in one sense, than stupid and ridiculous in another, hath passed over to us, and spread itself through every part of it, so those astronomical compositions have still everywhere retained not only their old *Arabic* name of *Almanack*, or *Al Mannack*, or *The Diary*, but have been, like theirs, for a long while, and are still, among many *European* nations, interspersed with a great number and variety of astrological rules for planting, sowing, bleeding, purging, &c. down to the pareing of the hair and nails, and represented, for the sake of those

that could not read, in such plain hieroglyphics, or characters, as the most ignorant would easily understand. And we shall not need to wonder that such superstitious stuff should be regarded by those *Arabs*, if we consider with what extraordinary care and caution such holy productions are ushered into the world amongst the most polite nations of the east, especially in *China*, where they are made a particular branch of their monarch's and his council's attention; and the compilers of them are as liable to be fined or punished for any mistake or oversight in the astrological as in the astronomical branch (3).

(3) *Vid. int. et vol. viii. p. 18, & seq. & note (B).*

vote and share in the government, and from thence are raised by degrees from one post to another, even to that of admiral, vazir, &c. and even to the Beyrie. In all which, even from the very lowest, they behave with the most insupportable insolence and tyranny over their *Moorish* vassals, *Their tyranny over the Moors.* who, by a long series and variety of oppressions, are become such dastards, that the wealthiest of them tremble at the sight of a *Turkish* common soldier. And it cannot be imagined that any thing else than such a height of insolence and tyranny, could have enabled such a small number of *Turkish* soldiers as are in the three kingdoms of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*, to hold such a multitude of *Moors* and *Arabs* under so long and severe a subjection. How they raised themselves to that extraordinary height of power will be best seen in the history of each of those kingdoms; in the mean time, it will not be amiss to say a word or two concerning the origin of the name of *Barbary*, concerning which our authors greatly vary in their conjectures, for little else but conjecture can be offered about it. Some will have it, that the *Romans*, after they had conquered that large tract, gave it that name, in contempt and dislike of the rude and barbarous manners of the natives, as they commonly did to those nations whom they subdued in *Gaul*, and several parts of *Europe*, all which they generally dignified with the name of *Barbaro*. *Marmol*, on the contrary, rejecting that disgraceful etymology, will have it to be derived from the *Arabic* word *Berber*, a name which the *Arabs* gave to the antient inhabitants, and which they still retain to this day in many parts of this tract, especially along the long ridge of the great *Atlas*, where they are very numerous; which name those new invaders gave them on account of the barrenness of their country +

Much the same thing is affirmed by *Leo Africanus*, a half native of that country, who tells us, that it was given to it by the *Arabs*, on account of their strange language, which appeared to them inarticulate, and more like a murmur, or grumbling of some dumb animals, from their *Arabic* word *Babbar*, which signifies a murmuring sound or noise; but at the same time tells us, that others derive its etymon from the single word *Ber* twice repeated, which signifies a *Desert*, such as it was for the most part, till the *Arabs* poured their furious hordes into it; so that the fugitive king *Ifrik*, from whom the whole *African* continent is pretended to have received its name, being closely pursued by his enemies in his flight out of *Arabia Felix*, and in great perplexity which way

* De his, vid. sup. vol. xiv. p. 38, & seq. † *Leo*, lib. i. c. 6.

‡ Idem, ibid. § See before, vol. xiv. p. 14.

to steer his course, some of his retinue, who knew the country, cried out to him, *Bar Bar*, that is, *To the Desert, To the Desert*. So that, upon the whole, its name seems rather derived from its barrenness of inhabitants, than their barrenness of manners; though it is since become one of the most fertile of the former, and barren and destitute of the latter, of any belonging to that large continent, if we except the *Cassians*, *Giagars*, and some other truly barbarous nations in the heart of it, of whom we have given an account in some former chapters¹; the whole *Barbary* coast having been little better for these few last centuries, than a continual nest of the most destructive vermin, and most infamous pirates, as will be further seen in the sequel; though in other respects so happy in its soil, situation, climate, the number and extent of its fertile plains, multitude of its rivers, richness of its meadows and pasture grounds, and variety of cattle, corn, barley, and other grain, and products; the largeness of its woods and forests, and vast plenty and variety of game, and other considerable advantages it naturally enjoys, that, were it not for the tyranny and iniquity of its several governments, all equally destructive of every kind of industry and useful improvement, it might easily be rendered one of the happiest and most fruitful countries not only in all *Africa*, but perhaps in the whole world: even that part of this *Barbary* coast which is called *Earif*, and the little *Atlas* ends, though rather too cold to produce any great quantity of corn, yet is so fertile in barley, as to be more than sufficient to supply its numerous inhabitants, though it be in a great measure their chief food, as well as that of their horses and camels.

BESIDES the *Turks* above-mentioned, who belong to the soldiery, and have a share in the government, there are multitudes of others who come thither to seek a livelihood, invited thither by the favour of the government, and the preference is shewn to them above the *Arabs* and *Moorish*. But these, like the rest, are too proud to apply themselves either to husbandry or any laudable and useful trades, but follow either the corsair or piratic business, as the most suitable to their high conceit of themselves, as well as the most profitable to them, being intitled to better pay, fare, and treatment, than the natives, who, whether on board or at land, are scarcely used one degree better than the common galley-slaves, excepting their fetters.

THE *Barbary Turks* do every-where make a high profession of *Mohammedanism*, but in their practice are the most loose

¹ De his, vid. sup. vol. xv. p. 485, & seq. & vol. xvi. p. 10, & seq. 311, & seq. & alib. pass.

and negligent observers of its precepts, and indulge themselves in so many things that are forbidden by it, that, excepting the great and laudable regard they pay to the name of God, and their severity in punishing every blasphemous expression, oaths and curses, their whole religion seems little else than a mere outside. They allow themselves to drink wine, and the eating of sundry kinds of forbidden meats; are extremely remiss in their lents and other fasts; careless in their ablutions, and addicted to a multitude of superstitions, and a dissolution of manners, which are abhorred by all true *Mohammedans*; though in other cases of less importance, they endeavour to appear more conformable to them. For this reason, whenever they indulge themselves in a debauch, as they frequently do, it is commonly with the greatest secrecy, and in a private apartment, where they shut themselves up with their own intimates, neither women nor children being either admitted or acquainted with it; and there they will spend a whole day and a night in smoking, drinking, and carousing, without restraint.

THEY allow themselves, as all other *Mohammedans*, a plurality of wives, and marry and treat them much in the same manner, and usually prefer one above the rest, who is, on that account, looked upon as the wife, and hath a kind of superiority over all the rest. The misfortune is, that, like the generality of the *Turks*, not content with such a variety of women, they are equally guilty of a shameful and unnatural vice, which modesty forbids even the mention of. But the truth is, that their priests, marabouts, and santons, are here much more remiss, if not for the most part a gang of cheats, who readily agree with, and assist at, all such irregularities, which they not only know themselves addicted to, but the opposing of which would most probably produce no other effect than to put an effectual stop to their frequent applications and charitable returns, without suppressing in the least the common evil.

THE *Moors*, of natives, are likewise, for the most part, *Mohammedans*, there being but few of them (and those only such as are styled shepherds, and follow pasturage in the valleys of the great *Atlas*, and some other parts of the lesser one, in *Nubia*, *Lybia*, and *Biledulgerid*, and other provinces of *Barbary*, and who still retain their old heathenish superstitions) who have not been either induced or forced to embrace *Mohammedism*, since their becoming subject to the *Turks*, and, to their great credit, if we may depend upon the generality of *African* writers, are much stricter professors and observers of every branch of it, than the natural *Turks*; tho' whoever considers their natural character, and their wretched state

state and oppression, will find reason to doubt whether their exactness be not rather owing to the dread they stand in of their tyrannic masters, than to any zeal or conviction they can have in favour of such a religion; which having so fully described, and amply exploded, as well as the pretended merit of its author, at the very entrance of this Modern History, we shall have the less need to add any thing farther on that subject; much less would our readers care to be led through that endless field of errors, absurdities, and strange superstitions, which have been forced into it, not only by the many visionary commentators and expositors on the *Koran*, and other *Mohammedan* legends, but insensibly crept into it, or been adopted in every country and nation where it hath been established, and no-where in greater number, or of a more extravagant nature, than in this of *Barbary*, especially among the corsairs, and the whole piratical crew, among whom no charm or magic spell, no expedient, though ever so senseless, monstrous, and seemingly diabolical, can be invented, that they will not have recourse to, preferably to any of a more rational nature, and tried efficacy, whether in fights, storms, or other emergencies attending their hazardous profession*.

Horrid superstition of the Turks, &c.

NEITHER are their soldiery, civil officers, and mercantile part, from those of the lowest to the highest rank, less addicted to the same superstitious confidence in this kind of recourse to their marabouts and other pretended conjurers; the former of whom will think himself safer under their piece of parchment wrapped up about his turban, and scratched over with some scraps out of the *Koran*, than under complete armour, or at the head of a well disciplined army. Another will rather trust to an astrological scheme, framed by some artist in that way, than to the wisest counsel and best calculated measures; and a third will deem an amulet from some of those pretenders to the magic art, of surer efficacy towards the prevention or curing the most dangerous distemper, than the best prescriptions of a skillful physician, or the virtue of the most experienced medicines. The same insatiation runs thro' the whole mercantile class, and every kind of handicraftsmen, even to the meanest concerns of life; and there is no sickness or ill-luck to be avoided, or good to be expected, without being providently provided with a suitable charm and counter-charm against all

* See before, vol. i. pass.
MOL, DAPPER, *ibid.* & al. plur.

* De his, vid. DAVITY, MAR-

events (D). All which we thought not unworthy our mentioning here, as best accounting for the many and strange revolutions and disasters with which the subsequent history of those republican governments, as well as that most arbitrary one under the Sharifs of *Morocco*, is pregnant; and the extreme misery and oppression which the unhappy subjects of both have groaned under even since they shook off their heavy yoke. But before we come in course to speak of these several kingdoms, it will be very requisite that we give our readers an account of the various governments which preceded them, as well as of the nations or tribes which held the several reins of them, in order to shew by what means 'and degrees' they coalesced at length into their present form; and that will be best seen in the following section. In the mean time, we shall beg leave to close up this general account of *Barbary* with one observation from what hath been hitherto said concerning it, (for as to what farther relates to its laws, customs, trade, commerce, navigation, and other like particulars, concerning each of them, they will be more properly shewn in the history of each respective kingdom) namely, that the whole tract of it from one end to the other is so excellently situated for navigation and commerce, so fer-

(D) To these we might have added others of their superstitious, and of a more impious and diabolical nature, to which not only the natives of *Barbary*, but all the *Africans* in general, are addicted to such a degree, that neither *Mohammedism* here, nor Christianity in *Kongo* and other parts where it hath been planted, could ever eradicate them out of their minds, or abolish the practice of them (6).

These consist chiefly in offering of beasts, fowls, and human victims, to demons, or, as they deem them, the souls of the dead, since become inferior deities, and either of a beneficent or malevolent nature, according as they are glutted with a greater or lesser quantity of these, and consulting them on all emergencies, and about matters of im-

portance. And there are still greater numbers of these diabolical ministers and pretended conjurers, who keep up that bloody practice for gain, in several parts of *Barbary*, though at a great distance from large towns, and dispersed among the deserts and most inhospitable mountains, woods, and caves, where they perform their infernal rites, and the people resort to consult them. But as those, whether *Moors*, *Turks*, or *Arabs*, who are infatuated enough to have recourse to them, are yet obliged to do it with all possible secrecy, for fear of the severe punishments which the government inflicts on such offenders, and few instances of such ever coming to light, we shall say no more on so distasteful a subject.

(6) *Dr Est. vid. l. 2. vol. xiv. p. 21. & seq.*

tile of every necessary of life in its variety of soils and climates, so rich in its mines of gold, silver, and other metals and minerals, healthy and populous, the women so fecund, and the men so robust, sprightly, and long-lived, as to preserve their vigour beyond the 60th or even 70th year, and, if rightly trained up to it, stout and warlike, that it might easily be able to contend for wealth, opulence, and every other natural advantage, and might defy the whole united force either of *Europe* or *Asia* to reduce it, were its inhabitants as industrious as they are indolent and knavish; and were the several nations that inhabit it, or the several powers to which it is subjected, as united in one common interest, as they are opposite to and destructive of each other's. All which will still more plainly appear by the figure they have made under those several dynasties, which we are going to speak of in the following section.

S E C T. II.

The History of Barbary under the several Dynasties of the Almoravides, Almohedes, Benimerini, &c. ; down to the Reigns of the Sharifs, and their Establishment in Morocco.

Techi-
fien's

reign and
conquests.

WE have already hinted the revolt which the insolence and tyranny of the *Abs* caused in these parts, under the conduct of the brave *Techifien*, or *Fexefien*, of the *Zinhaghian* tribes, who, by the help of his marabouts, gathered up a most powerful army of malecontents, in the southern provinces of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, on which account they were nicknamed *Marabites* and *Almoravides*^a. This was a favourable juncture; the Khalif *Kayem*'s forces being then otherwise taken up in quelling other revolts in *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, &c. and the *Arabs* in *Spain* engaged in the most bloody wars. He had accordingly all the success he could wish for against the *Arabian* Cheyks, and gained so many signal victories over them, that he effectually drove them not only out of those two provinces, but out of all the western parts, and the whole province of *Tingitania*, now the empire of *Morocco*, and reduced all that vast tract under his dominion before his death^b.

He succeeded
by his
son.

TECHIFIEN was succeeded by his son *Yusef*, or *Yoseph*, a prince no less brave and successful, than famous for his noble exploits. From the beginning of his reign he laid the foundation of the city of *Morocco*, as deeming that of *Achmed*, or

^a De his, vid. vol. xiv. p. 25, & seq. & alib pass.
Agric. lib. iiii. c. 2. GRAMMAY, MARMOL; & al. sup. citat.

^b LEO

Agmed, his father's late residence, not grand and spacious enough for the metropolis of his future empire. Whilst that was building, he sent some of his chief marabouts on an embassy to *Tremecen*, or *Tremessin*, which province was then chiefly inhabited by a branch of the *Zeneti*, who were of the schismatic sect called *Kemin*, or *Quemin*, who had made themselves masters of that whole country, and were become by that time very powerful and insolent, with a design to reduce them to what he deemed the true faith. But those wretches, despising his offers and remonstrances, assembled themselves at the city of *Amas*, or *Amsa*, the capital of it, and murdered his ambassadors and other marabouts, and immediately raised an army of fifty thousand men to invade his dominions, who accordingly were ordered to march with all possible dispatch, before he could have time to oppose them, and drive him out of his kingdom.

Yusef no sooner heard of their inhuman treatment of his ambassadors, and their march against him, than, fired with a just resentment against these traitors and murderers, he resolved to be before-hand with them; and having speedily mustered up his army, led it, by long marches, into their country, and crossing the river *Ommirabi*, put all to fire and sword where-ever he came; whilst the *Zeneti*, finding him too strong for them, instead of opposing his progress, abandoned their country, and retired with their prince, with what speed they could, towards *Fez*, in hopes of receiving some succour from thence. But they found in the *Fezzans* as bad an enemy as in the *Almoravides*; and whilst the latter was burning every town and place he came to, and slaughtering men, women, and children that were left behind, the former marched out against them in the same hostile manner, as against invaders, rebels, and traitors; and meeting with them near the river *Burregreg*, incumbered with their families and baggage, and ready to expire with hunger and weariness, fell unmercifully upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except a small number of them, who, attempting to save themselves by swimming over that river, were mostly carried away by the current; and some others, who, in their flight, perished by their fall from the high adjacent rocks. Such was the fatal end of those proud invaders and murderers, of whom near a million of men, women, and children, are computed to have been cut off by both sides; whilst *Yusef* reduced their whole country into a mere desert, which was, however, quickly repopled by a numerous colony of *Fezzans*, who

* LEO, ubi sup. c. 2. MARMOL, lib. ii. c. 31. GRAMMAY, lib. iv. c. 2. & al.

settled themselves there, under the protection and vassalage of their reigning kings.

Having reduced the Fezzans and others to his dominion, returns in Morocco.

YUSEF led his victorious forces back to *Morocco*, but was not long there before he declared war against those two princes, and entered the *Fezzan* dominions at the head of a powerful army; and having defeated their forces near mount *Honegui*, he made himself master, in a very little while, of all their dominions, forced the *Fezzans* at *Tremecen* to become his vassals and tributaries, and enlarged his conquests all along the *Mediterranean*, reduced the kingdom of *Tremecen*, drove the successors of *Abu'l Habes*, who had reigned in *Kayrwan*, out of *Bugeia*, but restored them soon after to their antient dominions, as being *Africans* of the same tribe with himself, and who held them afterwards during the whole time of the *Almoravides* government. In this excursion he likewise reduced the kings of *Fez* and *Tunis* to become vassals and tributaries to him; and, after all his successes, returned victorious to *Morocco*, where, after his father's example, he took upon him the title of *Emir Hamunim*, or, *Emir Al Mumenin*^d. His martial and ambitious temper did not permit him to continue long in quiet there, before he resumed it in such a manner as struck a general terror among the *Arabian* Cheyks, who refused to own themselves his vassals and pay tribute to him; among whom he waged such a bloody war, that neither the *Libyan* nor *Numidian* deserts, mountains, nor ridges of the most craggy rocks, could shelter them from his arms. He attacked them in such of their retreats, castles, and fortresses, as were, till then, deemed impregnable, and even inaccessible to any but those of that nation; and this to the great regret of the other *Africans*, who were no less annoyed by the ravages which his numerous forces committed in their march through their territories. Neither could he be prevailed on to discontinue his excursions against them, till he had reduced them, by fair or forcible means, to his subjection; by which time his metropolis being quite finished, he resolved to cross over into *Spain*, and take the advantage of its intestine wars, with which it was then miserably torn, to enlarge his conquests there.

Makes war upon the Arabs, and reduces them.

Sails into Spain.

THIS resolution, however, was not taken by him, till he had received such pressing invitations from thence, as did, in a great measure, assure him of success, and of his being joined by several *Moorish* princes there, who would be proud to fight under his victorious banner. He accordingly embarked, and crossed the straits of *Gibraltar*, full of these tempting prospects, and with a suitable force. He was, however, greatly

disappointed in his expectations, though he signalized himself with his usual bravery, upon every occasion ; but as these exploits of his are foreign to our present *African* history, we shall defer all detail till we come to that of *Spain*, which will follow in due course, according to our plan, in some subsequent volume. All that we shall say farther upon it is, that after he had repulsed the Christians with great vigour, he had the mortification to see those *Moorish* princes, who had so warmly invited him over to them, become all of a sudden as cold and disaffected towards him. This did not hinder him, however, from pursuing his conquests ; so that he reduced in that expedition the greatest part of the kingdoms of *Murcia*, *Granada*, *Cordova*, *Juen*, and some few places in that of *Valencia*, after which he returned into *Africa* with his son, leaving those conquered dominions under the government of his nephew *Mohammed*, with a considerable part of his army. His conquests there.

HE was no sooner arrived at his *African* dominions, than he published a general *Gazie*, or religious war, through his dominions, and, with a fresh and numerous army, embarked at *Ceuta* for his *Spanish* conquests, and soon after rejoined his nephew *Mohammed* in *Andalusia*, where they put all to fire and sword *. We shall again refer our readers to the subsequent history of *Spain* for a farther detail of the various successes of this expedition, from which he returned into *Africa* three years after. 1102.

HIS next descent was not till five years after, when he carried his arms thither with such success and speed, that he penetrated so far into *Portugal* that he reduced the city of *Lisbon*, and with it a great part of that kingdom, but lost the cities of *Alguazir* and *Gibraltar*, which he had taken before, but were now retaken from him by the king of *Sevil*, *Alphonso's* brother-in-law. In the mean time, *Alphonso* having equipped a powerful fleet, sailed over with it to *Africa* ; but meeting with that of *Yusef*, in his way to *Barbary*, a hot engagement soon followed, in which the former sunk ten gallees of the latter ; after which he continued his course directly to *Barbary*. Here he received proposals from *Yusef* for a truce, but refused to consent to it, unless he submitted to become his tributary ; which so exasperated the *Almoravide* monarch, that he swore ruin and destruction to Christianity. In pursuance of which vow, he prepared himself for a fresh descent, which he made into *Spain*, and landed, as usual, at *Malaga*, and led his army into the enemy's country, with greater fury and resentment, and, in all likelihood, with less caution and conduct, than ever he had done before. The consequence of which was that 1107.

Defeated at sea.

His last expedition into Spain.

* Leb-Tarik, Lxx. & al. ubi sup.

Battle of the Seven Counts. famous battle, since called the battle of the *Seven Counts*. For, being obliged to raise the siege of *Toledo*, which he had invested, and to retire from the superior forces of *Don Sanches*, who was sent by his father to its relief, he found himself so closely pursued by that brave young prince, that he was obliged

Don Sanches defeated and slain. to give him battle; in which, though he had the good fortune to defeat and slay him, together with a number of other noble warriors, yet he lost so great a number of his own men, that he was obliged to return to *Africa*, where he died soon after

Yusef dies. at his capital of *Morocco*, and was succeeded by his son *Ali* [†].

Ali, the third king of Afric. THIS prince, less warlike than his father, upon his coming to the crown, instead of minding his *Spanish* conquests, employed his thoughts in erecting of several sumptuous buildings, and in particular the great mosk of *Morocco*, which will be described in the history of that empire, whilst *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, was daily recovering some considerable cities from

Loses ground in Spain. him; neither could he be prevailed upon to pass over into *Spain*, till strongly pressed to it by the united instances of the *Moorish* princes, whom *Alphonso* greatly harassed and distressed all that while; and when at length he was obliged to come to their assistance, he spent a whole campaign there, without performing any thing considerable. He was no less unsuccessful in his subsequent expeditions, in the last of which, though joined by the united strength of the *Moorish* chiefs, he was defeated and slain by king *Alphonso*, with the loss of 30,000 men, except a small number who escaped and sailed over into *Barbary*, in the sixth year of his reign ⁸, and was succeeded by his son *Al Abraham*, vulgarly called *Brahem*, a prince altogether as addicted to pleasure, as averse to martial exploits, who was no sooner declared successor to the throne, than he confirmed all the governors and chief officers of his eastern provinces of *Barbary*, *Numidia*, &c. in their posts, upon which they readily acknowledged him for their sovereign, with the title of *Emir Al Moslemim*, or *Chief Commander of the Faithful*; by which act having secured the peace of his dominions on that side, and seeing all quiet at home, he gave himself no farther thought than that of pursuing his pleasures and extravagant debauches, which in time obliged him to load his subjects with such an intolerable weight of taxes, as produced general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble *Almoravides* to that

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Al Abraham, the fourth and last king of the Almoravides, ascends the throne. upon which they readily acknowledged him for their sovereign, with the title of *Emir Al Moslemim*, or *Chief Commander of the Faithful*; by which act having secured the peace of his dominions on that side, and seeing all quiet at home, he gave himself no farther thought than that of pursuing his pleasures and extravagant debauches, which in time obliged him to load his subjects with such an intolerable weight of taxes, as produced general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble *Almoravides* to that

His unworthy reign causes a revolution. as produced general complaint, and ended in that strange and fatal revolution, which at once transferred the supreme government from the tribe of the noble *Almoravides* to that

[†] Leb-Tarik, LEO, GRAMM. & al. ubi sup. ⁸ Ibid. ubi sup.
GRAMM. l. ii. c. 7. RAMUS. Viag. vol. i. part ii. MARMOL, & al.

upstart one, since called, from its obscure founder, *Almobedi*, or *Al Mobedes*, and of which we are now going to give an account, though it did not begin before the twenty-fifth year of his reign; from which the reader may judge how unworthily that monarch spent the former part of it, seeing there has nothing happened worthy to be recorded concerning him, during that long period, if we except the unfortunate attempt which the Christians made on the city of *Kayrwan*, about the beginning of it; but which, though in some sense foreign to our present subject, yet, being both curious and interesting, we shall subjoin in the margin (A).

THE author of this surprising change was a *Berber*, of the tribe of *Muzamada*, named *Abd'alla*, and a famed preacher

(A) By this time the Christians, who, in their wars with *Tunis*, had made themselves masters of the city of *Mobedia*, the late residence of the Khalifs of *Kayrwan*, and, as we have elsewhere seen, built by one of them, with all the advantages of strength and beauty, were making frequent inroads from it into the adjacent countries, and sadly harrassed the *Tunizens*. A considerable reinforcement being landed from *Italy* at *Mobedia*, were likewise ravaging those coasts, when an *Al Faki* came to them, and offered to betray the city of *Kayrwan* to them, provided they bestowed the government of it upon him; to which they readily agreed; whereupon he put himself at their head, and marched towards the place; but had not proceeded above two two days journey, before they came in sight of the *Moorish* army, ranged in order of battle, and ready to give them a warm reception, whom the *Al Faki* immediately joined, and fell upon the Christians with such fury, that 7000 of them were killed upon the spot, and the

rest, with great difficulty, retired to *Mobedia*. The *Moors* pursued them thither, and laid siege to the place, but without success. However, the *Al Faki* being, by this serviceable stratagem against the Christians, become considerable among the *Moors*, turned his forces against the *Almoravides*; but being defeated by them, was taken in his flight by the *Cheyk o Pexara*, a relation of *Brabem*, who ordered his eyes to be plucked out, and himself to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died with misery.

It must be observed, that the Christians here mentioned, and which we style *Italians*, are, as the *Morocco* historian tells us, called by the *Arab* writers *Rumiss*, from the capital of *Rome*; as they do the *Spaniards* *Phoniss*, from their kings; the *Portuguese*, *Chamoriis*; the *Greeks*, *Nizaraans*, or *Kaisareans*; and the *French*, *Franguis*. And hence it is, perhaps, that no *European* writer before *Marmol*, has mentioned this unfortunate expedition (1).

(1) *Abul-Malek, Chronol. Maroc. Marmol Afric. lib. ii. c. 33.*

*The rise of
the Almo-
hedes.*

*Abd'al-
lah's re-
volt and
success.*

*Brahem
defeated
and pur-
sued.*

His death.

among those of his tribe, who were seated along mount *Atlas*, but who, the better to succeed in his premeditated design, took upon him the name, or rather the title, of *Mahdi*, or *Mohedi*, and set up for head or leader of the orthodox, or Unitarians, who, by this time, were become so numerous by his preaching, and had swelled him to such a degree of insolence, as to dare even to exclaim against, and bid defiance to, the king; but he might easily have been suppressed, and the revolt nipped in embryo, had not *Brahem* been too much immersed in pleasures to regard it, and too confident to apprehend any ill consequences from such low sorry miscreants. He soon, however, found cause to alter his measures, when he became apprised of the ravages they committed in those western parts, under pretence of standing up for liberty, and how daily they increased in number and boldness under that pretence. He was at length prevailed upon, though late, to march against them, and, as unhappily for him, with a force by far too small to oppose them, so that he was totally defeated at the very first engagement he had with them, and his army put to flight, in which they were timely assisted by the intervening night.

ABD'ALLAH, in the mean time, seeing himself master of the field, failed not to take all precautions to shut up all the passes to prevent the king's regaining his capital, whilst he dispatched another part of his army thither to invest it in form, and a third under the conduct of *Abdolmumen*, to go in close pursuit of him. This last order was so punctually executed, that the unfortunate prince was at length constrained to refuge himself in the city of *Fez*. Here he had again the mortification of seeing the gates of it shut up against him, but opened soon after to receive his pursuers, whether out of dread of them, or hatred to him, on account of his predecessors having made *Morocco* the seat of the empire, we will not determine. In this extremity he pitched upon the city of *Auran*, vulgarly *Oran*, for his last refuge, into which he was at first readily admitted; but did not enjoy that small respite long, before he saw the place invested by *Abdolmumen*, vulgarly *Abdulman*, and threatened with fire and sword. Upon which the magistrates earnestly entreated him to seek for some other shelter, since they were in no condition to protect him against such a force. He accordingly set out on a dark night, with only a favourite wife on horseback behind him; but being discovered by the guards, and seeing no way left to avoid falling into their hands, he, in a fit of despair, clapt spurs to his horse, and hurried him headlong, with himself and his wife down, a steep and rocky precipice, where they were all found, the next morning, dead and dashed in pieces. This was the fatal end of

of that unhappy prince, which put a final period to the empire of the *Almoravides* ^a.

THAT general, being apprised of *Brahem's* death, caused Abd'ol-his head to be cut off, in order to have it carried in triumph to *Mumen Morocco*, and staid no longer in those parts than to levy the tribute in these provinces; which done, he traversed the kingdom of *Tremecen*, in his way to *Morocco*, where, upon his arrival, he found the traitor *Abd'allah* dead, and was soon after declared his successor by all the chiefs of that revolt, and proclaimed king of the *Al Mohedes*, under the title of *Al Emir Al Mumin Abd'allah Mohammed Abd'al Mumen Ebn Abd'allah Ibi Ali*, that is, *Chief, or Emperor, of the true Believers, of the House of Mohammed Abd'al Mumen, the Son of Abd'allah, of the Lineage of Ali* (B).

^a Ibid. *ibid. vid. & GRAMMAY, l. iv. c. 7. RAMUS. Viag. vol. i. p. 2. MARMOL, l. II. c. 33. & al.*

(B) *Abd'allah* reigned just long enough to make some prudent regulations according to his sect, for the most firm establishment both of it and of his new kingdom; and left them behind in his last will. He appointed a council of forty disciples of his sect, all of them preachers; some of whom were to regulate all public affairs, and, at proper season, to go a preaching about the country, and spread their doctrine abroad, and had 16 other disciples to serve them as secretaries, all preachers likewise; and out of the former were to be chosen the successors to the regal and pontifical throne; for they were, after their founder's example, to assume both these titles and dignities.

Their disciples, or followers of their sect, were styled *Mohammudin*, or *Al Mohaddin*; but the Arabian writers style them only

preachers, and the Spanish *Al Mohedes*, and the descendants and successors of that tribe continued to style themselves *Emir Al Mumenin*, or *Chiefs of the Faithful*, or *true Believers*, as long as their dynasty continued, and have been very powerful both in *Africa* and *Spain*.

As to the particular tenets of this new sect, if we except their more specious pretence to orthodoxy, as stricter adherers to, and preachers of, the unity of God, they had little or nothing peculiar, but what was artfully calculated by its founder, and suited to the loose genius of that people; which, added to their great outcries for liberty, and against the tyranny of the *Almoravides*, could not fail of alluring the greatest part of the kingdom to second the revolt, and embrace their sect and doctrine (2).

(2) *Grammay Africa illustrata, lib. iv. c. 7. Ramuse, vol. i. part II. Marmol Afric. lib. II. c. 33. & al. sup. citat.*

His devastations and BRAHEM had left a son behind him, named *Isaac*, an infant, whom, at his departure from that capital, he had committed to the care of proper governors. On the news of his father's death, they caused him to be proclaimed king, and obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; of which

eq. the new Emir was no sooner informed, than he began to batter the city with all his might; and finding it make a stout defence against him, swore, in a furious fit of resentment, that he would not abandon the siege till he had reduced the place, and caused it to be sifted through a crib. He accordingly plied his battering engines with greater vigour than ever; and having made a sufficient breach, caused it to be mounted by his men, sword in hand, who quickly made themselves masters of the city. The first thing he did after he had entered it, was the ordering the unfortunate young *Isaac* to be brought to him, whom he strangled with his own hands, by whose death the *Almoravidic* line, called by the *African* writers *Luptumns*, and *Marabuts*, became extinct; and, to obliterate the memory of those founders of that metropolis, as much as he could, he caused all its stately antient edifices, particularly the great mosque, the royal palace, and other public buildings, to be levelled with the ground; causing some parts of their ruins to be ground small, and sifted through a sieve, in compliance with his oath, and new ones to be built in their stead, and after a more ample and sumptuous manner. These he caused to be called by his own name, but had the mortification to find their old ones remain still indelible in the people's memory, though erased by him from their old marble and stone monuments, and to hear these new edifices still called by the names of the old ones. He was no less industrious in extirpating all the unhappy remains of the *Almoravidic* race, and ceased not persecuting them till he had destroyed all that came either to his own knowledge, or to that of his officers. He exercised the same cruelty against the citizens, officers, and soldiers, who had most signalized themselves in the defence of that city, or for their zeal and loyalty to their infant sovereign; so that the first years of his reign were little better than an æra of blood and slaughter¹.

*The face
of Africa
charged.*

IN the mean while his cruelties and swift conquests, as well as the strenuous oppositions of the *Almoravidic* governors in most of their conquered provinces, who refused to submit to him, and of others, who, weary of the *Almoravidic* tyranny, thought it now a lucky juncture to shake off their galling yoke, and make a brave attempt to regain their liberty, occa-

¹ Ibid. *ibid.*

sioned a very quick and surprising change through the greatest part of those provinces, and more particularly in *Barbary*, where the *Arabs* of *Numidia*, who had been driven from their seats by their *Almoravide* masters, and forced to retire to the mountains, and live wholly upon agriculture and feeding of cattle, took this opportunity to invade and make themselves masters of *Tunis* and *Tremecen*, and forced the native *Africans* to submit themselves under their dominion; but were quickly after obliged to stoop to that of the *Almohedes*. On the other hand, several of the *Almoravide* governors, taking the advantage of the wars and distractions then reigning, erected their governments into independent principalities and petty kingdoms; and those who dwelt in the mountainous parts, into a variety of lordships, under their own Cheyks. In particular, the states of *Barbary*, *Tripoly*, *Kayrwan*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Tremecen*, and *Bugeia*, had each their own sovereign. The *Nubians* and *Libyans* had shewed them the example; and many others besides them were ready to follow it.

New
principa-
lities
erected.

WHILST these changes were introduced in *Africa*, the *Moorish* princes, greatly harrassed by king *Alphonso*, sent in vain to *Abd'olmumen* repeated intreaties to come over to their assistance, his dominions requiring his whole attention against so many opposers and deserters; and all he could do for them was to send over to them an army of 30,000 men, from among his *African* mountaineers, the *Gomerites*, a stout and warlike tribe we have lately spoken of*, who proved exceedingly serviceable to them against the Christians. All this while he was pursuing his own conquests with surprising success, assisted by those of his own valorous tribe of *Mozamuda*, and especially those of the branch of *Beneguere*, of which he himself was, and, on that account, had the greatest share in his favour and confidence. The consequence of which was, that he, within the space of a few years, reduced the *Numidians* and *Galatians* on the west, and the kingdoms of *Tunis*, *Tremecen*, and the greatest part of *Mauritania* and *Tingitania*, some by allurements, and others by forcible means, under his subjection; excepting only the *Arabs* of *Tunis*, who still preserved their liberty and government, thro' various successes, until they were wholly subdued by the great *Al Mansur*, the fourth king of the *Almohedic* line, as will be seen in the sequel. *Abd'olmumen* likewise dispossessed the Christians of the chief city of *Africa*, or *Mohedia*, and some others besides on the same coast, after they had been a considerable time in the hands of the Christians.

His success
and conquests.

* See before, vol. xiv. p. 151. sub not. & v. 14 p. 16 sub their

their possession ¹, besides his other conquests in *Spain* and *Portugal*. He died in the seventh year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Yusef*, or *Joseph* (C).

Yusef the 2d king of the Almohedes. YUSEF proved a martial prince like his father, and inherited all his hatred against the Christians; so that he had no sooner quelled some slight troubles in his new kingdom, and established the kings of *Tunis* and *Bugeia* in their respective kingdoms, as his tributaries and vassals, than he prepared to embark for *Spain*, to the assistance of the *Moorish* princes,

Sails into Spain. 1156. who all earnestly pressed him to it, and were perpetually harassed there by the Christian powers. He set sail accordingly on the very entrance of the year, at the head of a more powerful armada, than had, perhaps, ever crossed that sea, it consisting of 60,000 horse, and above 100,000 foot, and, at his landing, was joined by that of the *Moorish* princes who had invited him thither, and came, according to their engagements, to take the oaths of fidelity to him. We shall defer the detail of his various successes till we come to the *Spanish* history, and only observe here, that it did by no means answer his expectations; and that he was glad, at the end of eight years, to return into *Africa*, to suppress a revolt which the *Zinetti* had raised in the kingdom of *Tremecen*; and, as it

¹ *Iid. ibid. vid. & GRAMMAY, ubi sup. c. 7. RAMUSIO, MAR-MOL, & al.*

(C) *Abd'olmumen*, or, as others write him, *Abd'almon*, is reported to have been the son of an obscure potter, but a youth of a bold and enterprising genius, to whom a *Maorish* astrologer had foretold all that grandeur and good fortune which actually happened to him; upon which he readily joined himself to his predecessor *Abd'allah*, who was not long unacquainted with his parts and valour, soon raised him to be one of his chief officers and confidants; and we have seen already how well he answered all his expectations, so as to be chosen by his council of forty as the fittest person to suc-

ceed him in his new kingdom. But after his coming to the crown, he took care to efface the meanness of his extract, by giving himself out for a descendant from the family of the great prophet *Mohammed*, and a person, like him, chosen and sent by God, to preach and propagate his religion among the *Africans*, and to suppress the tyranny of the *Almoravides*, and oppose the heresy of the schismatic Khalifs of *Egypt* (3). And it was with this view that he assumed the pompous titles which we have mentioned in the beginning of his reign.

(3) *Grammay Afric. illustrat. lib. iv. c. 7. & ei, ubi sup.*

was his long absence which had encouraged them to it, so *Suppresses* his unexpected return and presence quickly put a stop to it. *the Zene-* As soon as he had made all quiet there, he raised a fresh army, *ti.* 1171. more numerous than the former, and crossed over again into *Returns* Spain, where he had much better success, and carried his *to Spain.* conquests so far, that the pope and most of the Christian princes of Europe joined their forces into a kind of crusade, to put a stop to his progress; so that, finding himself on the eve of being opposed by such an united force, whilst he was besieging Don Alphonso Henriquez in *Santa-* *arino,* in Portugal, as he was hastening the siege with all his *Slain be-* might, he received his death by an arrow, shot, some say, by *fore* San- one of his men; others, *by a Portuguese.* However that be, *tarino.* the Moorish princes raised the siege immediately after, and the African troops sailed back into Barbary.

YUSEF was succeeded by his warlike son, Yakub, or Yaa- Jacob Alcob, surnamed *Al Mansur,* or *The Conqueror,* who found his *Mansur,* African dominions in the utmost confusion, and the greatest *3d king of* part of his tributary provinces in open revolt; and it was not *the Al-* without great difficulty that he reduced them to their duty. *mohedes.* The king of Fez was one of the first who thought it the safest way to acknowledge him for his sovereign; whilst those of Tremecen and Tunis absolutely refused to follow his example, and resolved to stand out against him. This obliged *Reduces* him to have recourse to artifice, and to stir up the *Arabs* Tremecen against them. To this end he clapped up a kind of feigned peace with their Cheyks, and so successfully intigated both *Tunis.* nations, underhand, against each other, that, whilst they were at mutual hostilities, he had leisure enough to raise an army in Tingitania, under pretence of suppressing the tyranny of the *Arabs,* but in reality to join with them against the *Tremecenes* and *Tunizans,* as he actually did; and having defeated those two kings, stripped them of both their kingdoms. By this artifice, both sides found themselves strangely over-reached; the two revolted kingdoms were easily brought *under* subjection, and the *Arabs,* who had assisted him in it, *Trans-* obliged to transport themselves from these provinces; the *plants the* most considerable of them into those of Dukela, Tremecen, *Arabs out* and Azgar, and the other part into those of Numidia and *of them.* Libya; by which means, under pretence of settling them in more *the* and pleasant habitations than the barren mountains they inhabited, he effectually weakened and dispersed them, beyond the power of reuniting and molesting these two kingdoms in haste; whilst those who remained in *Mou-* ritania and Tingitania were obliged to submit to become his vassals; that nation, known to be out of their element when driven out of their deserts, and to degenerate by degrees from their

their natural stoutness and courage^m; being forced then, instead of living upon plunder, either to apply themselves to agriculture and feeding of cattle, or to starve.

THOSE of the province of *Azgar* continued to pay their tribute to the *Almohedes*; but those of *Dukela* and *Tremecen*, who were more considerable and powerful, soon found means not only to free themselves from it, but to oblige the native *Africans* to pay it to them. Those also that were sent into *Numidia* and *Libya*, were obliged to submit to the yoke, when they were unacquainted with the country; but by degrees became united, and powerful enough to make themselves masters of those provinces, and even to enlarge their dominions, and to make themselves independent of any government but that of their *Cheyks* (D).

His conquests and vast dominion.

AL MANSUR, having thus far secured himself both against the revolted and the plundering *Arabs*, and settled those parts in quiet, went on with his other conquests with such speed and success, that he saw himself master, in a little time, of all that tract of land which lieth between *Numidia* inclusive, and the entire length of the *Barbary* coasts from *Tripoli* to the kingdom of *Morocco*, including with it those of *Tez*, *Tremecen*, *Tunis* and *Tripoly*, the whole extending itself above 1200 leagues in length, and in depth from the *Mediterranean* to the sandy deserts of *Libya*, above 480, exclusive of his *Spanish* dominions and fresh conquests; and where the greatest part of the *Moorish* princes acknowledged

^a *Iidem, ibid.*

(D) As these are, on that account, reckoned the most noble of all the *Arabs*, as scorning all other subjection, and every other way of living but that of plunder on their neighbours and travelers, it may not be amiss to mention the method which these last take to secure themselves from their violence; namely, by applying to one of their *Cheyks*, and obtaining, by a certain sum, or other valuable consideration, a safeguard from him, who, upon the payment of it, writes down in his register the names of every traveller, and deposes one of his subjects to conduct them through his territory or district. The man

commonly carries a lance in his hand, with a kind of standard, on which are painted or embroidered the arms or device of the *Cheyk*; and goes with them till he hath brought them to the next *Cheyk*, where the same ceremony is repeated, and a new safeguard obtained; and thus, by traveling from one dowar, or district, to another, under such a safeguard, one escapes the danger of being plundered, and perhaps murdered, by these freebooters, who, otherwise, spare neither *Jews*, *Turks*, or any other nation, but fall on all comers without distinction.

him.

him for their sovereign. So that he is justly esteemed the greatest prince, next to the *Arabian* Khalifs, that ever reigned in this part of *Africa*, as he is also better known in history by his new title of *Al Mansur*, or *Conqueror*, than by his own proper one of *Abu Jakub*. As he had frequent occasion to cross the sea to and from *Africa* and *Spain*, on account of the revolts which frequently happened during his absence from either, he built some considerable towns and fortresses on each coast, to facilitate his embarkations, and among them the cities of *Rabettone* Sale, *Al Calcarquivir*, *Al Carsar-zegued*, *Manfara*, and some others which we shall have occasion to speak of in the sequel. For as he never passed from one to the other of his dominions without a powerful armament, which took up a long time in preparing, embarking, &c. so it often happened that some rebellion or war broke out in the one before he was well got to the other; which obliged him to hasten back without doing any thing considerable, except quelling them by his sudden appearance. By that time he had finished some of those, and suppressed the revolters in *Africa*, he caused a general Gazie to be published through his dominions (E), which brought innumerable multitudes of his subjects to enlist themselves volunteers in it, by which means he quickly raised an army of 400,000 men, 100 000 of which were horse, and passed immediately into *Spain*, where he was joined by *Fernandez de Castro*, his viceroy, at the head of another, and there gained a complete victory over the united *Signal* forces of the Christians, near the city of *Alarcos*, on the *victory* in 19th of July. From thence he pursued his march towards *Spain*. the *Tayo*, and would have gained many other advantages 1195. over them, had not *Alphonso* been forced, by the badness of his affairs, to sue to him for a truce; which he the more easily Grants a truce to Alphonso, obtained, because a fresh revolt in *Africa* demanded his immediate presence there. 1197.

(E) We have already observed, that what the *Mohammedan* *Gazie*, is a kind of religious war, like the crusade among the Christians, and by which every zealous volunteer, who enlists in it, expects to gain heaven, and, if slain in battle, to be immediately conveyed thither; and, if we were to judge of their sincerity and zeal from the infinite multitudes that are allured to it on both sides, one could not but deem them all

alike fired with the same religious ardour.

But mark the end! The two thousand which came thither from *France*, to help to wrest *Toledo* out of the hands of the *Turks*, were no sooner denied the plundering of that potent city, when rescued, than they turned their backs, in anger, and returned to their own country; refusing to strike a blow without it, even for the cause of religion itself.

Thus

*Revolt in
Morocco.*

*Besieges
the rebels
in his ca-
pital.*

*Takes the
city by
scalade.*

*Strange
cruelty
and severe-
ity.*

*The re-
voltiers
put to
death.*

THIS last had been hatching by the governor of his capital, during his three years absence; during which time he had found means to draw the wandering *Arabs* into his measures, and had raised a numerous army in the adjacent provinces; but upon the news of *Al Mansur's* arrival at the head of a much superior force, not daring to meet him in the field, he had by this time retired and fortified himself in that metropolis. Thither the king led his victorious troops, and laid close siege to it, during a whole year; when his army, in despair of reducing the city, that valiant prince ordered all his officers to repair to his head-quarters, with scaling-ladders, of the height of the walls, by the next morning. He was so readily obeyed, that 4000 of them appeared by that time ready to mount to the assault; when putting himself at their head, *We have, said he to them, fought hitherto for the sake of glory; but now we must fight for the sake of revenge, and to wrest your wives and children out of the hands of traitors and ravishers*; with these words he scaled the walls at the head of them. The assault lasted three whole days and nights; during which time the besieger were plied with constant refreshments, whilst the besieged, quite spent for want of such succour, were forced to abandon the town, and to retire into the fortrefs.

AL MANSUR, followed by his brave troops, entered the city in triumph; but their joy was soon allayed by the stench of the dead bodies, with which they saw the streets quite covered, and were almost suffocated; but that prince would not suffer any of them to be removed, much less interred, till they were quite consumed, and then ordered the bones to be burnt; alleging, that no smell was sweeter than the stinking carcases of a traitor and an enemy. All this while the fortrefs, into which the governor had retired, with a great number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, was so closely invested, that they found themselves under a necessity, for want of provisions, of imploring the king's mercy; and a marabout, then in high esteem, was pitched upon to apply to him for it, who soon returned to them with the joyful news, that he had obtained it; upon which the governor came out the next day, with all his friends and attendants, to throw themselves at his majesty's feet, and thank him for his great clemency. But, to their great surprize, they beheld the incensed prince's eyes still glaring with anger and resentment; and, no longer able to contain himself, he threw his slipper at his head, and then ordered him to be beheaded, with all his friends and adherents. Here the marabout, who had accompanied him to the royal presence, offered to expostulate, and insisted upon

on his promise ; but was coldly answered, that no promise was to be kept with such perfidious traitors ^a.

HERE we must be obliged to put an unexpected period to the history of that glorious prince and conqueror, seeing the remainder of it is wrapped up in the deepest darkness, being told by the *Arabic* writers, that, to the great astonishment of his court, he, on a sudden, disappeared, soon after, some say immediately after this execution ; touched, as they pretend, with remorse for his cruelty and breach of faith, wandered about, obscure and unknown, and died at last a poor despised baker at *Alexandria*. And the *Africans*, who conceal this last circumstance of his turning baker, allow of his dying at *Alexandria* ; and add, that the people of the city of *Morocco* celebrate the anniversary of his death ; and that a favourite wife of his, after having waited a considerable while for his return, and hearing no news of him, likewise suddenly left that capital, and went in search of him, with only a female child she had by him, in her arms ; that, after much travelling, she found him at length at *Alexandria*, where he had lived already some years an obscure person, and undiscovered by any one : that she continued with him till his death ; after which she retook the road to *Morocco*, but in her way was stopped at *Tunis* by the king's son, who would have forced her daughter, at that time grown tall and handsome enough to attract his affection ; but upon his being apprised of her noble extract, and her mother producing the certificate of her marriage, he readily consented to marry her. They relate several other things concerning her, which will be more properly seen in the history of that kingdom, whilst we resume that of *Morocco*, where we left the court in the utmost perplexity and concern about their lost monarch.

VARIOUS were their conjectures about his flight, and the cause of it, as well as the methods they took to find him out. The most probable they could form concerning the former was, that he had undertaken a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in some obscure and ordinary garb, in order to expiate his crime of cruelty and perfidy ; and then they elected his brother *Al Abram*, or *Brabem*, to govern the kingdom during his absence, under his son *Al Naker* ; but after having waited a whole year in vain, they raised that young prince to the throne, and confirmed his uncle in the regency of the kingdom ^o.

MUHAMMED, surnamed *Al Naker* by the *Spanish* writers, *Mohamed Al* was accordingly proclaimed his father's successor, and with the title of *Emir*, or *Prince of the Faithful*. He proved a Naker,

^a LEO, GRAMM. MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

^o Ibid. ibid.
warlike

The king disappears, 1206, and wanders in obscurity. Dies at Alexandria.

the last
king of
the Almo-
hades.

Sails with
a vast ar-
my into
Spain.

warlike prince like his father, and, on his coming to the crown, resolved to pass into *Spain* with all speed, where king *Alphonso*, contrary to the last truce concluded with his father, had recovered several considerable places from him. To prevent, therefore, all revolts at home, during his absence, he confirmed the two vassal kings of *Tremecen* and *Tunis* in their dominions, and all the other governors of his tributary provinces and chief officers of his kingdom in their old posts and dignities. He next raised the most numerous army that had yet been known to pass into *Spain*, and consisted, according to the unanimous report of all the *Spanish* writers, of 120,000 horse, and above 300,000 foot, besides the *Arabian* Cheyks, who repaired to him from the eastern and western parts of his dominions, and accompanied him thither, each at the head of his choicest troops. All the Christian powers were apprised of this vast armada, and dispatched all the forces they could spare to the assistance of king *Alphonso*, and the pope at the same time proclaimed a fresh crusade, in such promising and engaging terms, as brought into that kingdom an infinite multitude of strangers, to fight against the infidels.

Totally
defeated,
1212.

MOHAMMED, however, landed with his army in *Andalusia*, where he was joined by all the *Moorish* princes, and with them marched directly to *Salvatierra*, the then residence of the knight of *Calabra*, who had lately wrenched it out of the hands of the *Moors*, and after a long and arduous siege, made himself master of that strong place, as will be seen more fully in the *Spanish* history. Encouraged by this success, he soon after ventured to engage the whole force of the Christians, on the plains of *Tholosa*; where he was, though advantageously posted, attacked with such intrepid valour, that he was totally defeated, and with the loss, if we may credit the *Spanish* historians, of above 150,000 foot, 30,000 horse, 50,000 prisoners, and forced to abandon his camp, with all its immense and rich baggage, to the plunder of the enemy, himself escaping with great difficulty, attended only by a small number of his men, chiefly by the fleetness of his horses. This famed battle was fought, according to some *Arabic* writers, in the year of the *Hijra* 609, but according to the *Spanish* and other historians, in 617. However, after this signal overthrow, the Christians gained still fresh advantages over the *Moors*. Mohammed was glad to make the best retreat he could, to hasten back into *Africa*, as soon as the wind and sea could permit him, leaving his *Spanish* dominions, and the remainder of his scattered army, under the command of his brother *Ebn Layd*, who became soon after king of *Valencia*.

THE shame and regret of this defeat, at the head of so numerous and gallant an army, and the loss of so many thousands of men; the very *Arabs* and *Africans* acknowledging it to have amounted to between 70 and 80,000; joined to the cold reception he met with at his court and capital, where they scrupled not to ascribe his late disgrace to his blindness and cowardice, affected him so sensibly, that it made the short remainder of his reign very uneasy to him, and very probably hastened his end; which as soon as he perceived, he immediately appointed one of his grandsons, named *Zeged Arrax*, or, as others write it, *Ceyet Arrax*, for his successor to the crown. He expired soon after, as unwilling to survive his misfortune; and the news of his death and successor quickly reached his conquered provinces, and caused in them an almost universal revolt. The kings of *Tremacen*, *Fez*, and *Tunis* broke forth into an open revolt, which began to flame out in the first of them, under the conduct of an African named *Gamarazan Ebn Zeyen*, or the son of *Ceyen*, of the tribe of the *Zenetti*, and a descendant of the *Abdulwates*, antient monarchs of that kingdom, but then vassals to the *Almohedes*. He had put himself at the head of a pretty considerable force of malecontents; but finding it still too weak to make head against that of *Al Zeyed*, who was in full march against him, he was forced to retire into a strong fortress, where, being ready to perish for want of provisions, he had recourse to a near relation, whom he sent under the disguise of a malecontent, who came on purpose to shew him a way by which he might easily ascend to the top, and make himself master of the place. *Zeyed* was weak enough to accept of his offer; and going out with him to reconnoitre it, was assassinated by him at a convenient place; after which the murderer fled to the castle, and acquainted his cousin with what he had done. *Zeyed's* death put at once an end to the dynasty, or government, of the *Almohedes* (D); and the traitor *Gamarazan*, taking advantage

(D) We do not mean by it an extinction of their line; for there were enough still living of it to lay a just claim to the crown, and to make some strenuous efforts to regain it; but only that they all miscarried in their attempts, by some strange or unforeseen ac-

cidents. Amongst these we cannot forbear mentioning the late king's uncle *Abdul Kader*, who, the better to succeed in it, had caused himself to be chosen by the chief officers of that state; but yet finding himself too weak to cope with the power of some of his competitors,

Camara-
zan reigns
in Tre-
mecen,

tage of the confusion and panic which the news of it had thrown his whole army into, fell suddenly upon, and totally defeated them; so that, having no enemy left to oppose him, he quickly reduced the whole *Tremecenan* kingdom under his own subjection, and held it as long as he lived, and ordered his successors for the future to exchange their old name of *Abd'olwates* for that of *Benimeyeni*, or *Benizevenez*.

and Abd'
allah in
Fez.

ABOUT the same time the governor of *Fez* for the *Almohedes*, named *Abd'allah*, of the *Zenetan* tribe, and of the same branch of the *Benimerini*, likewise revolted, seized on several cities, particularly those of *Dobotto* and *Anfat*, in the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and defeated the *Almohedes*, in the plains between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, and forced them to retire into the kingdom of *Morocco*; by all which singular advantages the *Benimerini* became very powerful. *Abd'allah*, at his death, left the *Fezian* crown to his son, a minor, under the government of his brother *Isidub*, who had assisted him in all his conquests, and who, after his nephew's death, took possession of the crown, as immediate heir to it. This last took the title of *Muliy Cheyk*, or antient or old king; a title equivalent to that of sovereign lord; on account of his having governed the *Fezian* kingdom with the title of king of *Mequinez* during his nephew's life.

Moham-
med Bu-
dobas
takes Mo-
rocco.

NEAR the same time another uncle of the young king, named *Mohammed Budobās*, rose up in arms in the provinces of *Tedba* and *Daminet*; the former of which he yielded to the king of *Fez*, to obtain his assistance, and entered into a league with him. They accordingly marched their joint forces towards *Morocco*, where the young king *Zeyed* was; but upon the news of their approach, abandoned that metropolis, which his uncle immediately entered, and took possession of it in his own name, and at the same time dispatched one of his

was glad to compromise the contest with them by a kind of treaty of parution, out of which sprang several petty sovereignties.

At the same time several governors of the provinces for the *Almohedes* likewise revolted in other places, as in *Nubia*, *Li-*

bya, &c as well as in *Tremecen*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, who set up for themselves, and continued unmolested in their new assumed sovereignties, whilst the *Almohedic* dynasty was every-where suppressed, in spite of all their efforts to raise it up again, as the sequel plainly shews (1).

(1) See, *Grammay*, *Maimi* l. vol. up, *Est. Garibos*, l. b. xxvi l. 1312, & al.

chief officers in pursuit of him, who overtook him at *Sequel-messa*, and murdered him. *Budobas* immediately caused himself to be proclaimed king and Emir of the *Almohedes*; and, instead of performing his engagements with the king of *Fez*, turned his arms against him, declared him a traitor and rebel against the *Almohedes*, from whom he had usurped the *Fezian* kingdom, which they had intrusted under his government; and himself, the rightful and determined avenger of his black treason, protesting, that he would not sheath his sword, till he had driven him out of his usurped dominions. Such was the consequence, as is commonly the case, of their treasonable and unnatural alliance. The misfortune was, that all this vapouring and threatening ended in his own total defeat, and death of the *Almohedi* chief, by which the kingdom of *Morocco* and its conquered provinces in *Barbary*, fell under the subjection of the *Benemerini*, and the victorious king of *Fez* became the head of a new dynasty, which, in process of time, reduced all the kingdoms of *Tremecen*, *Tunis*, and other inferior sovereignties. For although several of the *Almohedi* governors, who had revolted under the same reign, were suffered to retain their dominions, especially in the mountainous parts, those of mount *Atlas* above-mentioned in particular, yet was it only on condition that they should acknowledge the kings of *Fez* as their lords. Among those we may reckon a considerable branch of the *Muzamade* tribe, so called (tho' originally of the *Berberi* extract) from the mount, or rather large ridge of mountains, on the great *Atlas*, extending itself about 20 leagues in length westward, towards the *Atlantic* ocean, and where they reigned a considerable time under their own princes, after the declension and abolition of the tyrannic power of the *Arabs* in several parts of *Africa*, particularly in *Numidia*, *Libya*, as well as this of *Barbary*; and still retained their antient name. They are a wealthy and warlike nation, and valued themselves for their antiquity and nobility; and were once very powerful, and continued so for a considerable time, as will be farther shewn in the sequel of this work.

Among other branches descended from them, that of the *Henter*, so called from the famed mount of that name, the highest and most populous of the whole *Atlantic* ridge, have also made a very considerable figure in history, under their own princes, on account of their wealth and power, and particularly for their brave cavalry, and the frequent wars they have successfully waged against the *Sharifs* of *Morocco*; till at length these being become masters of that kingdom, and

much inferior to it in strength, were obliged to set aside all farther hostilities, and crave their alliance and protection, in order to be confirmed by them in their inferior dignity, and scanty dominion. This forced alliance was made by *Maleyo Idris*, one of their kings, who boasted himself to be descended from the *Almohedes*, and, as such, began to lay claim to the crown of *Afric*, which they had been possessed of before, as we have lately seen, and began to assume that title, though he had, till then, contented himself with that of king of that mountain. He was then in possession of the city and strong fortress of *Geman Yedid*, which had been founded about two centuries before by *Hentetao*, of his tribe of *Mirzamada*, and had continued to be their chief residence ever since. He held also several other fortresses on the same mountain, all likewise advantageously situated, and watered by the river *Eisfelmed*, so called from the prodigious noise it makes in its rapid descent from those heights, whence running down into the spacious plain below, it expands itself in a delightful lake. To these he added the city of *Temelet*, a small but strong fortress, situate on an eminent part of the mountain of its name, formerly built by the same tribe, and exceedingly well peopled, as well as adorned with a stately mosque, held in great veneration by its inhabitants, who pretended that the famed *Mohedi*, and his disciple *Aldolmumen*, the first king of the *Almohedes*, he interred in it †; from which also those of that sect affect to call the city by his name *Mohedi*.

THIS was the situation of *Muley Idris's* small dominions, when the dread of the Sharifs power put him upon that ill concerted expedient of securing himself in them by the above-mentioned alliance, which he soon afterwards found cause to repent of. The measures he took to extricate himself out of them were no less hazardous, and likely to have proved equally, if not more, fatal to him.

THIS transaction, as well as the occasion of it, having something singular and instructive in it, we hope our readers will not deem it a digression from our subject, if we subjoin a short account of it, as we find it related in the author quoted in the margin *. It happened in the reign of the Sharif *Muley Hammed*, by which time the *Portuguese* had got some considerable settlements on that coast, and particularly the strong castle of *Salé*, a considerable sea port in that kingdom; the governor of which, named *Nunez*, ever attentive to his master's interest, and apprised of the dread *Idris* was in from his new ally, had found means to invite him to exchange him for

† MARMOL, ubi sup.

* LEO, & al. ubi sup.

that of the king of *Portugal*, who, he assured him, would prove a more faithful, as well as more powerful protector. The juncture was then altogether promising and favourable, inasmuch as *Muley Hammed* had lately made himself master of the city of *Morocco*, that is, after the death of *Naker Buchentuf*, the *Almohede*, and last possessor of it, and was become by that means a more formidable neighbour; which circumstance, that governor presumed, could not fail of determining the alarmed *Idris* to accept of the new proffered alliance. To effect it with the greater safety and speed, he employed a servile *Jewish* merchant, who resided in those parts, to convey a letter to him from his *Portuguese* majesty, which, to avoid discovery, was sewn between the soles of his shoe. But the *Jew*, whether to avoid suspicion, or to serve some other end, took the direct road to *Morocco*, and not only staid some time in that capital, but ventured to appear before the Sharif, and transact some private affairs with him; which so alarmed the *Henetan* prince, that, upon the *Jew's* delivering the letter to him, he returned it to him unopened, and ordered him to carry it back to *Morocco*, and put it into the Sharif's own hand, together with another written by himself, in which he earnestly intreated him to have a watchful eye over the Christians, who, he was well assured, were carrying on some dangerous plot against him. This precaution, luckily for him, which was wholly owing to his suspicion that the *Jew* might have discovered his correspondence with the *Portuguese* governor, had the desired effect; and *Muley*, now satisfied of his friendship and integrity, failed not to make him some grateful acknowledgements for it, whilst he turned his whole resentment on those strangers, who had with such treacherous artifices attempted to deprive him of so faithful an ally, and for such treasonable designs against him, in order to invade the more effectually the dominions of both. The *Jew* was the first who fell a victim to his jealousy, whom suspecting to be more deeply informed of their designs, he caused to be put to the torture, which was several times repeated; and, not being able to extort any confession from him, condemned him to be torn in pieces by four wild horses*. But as he could not penetrate farther into the mystery of this conspiracy, this fresh instance of the *Portuguese* ambition and policy only served to make him have a more watchful eye over them; and, at the same time, if he had really entertained any views against those of his *Henetan* ally, it made him set them aside, for the present at least; and *Idris* found in him from thenceforth a friend and protector, instead of a

* Lro, & al. ubi sup.

Other
branches
of the Ze-
neci.

The Beni-
merini.

formidable neighbour; and his successors enjoyed their small kingdom in peace for some generations, though they were, in process of time, reduced under the yoke of the Sharifs, as will be more fully seen in the next chapter. Thus much may suffice for these two considerable branches of the *Zeneci*, inhabiting the western parts of the *Atlas*, under the names of *Hentela* and *Zamadins*. Other branches of the same tribe spread themselves likewise in other parts of *Barbary* and *Africa*, as in *Numidia*, *Nubia*, *Libya*, &c. and founded some considerable cities, with an account of which we, shall not here interrupt the thread and course of our history, having apprised our readers * that they should be taken proper notice of in a supplemental volume, in the same order as they have been transmitted to us by *Abu'l-feda* and other *Arabic* historians and chronologers. All that needs be added here to that of the *Almohedes*, lastly spoken of, after having made a considerable figure in the kingdom of *Fez* and other parts, during the space of about 170 years, waged very cruel wars against the kings of *Fez*, *Tunis*, *Tremecen*, &c. and greatly enlarged their wealth, power, and dominions, were at length succeeded by that of the *Benimerini*, another, and equally eminent branch of the *Zeneci*, above-mentioned; these last having, like all the former branches already spoken of, held the government during the space of above 117 years, enlarged their conquests, and enriched themselves by their frequent incursions not only into all the neighbouring kingdoms above-mentioned, but even *Nubia*, *Libya*, and *Numidia*, were at length, like the rest of these *African* parts, swallowed up by the general inundation of *Mohammedan*, as will be more fully seen in the sequel.

ALL these principal branches, not to mention some others which have likewise had their particular share of dominion in other parts, and a much greater number of inferior ones, which have branched out into an innumerable variety, beyond an author's power even to enumerate, as *Leo Africanus* expresses it, out of his *Arabic* historian †; and, if they could, would be of little use or instruction to an *English* reader; all these, we say, have had their several periods of government in *Barbary*; and, if our author is rightly informed, were the chief, if not the only ones, which retained so much of their *Arabic* extract, as to prefer the scenite and wandering life, as the most noble and suitable to their origin and taste, whilst they obliged those who lived under their government to in-

* See before, vol. iii, p. 670. & alib. pass.
ap. Leo, ubi sup. l. i. c. 10.

† EBN RACHA,

habit in cities and villages, to cultivate the lands and pasture grounds, to follow husbandry and breeding of cattle, and to exercise variety of such trades and manufactures as the exigencies of nature and society required. They everywhere retained their original, or *Arabic*, tongue, in its purity, or, at least, with so little intermixture or corruption, that whether they live in towns or villages, or roam at large in the spacious plains, mountains, or deserts, or how intermixed ~~to~~ ever with others, they easily understand one-another*.

During that long interval, each of their sects had its authors, fautors, and disciples, all contending with equal warmth for their particular tenets, and triumphed over the others in their turns, and enjoyed *Mohammedism* of their own fabricature; till the Sharifs on the one hand, and the *Turks* on the other, having reduced the whole *Barbaric* tract, obliged each of them to submit to a new one of their own, as will be farther shewn in the subsequent chapters.

We have, by this time, gone through all we thought needful, by way of preliminary to the history of this large and opulent part of *Africa*; and, in order to inform our readers by what degrees and strange means the several states that now compose it came insensibly to coalesce into the different forms of government under which they now live, we shall next give their respective histories. Nevertheless, it will not be improper, before we close this chapter, to subjoin here an account of the once famed kingdom of *Telensine*, or *Tremecen*, of which we have had frequent occasion to make some mention; especially with regard to the share it hath had in the wars and other transactions with the states lately spoken of, before its reduction by, and being incorporated into, that of *Algiers*; in all which it hath made so considerable a figure in the history of *Barbary*, that it might be justly deemed an inexcusable omission not to give it a place.

* 110, ubi sup. DAVITY, MARMOI, & al.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Kingdom of Telenine, or Tremecen.

*Kingdom
of Tre-
mecen.*

Its limits.

THIS kingdom was antiently considerable enough to be reckoned the third in rank of the *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. Its other name it received afterwards from its capital of *Tremecen*, or, as some write it, *Temecen*, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. It stretches itself from north to south-east, that is, from the west *Mediterranean* to mount *Atlas*, about the length of 150 leagues; but in breadth it is in some places about 5^l, and about 26 or 21 where narrowest. On the east it hath the kingdom of *Tunis*, or *Africa propria*, from which it is severed by two rivers; namely, the *Zis* and the *Moluya*, the former of which hath its spring head on the *Zanbaghian* mountains, and running thence across the countries of *Quinena*, *Matagara*, and *Releb*, spreads itself into a lake, in a desert south of the territory of *Sege'messa* (A); and the latter, by a contrary course, runs from mount

(A) The province of *Segel-messa* is situate between the kingdom of *Tremecen* and the desert of *Nubia*, and stretches itself about 120 miles southwards along the river above mentioned. It is inhabited by a barbarous branch of the *Zanbaghian* *Zinetti*, and had its name from its capital *Segel-messa*, since taken by the kings of *Fez*, and made the residence and appenage of their sons; but was since destroyed on account of some rebellion; ever since which the inhabitants have built several castles in this province, some of whom live independent of any but their own princes, and others are tributary to the *Arabs* (1), and both apply themselves to sow and plant, and other kinds of agriculture.

The city, which hath never been rebuilt since, shews by its noble remains of stately walls, temples, and a fine aqueduct, which brought the water to it from the river *Zis* above mentioned, all the marks of antient splendor that could adorn a royal city; from which our author, who was there about seven months, tells us, that some *African* writers, who gave it the name of *Bicri*, supposed it to have been built by *Alexander the Great*, for the relief of his wounded soldiers. Which notion, however, he looks upon as altogether absurd (2) there being no vestige in history of his having penetrated so far into *Africa*.

(1) *I eo Africanus*, lib. vi. c. 16. *Marmol*, *Dapper*, & al. sup. c. 21.

(2) *I q, ubi*

Atlas across the whole country, and empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, near the town of *Ona*^a. From thence to that of *Gigel* is the utmost breadth of its coast; this last being its utmost boundary on the other side, as the *Numidian* is on the south. The kingdom is divided into four principal provinces, whereof the first and chief bears the name of *Tremecen*; the second is called *Tenez*, the third *Algiers* (which three formerly constituted the *Cæsarean Mauritania*), and the last as that of *Buga*, vulgarly called *Bugia*, which some geographers place in the kingdom of *Tunis*. These four provinces have, ever since the decay of the *Roman* empire, been preserved by the *Arabs* of one *Zenetan* tribe; next to them by the kings of *Tunis* and *Fez*; and last of all, by the *Turks*, as will be seen in the sequel. The former of them in particular, who are very numerous in each, and no less stout and warlike than greedy of plunder, have proved a perpetual plague to them, being advantageously seated on the mountainous parts, where they cannot be easily come at, or, in case of danger of being so, are ever ready to remove their habitations into the most inaccessible part, where they range at will, and without paying any subjection or tribute to the *Tremecen* princes, living mostly on the spoil of their subjects below. They are divided into five branches; viz. *Berbers*, *Zeniti*, *Hoars*, *Zinkagians*, and *Rzagues*, all of them *Mohammedans*, and have their mosques in great numbers, though, for the most part, more tractable, and less averse to Christians, with whom they carry on a considerable commerce, than those of the kingdom of *Morocco*, who still retain an irreconcilable hatred against them (R). However, the former have proved

^a I LO AFR. lib. i. MARMOL Afric. l. v. c. i. DAVITY, DAPPER, AIDRETTI Antiq. l. iii. c. 30. RAMUSIO Viag. vol. i part iv. p. 59, & seq SHAW, & al. ^b MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

{B} There is still another class of them, more mischievous than the others, and these are those which inhabit the desert of *Aggub*, which lies on the road between *Tremecen* and *Fez*, and is computed to be twenty-eight leagues in length, and eighteen in breadth, and across which runs the *Moluya* lately mentioned, though every-where else destitute of water and almost every kind of food, but swarms

with such multitudes of lions and other wild beasts, as well as with those wandering and pilfering *Arabs*, as made it, on both accounts, very dangerous to the merchants that were obliged to travel from one kingdom to the other.

This obliged the kings of *Tremecen* to keep a body of troops along the banks of the river, both to suppress the one and destroy the other, which they

proved worse enemies both to this kingdom, and *Tunis*, *Fez*, and others on this coast, ever since the *Turks* have been masters of so great a part of it, and have been ever ready to excite revolt, and join forces with their enemies, especially such as paid them best for acting against them.

THE clime and soil of this kingdom being pretty much the same as we have seen it in other parts of *Barbary*, that is, sandy and barren on the southern side, and more fruitful and mountainous towards the *Mediterranean*, we shall not need dwell on a detail of its products, which are, for the most part, the same through the whole *Barbaric* tract. That especially about the capital of *Tremecen* is little else than a continued barren plain of a vast extent; so that there are but few other cities of any note in its neighbourhood. But it is far otherwise towards the south, and near the sea, where the plains, vallies, and even the mountains, yield a most agreeable verdure, plenty and variety of pasturage, fruits, and several sorts of grain; whilst the southern parts are very poorly furnished with cities and towns of any note, except the capital, and are only defended by some strong castles, dispersed at proper distances, and advantageous posts (C). The northern ones have a considerable number of them, especially upon the coasts. Yet both the inland and maritime parts drive a considerable commerce

they did during the summer season, so as to make it passable all that time; but when the winter drew near, and the soldiers were obliged to go in quest of provisions as far as *Numidia*, as they must do every year, then do those two nuisances begin to rage again, and make it exceeding dangerous to travel through that sandy and barren wilderness (3).

The *Tremecen* princes had here likewise erected the strong fortress of *Tenzegzeg*, on the road between their capital and the city of *Fez*, which stands on a high rock, in the midst of a spacious and fertile plain, watered by the river *Tema*, which

falls down from the mount *Atlas* into that of *Asigole*. This fortress was designed to guard the pass into the desert above-mentioned, on the side of the capital, from the incursions of the *Arabs*; but hath been since seized and possessed by them and since then by the *Turks*; who having made themselves masters of *Barbary*, have fortified it, and keep a constant garrison in it (4).

(C) Amongst that number we shall only select one, to serve as an example of the rest; viz. that called by *Lio Izli*, and by *Marmol Tzizil*, said to have been built by the *Africans*, as a frontier town; but, by what one may judge from the height and

(3) *Leo African.* lib. iv. c. 2. *Marmol Afric.* lib. v. c. 3. & *Grammey*, & al.

(4) *MS. n. 61, ubi sup.*

commerce both out of the kingdom and with each other; the former with *Numidia*, *Nigritia*, and other inland parts, for slaves, gold dust, elephants teeth, ebony and other woods, and a great variety of gums, and other commodities, and exchanges them with the maritime parts for their corn and other products, as well as great variety of *European* goods, cloths, knives, scissars, razors, rings, beads, bells, and other trinkets, brought thither from *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy*, but more particularly from *Venice* and *Genoa*, whence a good number of merchant ships used to resort to the two famed ports of *Turan*, or *Horan*, and *Marfa Al Kasbir*, till both towns were taken, and the commerce quite obstructed by *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, as will be seen in the sequel, and was not restored till *Barbarossa* made himself master of the *Tremecanian* kingdom, recovered and repaired the maritime and trading towns, and reinvited those merchants to revive their commerce with his new dominions, which their fear of the Christians, and the wars which had raged till then, had so greatly obstructed. We shall not, however, take up our reader's time with a detail and description of those towns,

strength of its walls, the beauty and largeness of the square stone, more like a work of the *Romans*, and probably the *Giza* of *Ptolemy*, who places it in 14 degrees 30 min. of longitude, and 32 degrees 30 min. of latitude.

It is situate, like that spoken of in a former note, in a barren plain, between the desert of *Angab*, and the territory of *Tremecen*, and was formerly well inhabited and garrisoned, having some spacious fields in its neighbourhood, which produced some corn, barley, and other provisions; till being at length taken by *Yussuf*, or *Joseph*, prince of the race of the *Beni Muz*, and the inhabitants expelled, it was some time after reinhabited by a set of religious monks, in great veneration amongst all the

Mohammedans and *Arabs*; inso-much, that neither the princes of *Tremecen*, nor even the plundering *Arabs*, raised any tribute or exactions upon them, on account of the great hospitality they exercised towards all strangers who passed by, whom they liberally entertained during three days, and dismissed without paying any thing. There is a small river passes by this castle, which supplies them, and their fields round about, with a sufficient quantity of water; without which their fields would not produce any thing. As for their houses, they are mere huts, built of earth, and thatched only with leaves. So that the place hath nothing now remarkable left but its antient high walls above-mentioned (5).

(5) *Leo African.* ubi sup. lib. iv. c. 4. *Marmel Afric.* lib. v. c. 5. *Dapper*, *Gleanings*, &c.

because we shall find the most considerable of them still standing and flourishing under the dominion of the *Turks*, when we come to the history of the kingdom of *Algiers*, of which this of *Tremecen* is now but a part, and where they will more properly come under our notice. At present we shall content ourselves with singling out two of the most remarkable ones, viz. that of *Ned Roma*, and that of *Tremecen*, the former called so for its antiquity and likeness to the ancient *Rome*, and the other as being the metropolis of the *Tremecian* kingdom, and the splendid residence of its princes.

NEW ROMA, so called from the *Arabic*, and importing its likeness to that ancient metropolis of the world, and built by its once lordly conquerors, whilst masters of this part of *Africa*, is seated on a large plain, about three leagues from the great *Atlas*, and about four from the *Mediterranean*, much resembling that of *Rome* in its situation; and some very considerable remains of its ancient splendor not only bear still a very remarkable resemblance to that old mistress of the world, but it is the only one in all those parts that hath preserved any of them (the barbarous *Vandals* having, as hath been formerly hinted *, made it one part of their glory to destroy all the ancient monuments of the *Roman* grandeur); on which account we thought the ancient city might well deserve a particular notice in this place. Its walls, which are still standing, and appear high and lofty, built of large square stone, strongly cemented, and reared after the *Roman* style, the remains of sundry other sumptuous edifices, marble colonnades, sepulchres and other monuments with *Roman* inscriptions, though, for the most part, either thrown down and lying in ruins, or terribly defaced, are still so many evidences of its ancient greatness. As to its houses, they appear to have been rebuilt after the coarser *African* style; so that it is likely the old *Roman* ones were destroyed either by the *Vandals* above-mentioned, or during the later wars between the kings of *Tremecen* and those of *Fez* and *Tunis*. The adjacent fields are still very pleasant, fruitful, and well watered by a large river, descending from the great *Atlas*, whose banks on both sides are beautifully shaded with variety of fruit trees, and the neighbouring mountains are likewise covered with various kinds of trees, one of which in particular, called by the ancients *Karobs*, or *Karobies*, bears a fruit of a sweet and pleasant taste, and of which they make a kind of bread, which they eat of all the year round with all their other victuals. They have likewise great plenty of wheat and barley, abound with

* See before, vol. xiv. p. 121, & seq.

excellent pasturage and variety of cattle. They have also a fine sort of cotton growing amongst them, of which they make some of the finest linen in all *Barbary*. Upon the whole, nothing appears more delightful and agreeable and promising than the adjacent parts, and the remains of this old city; nor any thing more shocking and mean than its inside; the entrance and every part of which presents you scarcely with any thing but a parcel of poor tattered buildings, mostly of earth, or at best patched up here and there with some of the square stones of the old city, and a heap of other ruins, some within and others without the walls. We shall only add, that *Ptolemy*, who takes it for the ancient *Balanium*, places it in 12 degrees 10 min. of longitude, and 33 degr. 20 min. of latitude. Both the city and the inhabitants of the adjacent mountains, are of the *Zenctah* tribe, and a branch of the *Zanbaghians* †, they were once stout and warlike, and could bring 25,000 fighting men into the field; but, since their tyrannic subjection under the *Tulks*, are greatly decreased both in number and courage *, and remarkable for little else than their potteries or earthen manufactures; though, from the advantageous situation and richness of their fields and pastures, one would judge, to have been formerly a place of great commerce ‡.

THE capital of this kingdom is the other city we are now City of to describe. It is commonly called, by our modern geographers, *Tremecen*, *Tremesen*, *Tema-en*, or *Tremisen*; but anciently, and according to the true Arabic orthography and pronunciation, *Tlemsan*, or *Telersan*. It is pleasantly situated, about five leagues south-east of the mouth of the *Tefna*, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, supposed by the learned Dr. *Shaw* to be the *Sachratain* of *Edrissi* †, and upon the first ridge of them (for there runs another to the southward) lieth a slip of level ground, that bursts out in every part of it with springs of water, which gradually uniting together into little streams, fall afterwards into a pleasant variety of cascades in their near approach to *Telmsan*. These the author last-quoted supposes to be the springs which form the *Annafrani* of *Edrissi*, they still continuing to run in the same direction, into a stream, which turns a number of mills, as that river is said to have formerly done. There is besides a large source of water in the heart of the city, conveyed thither by a subterranean chanel, from some other place; and the mountains above-mentioned, to the southward of

† MARMOL, LFO, & al. sup. citat * De his, vid. sup. p. 151. sub not. (Y). † MARMOL, & al. ubi sup. vid. & SHAW'S Travels, p. 47. ‡ Ibid. ibid.

Plenty of water. this ridge yield such plenty of water, that there was the less need for *Marmol* to fetch those from the *Fouara* of *Numidia*; this conduit not only yielding a sufficient supply to the city, but being conveyed from the reservoir to the castle, mosques, and other places of resort * (D).

It is not easy to conjecture when or by whom this royal metropolis was first founded; and though we are told that there have been found among its ruins many rows of pillars, and other fragments of *Roman* altars, with inscriptions to the *Dii Manes*, and other *Roman* antiquities, yet most authors are of opinion, that it had but a small beginning, and did not arrive at its zenith of grandeur till after the destruction of that of *Aresgol* by the *Zanbaghians*, in the year of the *Hejra* 410, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Till that time it seems to have been only a small fortress, possessed; if not built, as *Marmol* conjectures, by the *Magarean Zeneti* †. However that be, it was known to the antients by the name of *Tenezi*, and *Ptolemy* places it under the 13th degr. 50 min. of longitude, and the 33d degr. 10 min. of latitude.

THE walls of it, when in their largest extent, according to our learned traveller, were, for the most part, moulded in frames, and appear to have consisted of a peculiar kind of mortar, made up of sand, lime, and small pebbles, so well tempered, that it acquired the hardness and solidity of stone. The several stages and removes of those frames are still observable to the eye, by which some of them appear to have been 100 yards long, and a fathom in height and thickness, by which one may estimate the quantity of mortar made use of

* SHAW, *ibid* p. 48. † MARMOL *Afric. lib. v. c. 11. LEO, lib. iv. c. 10.*

(D) There is likewise on the west end of the city, a large square basin, built, we are told, after the *Moorish* taste, two hundred yards long, and about half as broad, on which, if we believe the tradition which goes current among the inhabitants, the *Tremecenan* kings were wont to take the diversion of the water, and their subjects to learn navigation. But, as *Leo Africanus* rightly observes, the

waters of the *Sacbratain*, which supplies it, being easily turned off their usual course, it is more likely that this basin was originally designed as a reservoir against a siege, fire, or other emergencies, as well as to refresh a great number of beautiful gardens and other plantations below it. *Edrisi* mentions a structure of this kind, where the fountain of *Omojabia* discharges itself (8).

at one time. They were of a considerable height, and strong enough to be reckoned impregnable; at least they proved so far such, as to withstand an obstinate siege of thirty months, in spite of the daily vigorous assaults of the besiegers, under the eye and command of their prince, *Abu'l Hassim*, king of *Fez*, who at length made that fatal breach in it, which occasioned the surrender and ruin of the place, and the death of its valiant prince, as will be seen in the sequel ^b.

TILL that time *Tremecen* was wisely divided into several distinct wards, each of which might be considered as a separate city. They were of an oblong figure like the town, and inclosed with its own high walls, of the same structure and materials, and were of singular use, either to prolong a siege, or prevent any insurrection, and intestine commotions among the citizens; and we are told that there were two of them still standing in the time of *Edrisi* ^c. The rest of them had been demolished by the conqueror, and from the remains of it our author computes the whole compass of the city to have been about four miles ^d. What other considerable damage this noble capital received in its other sumptuous edifices and public buildings, we are left to guess; however, after the decay of the *Benimerinian* family, it began to be repaired and inhabited afresh, insomuch that it soon increased, we are told, to 12,000 families ^e. Its trade and commerce was likewise so well revived, and its merchants and citizens became so wealthy, that the place resumed likewise its pristine grandeur, so far as to vie with the city of *Fez* in almost every thing, but the stateliness of its buildings; so that, in our author's time, there were many noble structures, as mosks, public schools for *Mohammedan* preachers and professors, particularly five colleges, most sumptuously built, some by the kings of *Tremecen*, and others by the kings of *Fez*, with variety of other public buildings, as baths, hot houses, and stately urns, or caravanseras, for the use of the merchants and strangers, and built after the *African* style, unto two of which the *Venetians* and *Genoese* usually resorted. The *Jews* were here likewise very numerous, and vastly rich; but on some discontent, or misdemeanor, they were all at once brought to the lowest state of misery and contempt. This happened soon after the death of king *Abubaddillah*, in the year of the *Hijra* 923; since which time they have never recovered themselves nor their credit ^f. As for the citizens they lived

^b LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, RAMUSIO, & al. *supra* citat.

SHAW, *ubi sup.* p. 48, & seq.

^d *Ibid.* ^e LEO

AFRICAN. & MARMOL, & al.

^f LEO, & al. *ubi sup.*

in great ease and wealth, and have each their trades and occupations in a particular part of the city, as they have in that of *Fex*.

Palace,

suburbs,

WE have already described the noble city walls, and shall only add, that they had four principal stately gates, all beautifully adorned, well fortified, and with spacious houses or rooms for the entertainment of the guards. Without the walls, on the south side of the city, stands the royal palace, built in the manner of a fortress, in which are the lodgings, or apartments, in great number, and of great strength and beauty, each of them adorned with stately gardens and fountains. ~~The~~ place hath two sumptuous gates, the one towards the city, and called *Beb gadit*, the other towards the country, called *Beb el Gied*. The city is likewise surrounded at a small distance with other beautiful villas and houses of pleasure, and great variety of gardens and orchards, where the richer sort of the inhabitants spend great part of the summer, in time of peace. These are also furnished with plenty of water, and stored with all manner of fruit trees, particularly of olive and walnut, from which they make plenty of oil. Vines are there likewise in great plenty, and furnish the people with excellent grapes, which, being dried in the sun, serve them all the year round*. They do the same by their figs and other fruits, and, to close the charming account which our author, an eye witness of what he relates, gives of it, nothing could be more delightful and rare, of all that nature can produce in those warm climates, than what he beheld in the adjacent parts of this opulent metropolis, nor more peaceable and happy than its inhabitants; all which probably continued, if not improved yearly, till the year 1670, which was that of its last fatal overthrow, when *Muley Hassan*, the Bey of *Algiers*, having taken a dislike to the inhabitants, on account of their disaffection to him, reduced the greatest part of it into ruins; so that there was not the sixth part of it left remaining when our learned traveller visited those parts about *an. 1526*^b.

*and the
king's
court, as
described*

BEFORE we take our leave of this metropolis, it will not be displeasing to our readers to give a small sketch of its court, and of the surprising state which the *Tremecenian* princes took upon them, when in the height of their grandeur and prosperity; and though most of them were but mere upstarts, in comparison, yet they affected, when they could reach it, the pomp and grandeur of the greatest eastern monarchs; ~~one~~

* MARMOL, LEO, & al. sup. citat.
SHAW, ubi sup.

^b LEO, ubi sup.

instance of which, among the rest, was, that none of their subjects are ever allowed to speak to them, or to appear in their presence, except their prime ministers, nobles, and officers of their court, and that in a manner suitable to each of their respective dignities, as every such was suited to their rank and nobility. The first of these was of the lord-lieutenant or prime minister, who had the disposing of all the inferior ones, the command of the army, and frequently led them into the field, and against the enemy. Next to him was the chief secretary of state, who minuted and recorded all things appertaining to the king. The next in rank, was his high-treasurer, who receives his revenues and ~~taxes~~. The next was his lord almoner, or dispensator, who bestows such liberalities as the king chuses to grant. The fifth officer is the captain of his guard, who, as often as any nobles are admitted into the presence, conducts the guard to the palace gate. We omit the rest as not worth a particular mention, such as the master of the horse, or, as he is there styled, the overseer of the saddle and stirrups; the lord chamberlain, who only attends whenever the king gives audience, &c.

*Officers of
the court.*

THE ROYAL revenue, which chiefly arises from the imports and exports from and to the city of *Auran*, where the principal custom-house was, did not then amount to above six hundred thousand crowns yearly; the one moiety thereof was appropriated to the maintenance of his forces, and the other to that of his household; and if there arose any overplus from either, it was laid up to defray the exigencies of war. However, it is plain, that they had not attained the art of improving so beneficial a branch of their revenue; and the *Turks*, since their becoming masters of this kingdom, have greatly increased it, even after the taking of that commodious port from them by the *Spaniards*, by removing the commerce of it to the capital of *Algiers*, this last being no less advantageously situate for trade, both to and from *Europe* and *Africa*, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter, and hath swarmed with pirates from both coasts ever since. The *Tremecenian* kings had likewise a considerable trade with the inland, which the *Turks* have taken great care to improve; the misfortune was, the *Numidians*, who carried it on with them, being of such insatiable avarice, that they could scarcely be brought to any equitable terms*.

Commerce.

* MARMOI, & al. ubi sup.

UPON the whole, those kings in general affected to imitate, if not to vie with, those of *Fez*, of whom we shall give an account in a subsequent chapter, in the splendor and ordering of their court. There is however one remarkable singularity, which our author observed amongst them; that whenever he that was then on the throne appeared in public, or went abroad, it was always not only with a less numerous and splendid retinue than the former, but in such a plain and ordinary dress, that he was hardly to be distinguished from a common captain in time of war; and when he travels, from any of his attendants.

Tremec- **THEY** used to stamp a gold coin of baser alloy, though of
nian coin. a larger size, and of about the value of an *Italian* ducat and a quarter^k.

*History
and origin
of the
kingdom of
Tremec-*
cen.

WE shall conclude this section with such a sketch of the history of this kingdom as we have been able to collect from the authors quoted hitherto in the margin. We have already taken notice that it was known to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, under the name of *Temisi*, and was a part of the *Mauritania Cæsariana*, which they had subdued. After the decline of their empire, it may be reasonably supposed that it underwent the same fate with the other parts of *Barbary*, that is, groaned like them for a long while under the tyranny of the *Arabian Khalifs*, and their *Cheyks*, though how long is hard to determine; till their yoke becoming intolerable everywhere, they were forced to shake it off, and to form, like the rest, a new government, or dynasty, of their own, from which sprang that vast number and variety, which flourished in their turns, not only in the several parts of *Barbary*, but of all this northern part of *Africa*, as far as *Nubia*, *Libyu*, *Numidia*, &c. as hath been frequently shewn through the course of this chapter.

Gr ot **ACCORDINGLY** those of *Telensine*, or *Tremecen*, who were
Bar's and of the tribe of the *Zeneti*, or the branch of the *Magrawas*, or
splendor of *Magroas*, formerly spoken of, became the first founder of this
its kings. government. They called themselves *Beni Abd'ulguad*, and were esteemed the most antient and considerable of all the *Barbary* princes, living in the greatest magnificence and splendor, and keeping the most superb court, and state above all the rest. Their successors, as hath been lately hinted, being chosen from among the highest nobility, affected to make the most pompous appearance, and have had regiments

ⁱ LEO AFRIC. ubi sup. c. 2.
LEO, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

^k ALDRETTI Ant. ubi sup.

of cavalry under them for their retinue, and all likewise sumptuously mounted and habited, even vastly above their estate and income. The prince's revenue, in spite of all their great show and state, was so small at first, that that of three whole years was scarce sufficient to maintain war one whole twelve-month; which obliged them to have recourse to the expedient of, having not only their gold coin of a baser alloy, but their silver also, as occasion required. They found means, however, to augment it by degrees, as well by the taxes they levied on their subjects, as by their commerce both with *Europeans* and *Africans*; and, by custom, imposts, and exactions, to become very wealthy and powerful, and to hold the reins of that kingdom during the space of three hundred years, without any considerable alteration, excepting now-and-then some wars with their neighbours, but more particularly in time by the upstart *Almoravides* and *Almohedes* successively, both which, in their turns, either reduced them, or contented themselves to keep them under tribute, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter. Yet under all these disasters, they seldom failed of recovering their liberty, and putting themselves again in *statu quo*.

One of the most remarkable of these revolutions happened in the time of one *Ghamrazen*, or, as others call him, *Gama-zen*, a man of valour, of the family of the *Beni-zeiens*, who headed a revolt against the *Almohedes*, towards the decline of their government, and recovered the kingdom of *Tremecen* out of their hands, and left it to a series of successors, who took upon them the new name of *Beni-zeiens*, instead of the old one of *Abd'allades*, and reigned there during the space of near 380 years, according to *Leo* and *Grammay* *, but of only 160 according to *Marmol*. However, they were forced, during the latter end of that interval, to sustain several very fierce wars from the kings of *Fez*, who had once driven them out of the greatest part of their dominions, making some tributary, obliging others to flee for refuge among the barren and inhospitable mountains, and holding the rest under a severe subjection. They were no less harrassed by the kings of *Tunis*, under whom they fought several unsuccessful battles, and endured many obstinate sieges in their capital and other fortresses, besides other dreadful ravages they committed in their frequent incursions.

BUT the most dreadful siege this capital of *Tremecen* underwent was under *Yusef* king of *Fez*, which lasted seven

Becomes
rich and
powerful
by com-
merce.

Reduced
by the Al-
moravides
and Al-
mohedes.

Ghamrazen
recovers the
crown.

Tremecen
besieged by

the king of whole years successively ; that prince having built a strong fort
Fez, on the east side of the town, and reduced it to such distress and
want, that the citizens began to labour under an intolerable
famine. Upon this they all agreed to apply to the king
in a body, and, in the most pathetic terms, to beseech him to
have compassion on their distress, and not to deliver them up
to the dreadful effects of a general assault, after having suf-
fained this obstinate siege in his defence. The king, who was
then at supper upon a piece of horse flesh, stewed with barley,
admitted them to his presence, and pointing to his homely fare,
plainly shewed them how little better his condition was than
that of the meanest of them. This allayed their clamours for
the present ; quickly after which, having called them toge-
ther to an assembly, he exhorted them in the strongest terms,
to consider how much more noble and glorious it was to die
sword in hand, in defence of one's own country, than to
submit to a life of the basest and most ignominious slavery ?
This alternative the generous prince displayed in such lively
and affecting colours, that they unanimously resolved to fall
out upon the enemy, with a becoming bravery, on the next
day, and either conquer or die. This noble resolution was
immediately put in execution, and all proper preparations
were made with all possible diligence, against the next day,
who is which they all now waited impatiently for. However, before
murdered the wished-for morning appeared, they were surprized
by one of with the sudden news of a more effectual deliverance, as
his own well as more suitable to their singular bravery, beyond
subjects ; what their most sanguine wishes could have surmised or
expected. The *Fezian* king was murdered that very
night by one of his own subjects ; the news of which being
brought to the city, inspired the king and its citizens with
fresh courage ; upon which they followed him out of the
gates, and fell upon the enemy's camp, then in the utmost
confusion and disorder, with the utmost fury and resentment,
which oc- killed vast numbers, and totally dispersed the rest, who left
casions the their camp with all its plenty and variety of provisions, as
total de- well as immense store of other rich plunder, behind, as a
feat of his spoil to the starved *Tremecunians*, and a due reward of their
army. singular bravery and constancy ; and the wealth they found
in their camp helped to repair in a great measure the damages
which they had received during that long and dreadful
siege †.

† LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAR, & al. plur.

ABOUT forty years after, *Abu'l Hassan*, the fourth king of *Is b. f. g. d* *Fez*, of the *Marinian* family, built a fortress within two and taken miles westward of *Tremecen*, after which he began that long by *Abu'l* thirty months siege, lately mentioned, making daily some *Hassan*, fresh and obstinate assaults, and every night erecting new forts against it; so that, at length, the *Fezians* made a sufficient breach to scale and enter the place; and having made themselves masters of the *Tremecenian* king, carried him captive to *Fez*, where he was quickly after murdered, and his body cast among the common filth of the city, by order of his *King of* inhuman conqueror †. *Treme-*
cen basely
murdered.

~~They~~ did not, however, prevent the *Tremecenia's* crown continuing in the same family about 120 years, without any considerable alteration, excepting that they were constrained for a short space to become tributary to *Abu-Ferez*, king of *Tunis*, and to his son *Hutman*; but the tribute was withdrawn on the demise of the latter. They continued in the quiet possession of their dominions, and of a most advantageous commerce with the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, who yearly resorted with their merchant-ships to the two considerable sea port towns of *Auran* and *Marsaelquebir*, till the time of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, in the reign of *Abu-Chemen*; upon which the *Tremecenians* rebelled, and drove him out of his dominions. This last was no better than an usurper, who had revolted from his uncle *Abu-zeijen*, and kept him confined several years; but, upon the expulsion of the traitor, he was again restored to the crown. He did not, however, enjoy his kingdom long before he was slain by the *Turkish* pirate *Barbarossa*, who had, by this time, made himself master of this kingdom, as we shall see more fully in our history of *Algiers*; upon which *Abu-Chemen* resolved to make a second effort to wrest it out of his hands. But as he had neither power nor interest sufficient for such a bold enterprise, he applied to the emperor *Charles V.* for assistance; offering to become his vassal and tributary, and to entail the same tribute on his successors, from the moment he had acquired the quiet subjection on his possession of it. The emperor easily listened to this proposal, and furnished him with men and money for that purpose, so that he was soon put in a condition to attack *Barbarossa*, and to drive him out of his new conquest; after which he severely revenged himself on such of the *Tremecenians* who had been accessory to his expulsion. He likewise gratified the *Spanish* soldiers who had assisted him, and sent their officers

† LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, ALDRETTI, & al.

home laden with tokens of his gratitude and generosity, and allowed the emperor a large yearly revenue, as long as he lived. But after his death, his brother *Abd'alla*, who succeeded him, relying on the power and friendship of the *Turkish* Sultan, *Soleyman*, then on the throne, refused to continue that tribute any longer ; and kept quiet possession of it till the year 1526, when it was again reconquered by the *Turkish Algerines*, and has continued in their hands ever since, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

C H A P. II.

The Modern History of Morocco and Fez.

THESE two kingdoms, which now compose one empire, were once part of the ancient *Mauritania*, described in a former part of this work ^a, and are situate on the most western borders of *Barbary*, being bounded on that side by the ocean, on the east by the river *Muluya*, which parts it from *Algiers*, on the north by the *Mediterranean*, and on the south by the great *Atlas*, or rather by the river *Sus*, which divides *Morocco* from the province of *Darbas*, and by part of the kingdom of *Tafilet*. The whole empire extends itself from 28 to 36 degrees of north latitude, and from the 4th to the 9th degree of west longitude from *London*. Its greatest length is from the north-east to the south-west, amounting to above 590 miles (A), but in breadth not much above 260, according to the most recent observations, where broadest, but not above half of that where narrowest.

EACH of these kingdoms retains still its old name, though the empire and emperors are chiefly called by that of *Morocco*, or, as the *Spaniards* write it, *Marruecos*, as the most considerable of the two. Each of them is likewise divided into inferior provinces, of which *Morocco* contains seven; viz. *Hea*, *Sus*, *Gefula*, *Morocco* proper, *Ducala*, *Esiura*, and *Telda*; and that of *Fez* seven more; viz. *Azgar*, *Chaus*, *Errif*, *Fez* proper, *Garet*, *Hazbat*, and *Temesine* ^b. Some only divide the whole empire into three principal provinces; viz. *Morocco*,

^a Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 173, & seq. ^b Vid. J. EO AFRIC. l. ii. c. 1, & seq. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 2, & seq. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 1, & seq. DAVITY, DAPPER, BAUDRAND, & al.

(A) This length is variously taken and reckoned; we have computed ours from the two most opposite points, in a transverse line, from N. E. to S. W. That is, either from *Cape Forcas*, or rather from the mouth of the river *Muluya*, to that of the river *Sus*; whereas, taking it in a direct line from north to south, it will be found to be little more than 500 miles. The breadth we likewise compute from mount *Miatbir*, near the spring-head of the *Muluya* above-mentioned, on the *Algerine* side, to the mouth of the *Ommirabi*, near the seaport of *Azamor*, where it extends itself from east to west almost six degrees (1).

(1) Concerning these limits the reader may collect the different reports from the authors above quoted, compared with the map hereunto annexed.

Fez, and *Sus*; and others again enlarge its boundaries beyond the last named province southward, as far as the river *Niger*, which would give it near 1200 miles in length from north to south; but if any of the Sharifs of *Morocco* ever extended their dominions so far, all that lies beyond the river *Sus* is so desart and barren, that it hardly deserves being looked upon as part of that empire; especially as it is inhabited chiefly by wandering *Arabs*, who acknowledge no submission to any but their own *Cheyks* ^c.

Climate.

THE climate is every-where hot, and much more so as it extends itself more to the south, yet is generally healthier than those of *Algiers* or *Tunis*, being pleasantly diversified and moderated by mountains and plains, and cooled by the sea breezes, which fan it, especially on the west, from the *Atlantic* ocean; so that it is reckoned much more temperate than one would imagine it from its situation. The great mount *Atlas*, which surrounds it on the south like a crescent, hath its tops covered with snow a great part of the year; and even in the vallies it freezes sometimes very hard in the night, during the winter months, but the next day's sun commonly melts it away; so that there is scarcely any to be seen by noon-tide. Their rainy season usually begins about *October*; and if it continue too long in the summer, it seldom fails of producing some pestilential fevers: the north west winds likewise, which begin to blow about *March*, prove sometimes so sharp and violent, as to affect the lungs, nerves, and limbs, as well as their fruits, and other products of the earl^y. In other respects they enjoy a clear and serene sky, and wholesome air, as they have but very few woods to stagnate it; and those they have, are in some measure destitute of timber trees. The country in general is well watered with springs, and very considerable rivers; most of the latter have their source on mount *Atlas*, and empty themselves either in the *Atlantic* ocean, or in the *Mediterranean*, after a course and windings of some hundreds of miles ^d. Those mountains likewise abound in mines of sundry metals, especially copper, breed vast quantities of cattle both small and great, as well as of horses, mules, and asses, all useful in their kinds.

Short frosts.

Scarcity of timber.

Abundance of springs and rivers.

Famed for horses, and horsemen.

THIS country hath been always famous for its horses; which, though inferior in size, make up that defect by their fine shape, fleetness, and particularly by their peculiar docility. The inhabitants have been no less celebrated for their dexterity in breaking, training, and riding of them, ever since the time of the *Romans* [†]; and even to this day are al-

^c Vid. auct. sup. citat.

^d Ibidem, ibid.

[†] Anc. Hist. vol.

xviii. p. 198.

lowed to excell all nations, and to be, in some measure, imitable in both. They have two other creatures which are extremely useful to them, and well suited to those climates; *Excellents camels.* the one for speed, viz. their dromedaries, of which we have spoken in some of the foregoing chapters; and the other for burden, and for long journeys over those dry and barren deserts, through which they are forced to travel in their caravans to *Egypt, Arabia, Libya*, and other countries; viz. their camels, a creature seemingly designed by Providence for those climates, and with which this country abounds more than any other in *Africa*, and which, we are told*, vastly exceed those of *Asia*; for they will not only travel ten or more days without water, but without any other sustenance than what each part of their bodies contributes to their preservation; so that in such cases their bunches will be first observed to decrease, next to that their bellies, and lastly their hinder parts; by which they become at length so feeble and emaciated, that they will sink under a load of 100 weight; whereas they could carry one of above 800 or 900 at their first setting out, and would continue so to do, if supported with sufficient nourishment, to the end of their journey (B).

THE lands in general, both upper and lower, are so good, *Good soil* that, if they were cultivated with more industry, they might be made to yield most of the products of other parts of the world, and in as great plenty. *if better improved.* But that is not to be expected in a country which groans under such a tyrannic government. They are commonly computed to be capable of producing 100 times more than the inhabitants consume, and, where duly cultivated, will yield two or three crops in a year; yet lie waste and without a proprietor every-where, except about three or four leagues about their towns and cities, thro' the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent inroads of the plundering *Arabs*. The northern parts, however, are most productive of corn, oil, wine, fruits of all sorts, wax, honey, silk, and the finest wool; and the southern of dates, sugar, cotton, indigo, variety of gums, ginger, &c. f.

* De his, vid. LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. p. 290, & seq. f Idem, ibid.

(B) The greatest part of these, as well as the fine horses, are bred by the *Arabs*, who live altogether upon those wild uncultivated mountains; and having fitted them for use and service, sell them to the townsmen, or exchange them for other commodities with the *Jews* and other traders, from which they are transported into other countries, and are commonly known by the name of *Barbary* horses (2).

(2) *Leo Afric. l. ix. vid. & Grammay, Sanus. Marmol, & al. ubi sup.*

THE

Various
inhabi-
tants.
Old na-
tives.

Arabs.

Moors.

Jews.

Renega-
does.

Ill treated
by the na-
tives.

Slaves.

THE inhabitants of this empire are, like those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, a mixture of, 1. *Berber*s, or, as they style themselves, the antient natives, who still follow their old customs, language, and poor way of living in huts on the mountainous parts, for the sake of enjoying their liberty; so that these have never been entirely subdued. 2. *Arabs*, who are here also of the wandering kind, and range from place to place with their numberless herds, cultivate the plains, sow corn and other grain on the most fruitful spots, and whose chiefest wealth consists in their cattle, horses, and grain. These are no less impatient of all foreign yoke; and, though they pay under a kind of tribute, live under *Cheyks* of their own race and chusing. Some of their tribes there are, however, who live rather upon plunder than industry, and cannot be easily suppressed, as they commonly live in some of the most inaccessible parts, from which they make their excursions on the low lands, and against the caravans and other travellers. 3. The *Moors*, who are mostly the descendants of those who were driven out of *Spain*; and, though poor and oppressed, are very numerous, especially along the sea-coasts, though they have no trading vessels of their own, nor drive any immediate commerce with foreign nations. These are reckoned covetous and superstitious to a great degree, great cheats, jealous, vindictive, and treacherous, yet inferior to, 4. The *Jews*, in craftiness and villainy. These likewise are, for the most part, such as were obliged to flee out of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and, though the greatest rogues under the sun, are yet suffered to be the chief traders, factors, minters, and bankers, in the realm; and by their fraudulent ways and impositions, make themselves ample amends for the grievous taxes and imposts with which they are loaded. But the worst of all are, 5. The renegadoes, who, though not so numerous in these parts as in *Algiers* and *Tunis*, yet make a distinct class of people, though hardly less detested by the rest of the inhabitants, than they are by the Christians; and for that reason, though not employed like the slaves in the lowest and vilest works, yet are not exempt from hard service, such as the guarding the gates of the royal palaces and fortified places, and such other employments as they are fit for. Some of them are likewise distributed among the governors of the provinces, to be by them made use of as occasion offers. We are even told by *M. St. Olan*, that, in time of war, they place them in great numbers at the front of the battle, where they run the risk of being cut in pieces if they are observed to flinch. 6. The slaves make another considerable class, being here very numerous, and much more inhumanly treated than those of *Tunis* or *Algiers*, whose thralldom and misery, hard as it is,

conditions it may be justly said, that bad is the very best, but the worst hath nothing equal to it on this side hell.

The negroes make the greatest figure.

BUT there is still another nation whom we have not yet mentioned; viz. another race of *Moors*, which is the only one that bears the greatest sway, and makes the noblest figure in all those dominions, especially ever since *Muley Ishmael* obtained the government of them, though in all respects they are no less exposed to that tyrannic government, and even more to the avarice, jealousy, and cruelty of a sovereign, merely on account of the wealth and privileges they enjoy under him. A danger which the rest can more effectually ward off, by concealing the little they have, and letting nothing appear among them but poverty and misery ^b.

Rivers.

WE have formerly given some account of the principal rivers of this country, and endeavoured, notwithstanding the variety of names by which some of them are called by antient geographers, to ascertain their correspondence with their modern ones ⁱ; and shall now only supply what is wanting there in the descriptions, or omitted in the enumeration of them. We begin with the *Mulwoyah*, *Molucha*, *Mukwia*, by *Marmol*, *Mukwia*, but more properly *Mulloo-yah*, which divides the kingdom of *Fez* from that of *Algiers*. It springs from the foot of mount *Atlas*, in the province of *Cbaus*, runs through the desert of it, and between those of *Garret* and *Angued*. Then winding round the mountain of the *Benizeti*, falls into the *Mediterranean*, near the town of *Cassaca* ^k. *Taga*, by the antients *Taluda*, *Tamuda*, and *Tamula*, springs from the same mount, and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*, but much nearer to the straits of *Gibraltar*, to the eastward of the promontory of *Gebba*. These two are the only ones of note that fall into that sea; and the last is only remarkable for a city of its name built on the banks of it, and supposed by *Dupin* to be the *Tanudajensis Episcopatus*, under the jurisdiction of *Carthage*.

Mulloo-yah.

Taga.

^b LEO AFRICAN. l. ix. p. 190, & seq. vid. & Hist. of Morocco, 1750, p. 363, & seq. ⁱ And Hist. vol. xviii. p. 183, & seq.

^k MARMOL, lib. iv. c. 96. LEO, lib. ix. DAVITY, D'AFPER, & al.

makes them extremely jealous of them, and use them with the utmost cruelty, upon the least occasion. They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but know no more of it than what their *Afakis* are pleased to teach them, which amounts to much, seeing these are for the most part ignorant of it (3).

THOSE that fall into the *Atlantic* are the *Sebou*, or *Cebu*, *Cebu*, *Sebou*, or *Subro*, which runs from mount *Atlas* through the provinces of *Fez* and *Asgar*, and in its course cuts its way thro' *Subro*, two steep rocks of a prodigious height, near the mountain of *Beni-yazga*, and falls into that sea near *Mamor*, a city destroyed by *Almanzor*, about twenty miles north of *Salée*. The method which the mountaineers have to convey themselves from one side of this dreadful chasm to the other, is no less singular than hazardous, which is by seating themselves in a strong basket, big enough to hold about ten people, and runs by a pulley along a stout cable, which is fastened at both ends to two beams fixed in the rock, and is drawn by the people on the opposite side; so that, if the basket or any of the tackle chance to break, as it hath sometimes done, by the weight of the passengers, they fall into the river from a height of above 1500 fathom¹. This river, which *Marmol* styles the largest in all *Mauritania*, abounds with most excellent fish, the farm of which brings in to the emperor above twenty thousand ducats^m.

Dreadful way of going over it.

THE next in rank is the *Ommirabih*, or *Ammiralea*, commonly *Marbea*, and *Umarabea*. It hath its spring-head on mount *rabih*, *al-Magrau*, one of the heads of the *Atlas*, in the province of *Marbea*. *Tedlez*, near the confines of *Fez*, whence it runs through the plains of *Adachson*, through sundry strait vallies, in one of which it hath a beautiful bridge built by *Abu'l Hafchen*, the fourth monarch of the branch of the *Beni-merini*; thence winding southward, it waters the spacious plains between *Dukala* and *Temesena*, after having received the *Dernu* and *Niger*, as *Marmol* calls it, or, according to *Leo* and *Sanson*, the *Quadel* or *Huedel-abid*, that is the *River of Servants*; from thence it widens considerably in its approach to the ocean, into which it discharges itself, and forms a capacious bay, on the east side of *Azamor*. This river is fordable neither in summer nor winter, so that the inhabitants are forced to ferry their effects over by the help of baskets, fastened to leathern pontons, or over rafters. Its fish furnishes not only all that country, but even *Spain* and *Portugal*ⁿ.

THE *Tenist* is deep and large, and springing from the heights of the *Atlas*, near the town of *Animmey*, or rather *Hannimay*, runs through the provinces of *Morocco* and *Dukala*, and enters the ocean near the port of *Saffi*. It receives a considerable number of other rivers in its course, the most noted of which, are the *Gisfelmel Agmed*, and *Hued Nejus*, or *Neffis*, which have their spring near the

Tenist,

¹ LEO, l. ix. MARMOL, l. iv c. 127. & al. ^m MARMOL, ibid. c. 22. ⁿ Id. ibid. DAVITY, DAPHER, BOULET, & al.

*Its stately
bridge.*

same mountain; and, having watered the fertile plains of *Morocco*, fall into the *Teniff*. This last, though, for the most part, very deep, is yet fordable in many places, during the summer season, and hath, in the neighbourhood of *Morocco*, a most stately stone bridge, of fifteen arches, built by the great *Almanzor*, which is justly esteemed one of the noblest structures in all *Africa*. But three of these arches have been demolished by *Abu Dubu*, one of the last kings of the *Almohede* race, to prevent his rival following him over it, and have never been rebuilt since. The *Teniff* parts the provinces of *Dukala* and *Hca*, and is supposed to be the *Pharos* of *Ptolemy*, who places the city of *Asama* at the mouth of it*.

The Sus.

THE last river of note in this empire is the *Sus*, which gives its name to the province which it waters in its course from the *Atlas* to the *Atlantic* ocean, and is the southern boundary which divides it from the province of *Darha*. This river is very large, and is, by the inhabitants, cut into a vast number of chanel, which renders the province one of the most fruitful, though the most southern, of all. Each side of its banks is variegated with rich corn and pasture lands, gardens and orchards; it turns a great number of sugar mills, so that the inhabitants of this province, who are chiefly *Berebers*, of the tribe of *Musamada*, are very numerous and wealthy, and live much more comfortably than those of *Hca*, especially those who live in the towns, and are employed in the sugar manufacture. Most geographers take the *Sus* to be the *Una* of *Ptolemy*, who places it in the 5th degr. of longitude, and 28 degr. 30 min. of latitude. It is commonly full and rapid, and often overflows the low lands in winter, but in summer is both shallow and narrow†.

*Filed
Agued.*

BESIDES these six principal rivers, there is a prodigious number of others that fall into them, some of which are also cut into variety of chanel, and greatly enrich the lands on both sides, but have nothing else remarkable, if we except that of *Hued Agmed*, which hath its fountain-head on the mountain of its name, and whose water is always clear. It waters the fertile territory of the city of its name, once the capital and seat of the empire, and about eight leagues east of the city of *Morocco*. It runs through some vast fertile tracts, quite to that metropolis, upon which it sinks under-ground for some space, and then rises again, and falls at last into the *Teniff*‡.

* Vid. *auſt. ſup. citat.* † LEO, l. ii & ix. MARMOL, l. iiii.

c. 20. DAVITY, DAPPER, & GRAMMAY, lib. ix. c. 2, & ſeq.

‡ *Ibid. GRAMMAY*, lib. ix. c. 2.

WITH regard to the mountains of this empire, we have *Moun-* already observed that the great *Atlas* surrounds it on the *tains*. south, in the form of a crescent, and divides its dominions from the province of *Darab*, or, in a larger sense, divides *Barbary* from *Biledulgerid*. This large chain, which stretches itself from west to east, that is from the city of *Messa* on the *Atlantic* ocean, in 9 degr. 30 min. of west longitude, and 30 degr. 15 min. of latitude, quite across *Barbary*, to mount *Meys*, in the desert of *Barca*, about 80 leagues west of *Alexandria*, is called by the natives *Ayduacal*, but changes its name often, according to the multitude of territories it runs through, and the vast chasms of plains and vallies that intersect it, in the same manner as the *Pyrenees*, *Alps*, *Apennines*, and many other ridges of that kind, are found to do, though they bear one general name. This we are upon is called *Great and* great *Atlas*, to distinguish it from the little one, which is another ridge that extends itself along the *Barbary* coasts, from the straits of *Gibraltar* quite to the district of *Bona*, in the kingdom of *Algiers*, and is, by the natives, called *Erriff*. Both chains being of such a vast height, and, for the most part of the year, so covered with snow, as to be seen at a vast distance off at sea, are called by the *Spaniards* *Montes Claros*, or *Bright Mountains*, and by the natives, formerly, *Dyris*, and *Adyris*, according to *Strabo*, who hath probably given that *Greek* termination to the *Phœnician* *Dyrim* and *Adyrim*, which, in that language, signifies any thing that is mighty.

THE great *Atlas*, though running through so warm a climate, that is, almost under the 30th degree of latitude, is, nevertheless, in many parts, uninhabitable, either through their extreme height and coldness, their ruggedness and inaccessibility, or the vast forests which cover the eminences, and shade and darken the vallies below, from which such a vast number of springs and rivers flow from them. The highest and most difficult of access are those which run along the confines of the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and the coldest those that extend themselves along those of *Morocco*. As to the generality of the rest, they enjoy a much kinder climate, and are not only inhabited by the various tribes of *Berebers*, *Arabs*, and other *African* people, but, in many places, well cultivated and fertilized, and a number of towns and villages dispersed in them, and well inhabited, and stored with abundance of cattle: though in many of these they are obliged not only to retire into their vast caverns all the winter season, which is

*Great and
little At-
las.*

*Some parts
of the
great At-
las unin-
habitable.*

*Others
populous
and well
cultivat-
ed.*

*Men and
cattle live*

* *TORRES* Hist. of the *Sharifs*. * *Geogr.* l. xvii. * See
BOCHAR & *Phaleg*. l. ii. c. 13. *SHAW*'s *Travels*, p. 7.

in caverns there very long, but to take with them in all their numerous herds, which would otherwise perish with excessive cold, and deep snows, as well as those who were left to take care of them (E). But as soon as the snows begin to melt, these mountains yield such plenty of herbage, besides good barley and other grain, that they appear quite covered again with men and cattle, all severally expressing their joy at their return to a kind of new life, and the all-reviving summer season. For in all these parts they can hardly be said to have any more than these two, the former of which, and a most dismal one it must be supposed to be, begins about *October*, at which time the snows begin to fall, and force them into their gloomy retreats till the month of *April*, when the other begins; and, by a gradual thaw, discovers the grass, barley, and other herbage, which had grown up under the snow, in their most delightful verdure, and ready to raise into a stalk, as fast as the warmth of the weather comes on. Some of the inhabitants are even so industrious, as to form terraces on the declivity of the bare rocks, and to build a kind of wall on the bottom, to prevent the earth being washed away.

The branches of the Atlas in this empire. As the several branches or parts of this great chain are more or less dispersed through all the fourteen provinces of this empire, as well as through the kingdoms of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly*; and we have, in these three last, given an

LEO AFRICAN. l. i. GRAMMAY, l. i. c. 2. MARMOL, l. i. c. 7, & 8. SANUT. DAVITY, DAPPER, SHAW'S Travels, p. 18. & alib. pass.

(E) The snow falls so thick, in the vallies especially, that their houses, or rather huts, will be covered with it in one night, so that, by the next morning, they are obliged to set all hands to work, to sweep or shovel it in heaps, to open a way out. And there is a long and narrow streight near the town of *Agme*, through which the caravans from *Numidia* pass into *Barbary*, with their camels laden with dates, about the month of *October*, where the snow sometimes falls above a rod deep, in one night, and overwhelms both man and beast.

The most considerable rivers that spring from mount *Atlas*, are the 1. *Seni*. 2. *Teniff*. 3. *Teccewin*. 4. *Hued el Abid*. 5. *Burregreg*. 6. *Bekth*. 7. *Subu*. 8. *Lucus*. 9. *Meluk*. 10. *Melucan*. 11. *Mulid*. 12. *Zoz*. 13. *Kelcf*. 14. *Mina*. 15. *Hued el Quibir*. 16. *Hued el Taer*. 17. *Suf-Jema*. 18. *Yadek*. 19. *Hued el Barb*. 20. *Megerad*. 21. *Megerad*. 22. *Mafsi*, besides a much greater number of others that fall into them (4).

(4) Sanut. Intr. Leo Afr. lib. i. Marmol, lib. i. c. 7, & 8. Davity, Dapper, & al.

account of the most remarkable of them; so we hope the reader will not be displeased if we do the same, in a few words, in this chapter, both with regard to the mountains themselves and their inhabitants. We have already taken notice of those wild ones that inhabit the mountainous parts of the province of *Hea*, who prefer a plundering wretched life to industry; and though those are not the only mountaineers who do so, yet there are a much greater number of a different character, especially among the antient *Berebers*, about whose lofty habitations we find plenty of the necessaries of life produced by their labour. Such is the mountain called *Beni Mager*, so called from the vast numbers of pines, cedars, and jubee trees, which grow upon it, but which, by the industry of its inhabitants, produces great quantities of corn and barley, and other necessaries of life. This mountain, which is in the province of *Dukela*, hath a lake at the foot of it, filled with the greatest variety of fish ^w. That of *Morocco* hath no less than eight such mountains, whose inhabitants are equally fit for the sword and the plough, and abound with grain, fruits, cattle, and pasture grounds. The chief is called *Deren-de*. *Deren-deren*, whose inhabitants were with great difficulty subdued by the *Sharifs*, though headed by a young heroine, who behaved with surprising valour and conduct. The mountain of *Zalag*, or *Selig*, in the province of *Fez proper*, and near the capital of it, is covered with vines, which yield excellent grapes, and so pleasant, that many of its citizens have their country seats upon it. That of *Zarhon*, or *Zaranhun*, resembles a kind of forest, from the prodigious quantities of olive and other fruit-trees that grow upon it. The inhabitants are martial and stout, and the women handsome and polite. There is an old castle upon it, which they pretend to have been built by *Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, who pursued *Moses* in his flight, quite to these parts; but which is more *cashtë* likely to have been the work of the *Goths*.

The mountain of *Aaron*, in the province of *Habat*, is mostly inhabited by *Berebers*, who are famed for their valour and indefatigable industry, and are accounted the best soldiers in all *Barbary*, but are, on that very account, so heavily loaded with taxes, that they can just barely live by their labour. The *Sharifs* allow them neither guns nor horses; but if they are obliged to it, on some particular occasions, they take both away from them as soon as the campaign is over. They are reckoned about 10,000, all fit to bear arms.

^w LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, &c.

Beni-zeker.
Their
traffic.

Hued-Idris.

Oriegan
 and Beni
 Manzor.

Quizna
 and Teuzin.

Zeneguas,
 a cruel
 tribe.

Silver
 mines.

*A super-
 stitious
 folly.*

THE next to it, called *Beni-zeker*, is still larger, and contains about 15,000 men fit to bear arms. But these are richer, and drive a good trade in honey, wax, and hides, which they exchange for wheat and barley, which are here very scarce: *Amegara*, in the same province of *Habat*, though covered with timber-trees fit for shipping, doth yet produce great quantities of corn and wine. And that of *Hued-Idris*, called also *Guadix* and *Vatres*, situate between *Seuta* and *Tangier*, is inhabited by such warlike people, that the kings of *Granada* chose them above all others for their guards. And it was on this mountain that the celebrated African warrior *Puhulul* was born, whose memory ~~is still~~ is still held in the highest veneration. The province of *Erif* hath above 24 of these spacious mountains, though not equally fertile and populous. That of *Beni Oriegan* is covered with vines, cedar-trees for building of galleys, olive and other fruit-trees. The women are arrant sluts, and very lewd, and their husbands no less jealous and vindictive. That of *Beni Manzor*, contiguous to it on the east side, is of a larger extent, but nothing near so fertile. The inhabitants gather scarce any thing besides a little barley and millet, which are their chief food; but hold a yearly fair for the bringing of other provision to them.

THE province of *Guaret* hath, among others of less note, those of *Quizna*, or *Teuzin*, and *Guadan*; the former inhabited by *Barbers*, and the latter by *Arabs*; both of them rich and warlike, and enjoying, by means of some small tribute, a greater share of liberty and politeness than any in the empire. Those of the province of *Cutz*, or *Claus*, about fifteen in number, spread themselves above 35 leagues from east to west, and about 14 from north to south, and are inhabited by *Zeneguas*, a different tribe of *Berebers*, stout and valiant indeed, but fierce and cruel, who put all to death that fall into their hands, and to whom the *Arabs* are forced to pay a tribute, to avoid their fury. Some of these mountains have mines of silver; but those barbarians chuse rather to get that metal ready coined out of the pockets of travellers, than to dig it out of the bowels of the earth. That of *Mont-lir*, or *Hundred wells*, so called from the great number it hath of them, is not so famous upon that account, as for a superstitious tradition, which was current among the *Fezans*, that those wells were filled with treasure; and many bands of idle fellows were continually sent by them in quest of it, for a long time of years, without being discouraged by the ill success of those that had gone before them, or deterred by the many lives that were lost in that dangerous search, till a lucky accident which happened to one of them, convinced the rest of their folly,

folly, and put an end to that stupid notion (F). This mountain hath neither village nor house, but some antient ruins on the top, and a well so deep, that the bottom could never be found out *. We shall conclude this article with observing, that many of these mountains are so high, and the night so piercing cold, that the inhabitants, who breed up great quantities of cattle, are obliged to gather them about their huts, and to keep a constant fire all the night, which preserves them at once from being frozen to death, and from the jaws of the lions, which haunt these mountains, but are kept at a distance by the fires *Fires made in the night for the cattle.*

It is time now to leave these poor and cold eminences, to take a more delightful view of their cities, those at least of every province which have any thing worth notice in them; which is the case of so few of them, that our readers will be glad enough to be eased of the dull round of all the rest, especially as they have little else to present to their view, but some few melancholy monuments of their antient splendor, and these mostly destroyed by time, wars, and Mohammedan fury, and half-buried in the common ruins. We begin with the capital, from which the whole empire now hath its name. *Chief cities of the empire.*

MOROCCO, by its pleasant situation, and the number and variety of its noble edifices, may be justly esteemed the richest and most considerable city in all Africa, though much sunk from its pristine grandeur, both with respect to the number of its houses and inhabitants, and the magnificence of its pa-

* DAVITY, DAPPER, MARMOL, &c.

† Idem, ibid.

(F) These wretches were forced, in their search after this pretended hidden treasure, to pry into those subterraneous places from one hole to another, by the help of some lighted torches, but which were often put out, by the flutter which the heat, smoke, and other such creatures made with their wings; which they wandered in the dark, till they perished with hunger and cold. But one of them at length having the good fortune, in groping his way out, to take hold of a creature which

they call Dabuh, and is, according to *Leo Africanus*, of the bigness of a wolf (5), he followed him through a long cleft in the rock, which opened into a thick wood, at the bottom of the mountain. This aperture was no sooner perceived, than multitudes came on purpose to go on each side of the cleft, but had the misfortune to see their works overflowed with water; which put an end to their proceedings and hopes, though not to their notion of hidden treasure (6).

(5) *Leo African.* l. ix. *Cherise*, 1707.

(6) *Marmol*, l. iv. c. 122. *Boulet Histoire des*

*Walls,
towers,
&c.*

*Decayed
from its
primitive
grandeur.*

*Ancient
inscrip-
tions.*

laces and other public structures (G). It is conveniently seated between two rivers, the *Nephtis* and the *Agmed*, and upon that of the *Tenisset*, all spoken of before, on a spacious plain, reckoned above 50 miles in length, about 16 north of mount *Atlas*, 170 from the *Atlantic* ocean, and near the same spot where *Ptolemy* places the antient *Boccanum Hemenum*, if not on the ruins of it. The city is encompassed with very high stone walls, the cement of which resists the force of the pick-ax, and will even strike fire; inasmuch that, though it hath undergone such frequent and obstinate sieges, and been to often plundered and damaged with, and without, there is not the least token of a breach to be seen in them. They are likewise flanked with strong and lofty towers, with bastions and other bulwarks, and surrounded with a wide and deep ditch. The gates are still 24 in number, and retain some tokens of their pristine strength and beauty, tho' not of their use; and the houses are dwindled from 100,000 to less than one third of that number, the rest lying now waste, or turned into gardens, orchards, and corn fields, and many of the noble structures that adorned it, either destroyed, or gone to ruin. However, there remain in the part which is inhabited many stately buildings, particularly the royal palace, three magnificent mosks, some few baths and hospitals, together with some ancient inscriptions in *Arabic*, which seem to indicate the name of the founder, in words to this effect: *Under the reign of Jusuf Ibn Taxisin, &c. (H) 1.*

THE

² LEO, l. ii. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. i. MARMOL l. iii. c. 40. DAVIRY, DAPPER, & al.

(G) The founder of *Morocco* is supposed to have been the famed *Abu Iubisien*, and his warlike son *Joseph* the finisher of it, after the many signal victories which he gained in *Spain*, whence he brought 30,000 slaves, whom he employed in surrounding it with high walls 12 miles in circumference. It is affirmed to have contained 100,000 houses, 24 stately gates, and a vast number of palaces, mosks, and other magnificent buildings, many of which have been destroyed by civil wars, or left to go to ruin. So that it comes far short now of what it was in its most flourishing state, notwithstanding the new buildings and other ornaments, which have been added to it since by many of his sharfs (7).

(H) *Marmol* describes a strange one which he saw outside, without one of the gates of the city, which runs thus: *Here lieth Haly, the son of Attia, who commanded over 100,000 men, had 10,000 horses, and*

(7) Conf. LEO, l. ii. Grammay, l. ix. c. 1. Marmol, l. iii. c. 40. Sanut, Daviry, Dapper, &c.

THE *Al Cassava*, or *Michowart*, within whose cincture *The castle* is the imperial palace, is a large fortress, on the south side of *and imperial* the city, and capable of containing above 4000 houses. The *rial palace, its* walls that surround it are high and strong, flanked with lofty towers, bastions, and other works, and surrounded with a *fortifications.* good ditch. It hath only two gates, one on the south, facing the adjacent country, and the other on the north, leading to the city; both of them very grand, and guarded by a company of soldiers, to prevent any Christian slaves going out without their keeper. This gate faces a strait handsome street; at the end, and in full sight of which, in the center of a spacious court, stands the magnificent mosk built by *Abul- Stately* mumen, king of the *Almohedes*; but which, they tell us, being *mosk.* too low for its bulk, was raised 50 cubits higher by his grandson *Al Manzar*, who also built the great tower of it, which, *Lofty* for height and beauty, is only to be equalled by those of *Ra- tower.* bat, in the kingdom of *Tremecen*, and of *Seville*, in *Spain*, which were the works of the same architect. This noble building was moreover embellished with carvings of jasper, marble, and other costly stone, which, together with the rich stately gates of the cathedral of *Seville*, covered with bas-relievo work in brass, and bolts of the same metal, that conqueror caused to be brought from *Spain*, by way of trophies, to enrich this new fabric. On the top of the tower *Golden* above mentioned, were fixed through an iron spike four large *balls.* balis of copper, plated so thick with gold, that they were supposed to be all of that rich metal. These were of different sizes, the largest capable of containing eight, the second four, the third two, and the uppermost one, sacks of wheat, all the four together weighing 700 pounds. Their origin and many other particulars relating to them, the reader may see in the main (1); they being either so little credited or minded

caused 100 bells to be digged in one day, to sept. them with water. 100 maidens, was married and faithful, and one of the 24 generals of Al Manzar. I ended my life in my 40th year. Let him that readeth this epitaph pray to God to forgive me. (8).

(1) Some writers affirm these four balls, or golden apples, as they style them, to have been the dowry of some queen of

Morocco, who was daughter and heiress of the king of *Gago*, who, to eternize her memory, caused them to be thus planted on the top of that tower. Others say, that one of the wives of the famed *Jaacob Al Manzar* sold all her jewels to defray the expence of this whimsical ornament.

However that be, the notion that went for current among

(8) *Marmol, lib. iii. c. 40.*

*La ve
cistern.*

minded by the late *Muley Ishmael*, that he made no scruple to take them down, and convey them into his treasury ^a.

UNDER this large mosk is a deep vault, of the same length and breadth with the building, in which is repositied an immense quantity of corn, belonging to the emperors; but it was at first designed for a capacious cistern, to receive the rain water which fell upon the leaden covering, and was conveyed into it by pipes of lead. The battlements of the tower are of such an uncommon height, and offer to the view such a vast

^a *DIEG. DE TORRES Relat. de los Xarifs. BOULET, & al. sup. citat.*

them was, that they were set up by some extraordinary conjurer, under a proper constellation, and that it was either impossible, or at least extremely dangerous, to attempt the taking them down, and would be attended with some fatal calamity. This notion, the *Alfakis* tell you, was so impressed on the minds of the people, that several of their kings had essayed it to their cost; and particularly that, *ann.* 1500, *Naker Beuchentuf*, being exhausted by an expensive war with the *Portuguese, Arabs,* and *Fezans*, having ordered one of them to be taken down to pay his troops, the people surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, and told him they would sooner sell their all, even to their wives and children, to raise him money, than suffer it. *Beuchentuf* was soon after treacherously poisoned by *Mully Hamed*; and the people interpreted it as a just judgment for his avarice and irreligion. This did not deter *Hamed*, in a little time after, from attempting the same thing, and with better success, because he went more cunning-

ly about it; for having caused it to be taken down in the night, and the gold to be taken off by a *Jew*, who gave him 25,000 pistoles for it, he ordered it to be barely gilt and set up again in its place, and the *Jew* to be hanged near it; and caused it to be given out, that the demon to whom the care of these balls was committed, had inflicted that punishment on him, for having attempted to take it down. After this report had been spread abroad, which was readily swallowed down by the populace, there seemed to be a final end put to their fears of their being ever taken away. And after such a severe example on the impious *Jew*, they rested themselves satisfied, that those precious apples were too powerfully guarded ever to become objects of the like attempt. And they were not unperceived in this superstitious notion, till a long while after, when *Muley Ishmael*, who reigned when *Marmol* was a slave in that capital, caused them all to be taken down, and turned to better advantage (9).

(9) *De his, vid. Leo African. l. ii. p. 60, & seq. Grammay, l. ix. c. 1. Mar- mol, l. iii. c. 40. Dieg. de Torres Relat. de los Xarifs, Davity, & al. ubi sup.*

prospect round, as seldom fails of striking the beholder with sudden dizziness, from which one cannot easily recover one's self; whilst the tallest men below appear like so many little children: and from thence upwards arises a spire of about seventy feet high, on the top of which were fixed the four (*Leo* says only three) balls above-mentioned. The royal apartments, the seraglios for the Sharif's wives and concubines, the state chambers, halls of audience, and the galleries leading from one to the other, are no less splendid and lofty; pillars, moldings, ceilings, and other ornaments, all shining with gold, and the furniture answerable.

*Royal
apart-
ments.*

THE gardens within, if not so regularly designed and variegated, do, nevertheless, shew something of an uncommon magnificence; being adorned with terraces, fountains, spacious fish-ponds, shady pavilions, &c. great variety of fruit and other trees, fragrant verdures, and every thing that is curious and delightful. But, in the midst of all this splendor, one sees other noble buildings, such as palaces, colleges, baths, hospitals, halls, and other ancient edifices, with all the marks of their former splendor, running or run to decay. About 400 aqueducts, some broken down, others tottering, and all of them shamefully neglected (K). The houses of the rich and

Gardens.

(K) Among those once noble structure, we may reckon near a dozen palaces (for such they were) built by the great *Al Man-zaq*, for his several ministers of state, guards, treasury, exchequer, halls of audience, judicatory, arsenal, magazines, granaries, &c. A little further stands a magnificent pile, which served formerly for a school to the young princes of the royal blood. Another large one, where the king gave audience to foreign ambassadors. A third where these held their conferences with the ministers of state. Others for their wives, concubines, children, &c. To these we may add, a great number of halls or colleges, where the sciences were taught, and where the doctors and scholars were lodged in stately apartments; together

with hospitals no less sumptuous richly endowed.

In the first court of the royal palace, the apartments, though built in the Moreisco style, appeared with a surprising grandeur, adorned with basons and fountains of the finest marble and workmanship, and shaded with citron, limon, and orange trees, and other odoriferous verdures. The next was embellished with galleries and colonades of white marble, so exquisitely wrought, that some of the nicest judges in architecture, of ours and other nations, have beheld them with the greatest admiration even in their decaying condition. In this court stood likewise a great number of marble basons and vases, full of water, in which the *Moris* made their frequent ablutions before prayer.

Other
bricks go-
ing to de-
cay.

and noble are indeed built of stone, but much out of repair, and, which hath still a worse appearance, stand at such a distance from each other, as hardly to form one contiguous street in any part of the city; whilst the chafns between are filled up either with such mud houses as all the meaner sort are forced to take up with, with kitchen gardens and orchards, or with old ruins and houses uninhabited and ready to tumble down. This is the present state of that once opulent metropolis, which in *Leo's*, and even *Grammay's* time, contained no less than 45 wide spacious streets, intersecting each other at right angles from end to end, all finely built, and well inhabited, as well as the prodigious number of lanes that ran parallel and collateral to them^b. All which doleful dilapidations are, in part, owing to the frequent wars it hath been exposed to, the change of sovereigns it hath gone through, but most of all to the tyrannic government it hath groaned under ever since the Sharifs made themselves masters of it.

Other
gardens.

THE gardens, which stand at the farther end of the castle towards the country, and the park almost contiguous to them, shewed both some eminent tokens of their former elegance and costliness, when *Mouquet* was there, the former of which, besides a prodigious variety of fruit and other trees, shrubs, flowers, &c. was adorned with a noble square spot, railed in with a marble balustrade, in the center of which stood a column that supported a lion, both of the same stone.

Marble
fontain.

This last threw a fine stream of water out of his mouth into a large basin within the rails, on the four corners of which stood four leopards, curiously carved, likewise of white marble, beautifully spotted with round spots of a green colour,

^b Conf. *LEO*, *GRAMMAY*, & al. sup. citat.

The stables both for riding and carriage horses, mules, camels, &c. were no less splendidly built and roofed; near them were two granaries, capable of containing each 30,000 loads of corn. These were two stories high; the lower for the wheat, and the upper for oats and barley, which were conveyed by an easy ascent, on mules, to the top of the building, and thence thrown into their proper chambers, by trap doors, and thence,

with the same ease, distributed again into the stables and managers, by proper conduits. The reader may see a more copious description of the beauty and splendor of all these grand edifices in *Leo Africanus*, who saw them when they were in their full perfection, and *Mouquet*, who viewed them in their decline (10), but which our limits will not permit us to dwell longer upon.

(10) *Leo Afric. l. ii. c. d.* & *Grammay*, *Marmol*, *Mouquet*, & al. sup. citat.

and

and natural to the stone. In the other were to be seen a great *Park and variety of wild beasts, such as lions, tygers, leopards, elephants, gyrophos, deer, &c.* Our author adds, that he saw *wild beasts*. the lions kept in a large ruined building, quite uncovered, and to which one ascended by a flight of steps.

AT a small distance from the palace above mentioned *The Jewish* stands the quarter of the *Jews*, inclosed within its own walls, *quarters* and with only one gate, which is guarded by the *Moors*. *walled in.* *Mouquet* tells us, that, in his time, there were at least 4000 of them that lived within that precinct, and paid a certain tribute to the government. The foreign agents, and even *ambassadors*, chuse to live in that place, rather than in any part of the city. As for the rest of the Christian merchants, they commonly live near the custom-house, which stands about three miles distant from the palace. The *Jews* have always been highly taxed for their liberty of religion and trading; in spite of which there are many of them very rich, as they are the only agents, brokers, money-changers, and minters in the empire; and there is no doubt but the number of them is greatly increased since that author wrote. But it is, however, their constant policy, in all these despotic governments, to make the meanest appearance in their dress, houses, &c. to avoid being still more oppressed; and well *Make a mean figure out of policy.* may they do so, when the natural subjects are obliged to do the same, for fear of becoming a prey to those rapacious monarchs, or their ministers. Hence the miserable show that *Meanness of people's* the houses of the middling and common people make, in all the parts of the city that are still inhabited. As for those of *houses.* the *Alcaydes*, nobles, military officers, and courtiers, they are lofty, strong, well built, and surrounded with stout walls, and flat on the top, with a turret in the middle, where they *summer*; spend the evening in fresco, after the *African* manner. The river *Tenist* runs through the city, and hath a handsome bridge over it; on its banks are a variety of mills turned by it, for divers purposes, and from it is conveyed a *Bridge over the Tenist.* sufficient quantity of water into all the houses, gardens, &c. to serve their necessities. Thus much may suffice to give our reader such an idea of this famed metropolis, both in its flourishing and declined state. It may enable them to guess at the rest. All we shall add, is, that of the 24 gates it formerly had, each of which was usually kept by a captain at the head of a thousand horse, there are not now above five or six in use, and guarded by a few rascally *Moors*; whilst the inhabitants, who, we are told, are reduced to about 25,000, occupy but one or two quarters of the place, which lie between the

gate of *Dukela* and that of *Zeco*, the one facing the south, and the other the north; all the rest being either turned into gardens and orchards, or, which is worse, into a wilderness^d.

Fez.

*Its opulence and
populousness.*

FEZ, the next in dignity, as being the capital of the once powerful kingdom of its name, is divided into the old and new city. The first of which is the most worthy of notice, as being computed near nine miles in circuit, and is not only the largest, but the most populous, wealthy, and best governed in all *Africa*. The immense riches of all sorts which the *Moors* brought thither from *Spain*, contributed not a little to restore her to her pristine greatness, after a long series of destructive wars had brought her to the lowest ebb. And next to that, the great concourse of scholars, who come from all parts of *Africa* to study the *Mohammedan* law, hath helped at once to augment the opulence as well as the number of her inhabitants; to which if we add, that it is the center of commerce in this empire, our readers will not wonder at its so far eclipsing its rival of *Morocco*, nor at our confining our description chiefly to it; that which is called *New Fez* having scarcely any thing worth our taking notice of, in a work so extensive as this (L). *Old Fez* stands on the declivity of two mountains, and

^d D. DE TORRES Relat 27. vid. & DAVIES, NOUQUET D'AFRIQUE, & al. sup. citat.

(L) Most authors make three cities of it, as being built at different times, the most antient of which is called *Biljad*, and stands on the east side of the river *Fiz*, and is said to have been built by an *Arabian* king called *Muley*, or, as *La Croix* and others will have it, by *Idriss*, the son of *Ibiss*, an *Arabian* patriarch, about an. 801. However that be, it is computed to have above 4000 inhabitants, and is adorned with the noble gardens and fountains of *Zingiford*. The other old city, built on the opposite side of the river, and founded by prince *Hasslem*, the grandson of the patriarch above mentioned, is called *Ain Ala*, and is

computed to contain above 40,000 inhabitants. But in time both cities became subject to different masters, who were often at war, till *Jes*, an *Alm*; *ravid* king, conquered both, and put them to death, and, to prevent all future quarrels between the two cities, broke down the wall that parted them, built a bridge over the river, and joined them into one city (11).

The third, or new city, built by *Jaad* king of *Fez*, of the race of the *Benimerini*, to serve as a citadel and place of residence, stands about a mile distant above the old, and is computed to contain near 10,000 inhabitants,

(11) *Leo*, l. iv. *Grammay*, l. x. c. 1. *Marmol*, l. iv. c. 22. *Du de Torres*, *D'afrique*, *Dapper*, &c.

and the valley that lies between them, and is surrounded by a *Its scite.* strong wall of square stone, flanked with stately towers. The *Walls.* houses are square, terrassed on the top, and without any win- *Houses.* dows fronting the streets, like all the rest in *Barbary*. Those of the rich and wealthy, as well as the colleges, hospitals, mosques, cloisters, baths, &c. have spacious courts, adorned within with sumptuous galleries, fountains, basins of fine marble, fish-ponds, &c. shaded with linden and orange-trees, which are loaded with fruit all the year; all which are plentifully supplied with water from the river *Fez*, which here divides *River Fez.* itself into six branches, and turns about 400 mills for grinding, fulling, and other uses, as well as for conveying water into all those public buildings, and into every house.

THE city hath seven stately gates, but no suburbs. The streets are narrow, but mostly strait; and are shut up at night with their own gates, to prevent people going out at that time, except upon extraordinary occasions. Most of the houses have turrets on the top, in which the women have neat apartments, and delight themselves with the fresh air and the fine prospect of the city and country. The river *Its 250* here hath no less than 250 stone bridges over it, some of *stone* them very beautiful and grand. There are 336 ovens, which *bridges.* are daily employed from morning till evening. *Ovens.*

THE mosques are computed to amount to 500, 50 of which *Mosks.* are reckoned of the first rank; among which there is one that *Great* exceeds all the rest. It is called the *Caruvin*, and is affirmed *mosk.* to be near a mile and a half in compass, including the college and cloister belonging to it. It hath 30 stately gates, a roof 150 cubits long, and 80 in breadth. The minaret, or tower, is of a stupendous height, supported in its length by 30, and in its breadth by 20 pillars. The body of the roof is divided into 17 niches besides a good number of inferior ones, and the whole supported by 1500 pillars of white marble. Every arch hath lamps burning in them, of a large size, and curiously wrought; particularly that which hangs over the *Alfaki's*

who are divided into fifteen quarters, or wards, according to their different trades and occupations. Besides which it hath a royal palace, which is a noble structure, some stately mosques, colleges, baths, and other public edifices; is *Fez*, well fortified with walls and other work, and is comprehended with the other

two under the common name of *Fez*; which name signifying gold, some suppose to have been given to it on account of a great quantity of that metal, said to have been dug up in the laying of its foundation, but which it more properly took from the river on which it is situate (12.

College.

desk, which is of a prodigious size, and surrounded with 150 smaller, all finely cast in brass. They reckon 400 cisterns in the cloister, in which the people repair to make their usual ablutions before prayer, and 42 galleries, where they keep the sacred utensils belonging to the mosk. Within the cincture of the mosk is a noble spacious college, in which divinity, philosophy, and other sciences are taught by their most learned men, the chief of whom is chosen president over the rest, and raised to the dignity of Grand Mufti. In this college is likewise one of the most valuable and largest libraries in all Africa; a thing one would hardly expect in this country *.

WE have no room to go through their other public buildings, which are very numerous, spacious, and stately; the colleges and hospitals are richly endowed; the magazines and warehouses of the merchants are plentifully furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, both domestic and foreign. We are sensible that Mr. *Braithwait*, who had an opportunity of seeing this famous city, in his way to the court of *Mequinez*, in 1727. not only gives a more disadvantageous account of it, with respect to its populousness, magnificence, &c. but ties down the descriptions that have been given of it by most authors that have written before him, as greatly exaggerated in all those respects *; and it is not unlikely that the vicissitudes it had undergone since its becoming subject to the Sarifs of *Morocco*, might have greatly diminished its grandeur by that time, especially at this present juncture, when it held out against the forces of the emperor on the throne. However, we cannot reasonably suppose, that if so many learned authors, some of them natives, had so greatly exceeded the bounds of truth, some of those many *Europeans*, who have since then been in the place long enough to be better informed, would not long ago have contradicted them, and given us more exact state of it. But be that as it will, we are farther told, that there are no less than 200 inns, both large and beautiful, for the entertainment of strangers, which pay a certain tribute to the government for their licence. The misfortune is, that, excepting those which are frequented by the Christians, all the rest are a downright sink of unnatural abominations, acted not only impunely but barefaced; insomuch, that the masters of those *Sodoms* in miniature are permitted not only to entertain a number of catamites for the use of their customers, but even to stand before their doors, or rove about the streets, some in womens cloaths, and entice people

Inns most scandalous.

* LFO AFRICAN lib. iii. GRAMMAY, lib. x. c. I. MARMOL, lib. iv. c. 5 & 22 D. TORRIS, DAVITY, DAPFER, & al. * Revolutions of Morocco, p. 162, & seq. & 553, & seq.

their effeminate voice, and lewd gestures and songs, into their houses. It is true, indeed, that the Musti, to shew his abhorrence of those prostitutes, in a city which is looked upon as one of the chief sanctuaries of the *Mohammedan* religion, debars them from entering into the mosks; but that is all the penalty he can inflict upon them; whilst the emperor, who draws a considerable revenue from those houses, openly tolerates and protects them (M). *Protected by the government.*

IN other respects the government of the city is under very good regulations, and the magistracy very strict in keeping it up; and so they had need to do, considering the vast number of its inhabitants, amounting to near 300,000, besides the great concourse of merchants and other foreigners with which it seems to swarm. The prime magistrate, who is styled provost of the merchants, and is much like our lord-mayor, hath several inferior ones under him, and usually resides in some of the most populous streets, that he may be near at hand to punish all delinquents. Those streets are crowded all the day long with merchants, tradesmen, farmers, custom and other officers, cryers, &c. This chief magistrate is chosen from among the citizens, not by rotation, but merit and ability; but, besides that, there is a governor appointed by the emperor, who hath a Kadi, or judge, under him, to try criminal causes. When a person is condemned to death, if he be a plebeian, he is led through the chief streets of the city, with his hands tied behind, to the place of execution, and is obliged to proclaim his punishment and the crime for which he has been condemned; and when he is come to the gallows, he is hanged by the feet, and hath his throat cut. But if a gentleman, or person of higher rank, his throat is cut before-hand, and the hangman marches before the body, and proclaims his crime. A man that is guilty of murder, is immediately carried to the nearest relation of the deceased, *Punishments.*

(M) We meet with a flagrant instance of this infamous sort of justice in Sharif *Mohammed*, who being reprov'd for making war against the king of *Fæ*, who was of his own religion, answered that he did it to punish him for tolerating such an unnatural crime within his dominions. So that he had no sooner made himself master of that capital, than he ordered a great number of those catamites to be put to death, and their bodies to be thrown to the dogs. But finding soon after what a wide chasm that severity was likely to make in his revenue, he suffered those monsters to resume their abominable practices with impunity (12).

(12) *Vid. inf. al. D. de las Colonias Relat. ubi sup. Moutart Voyag. Marnol, l. 3. iv. c. 22. & ubi sup.*

who may either condemn him to what death he pleases, or compound with him for a sum or fine. But if he denies the crime, he is tortured either by the bastinado or scourging, which is done in such a severe manner, that most of them die under the executioner's hands (N). These severities are nevertheless, in some measure, unavoidable in such populous cities, and among people so naturally given to all manner of pilfering, villainy, and lewdness.

FEZ being the emporium and common magazine of *Barbary*, to which all manner of commodities are brought and exchanged, either for import or export, all the streets swarm either with merchants, or men of all trades and professions ^f.

Imports.

THE imports chiefly consist in spicery, cochineal, vermilion, iron, brass, steel, wire, arms, ammunition, drugs, watches, small looking-glasses, quicksilver, tartar, opium, allom, aloes, *English* and other linen and woollen clothes, muslins, calicoes, tustians, gold wire, silks of all kinds, brocades, damasks, velvets, red woollen caps, toys and trinkets of all sorts, *Guiney* cowries, combs, paper, and a great variety of earthen wares.

Exports.

THE exports consist in hides and leather of all sorts, particularly the *Moroccan*, which is the manufacture of the country, skins, furs, wool, dates, almonds, resins, figs, olives, honey, wax, silks of their own manufacturing, cotton and flax cloth of the same, horses, ostrich feathers, terrass, variety of pot-ashes, gold-dust, ducats, &c. of both which the *Jews* have the sole brokerage, for which they pay a considerable tribute to the government. The city is defended by two castles, the one old and decayed, and the other of a much newer date and form; but neither of them have any cannon, or any defence but that of a guard of a few companies of *Moors*. Besides those two castles, the city walls have two acute battions

Two castles.

^f LEO, l. iii. GRAMMAY, l. x. c. i. MARMOL, l. iv. c. 5 & 26. D. TORRES, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

(N) There is still one circumstance more inhuman attending this kind of ordeal; which is, that when the accused stands proof against it, and is declared innocent, if he hath not money enough to pay the Kadi's and his secretary's fees, the former condemn him to such an additional number of blows or lashes as he thinks will be an equivalent to them (13).

This punishment is likewise for lesser crimes; and often, for want of a present to the Kadi, is executed with such severity, that the person dies under it, or soon after, in the same manner as it is done at *Algiers*.

built on two of the highest parts of it, which have only a few old pieces of cannon, and an inconsiderable guard^e.

FEZ stands in 38 degr. of latitude, and 4 degr. of west longitude. Lat. and long.

MEQUINEZ, or *Miquinez*, is another considerable city, Mequinez. situated on the river *Sibu*, or *Subro*, in a large and delightful plain, about twelve leagues westward of *Fez*, and three to the east of *Sallee*. It is three miles in compass, surrounded with stout walls, at the feet of which are very delicious gardens, which spread themselves out into the country, all around. The inside of the city is full of mosks, colleges, bathis, and other public buildings. It hath a continual market, to which Market. the *Arabs* resort in shoals from all parts, to sell their hides, honey, wax, butter, dates, and other commodities. The palace resembles another city; and, though built in the Moroccan style, hath something surprisingly grand, though much out of repair. The apartments, offices, &c. which are almost without number, are interspersed with parks, gardens, pavilions, and other decorations. It stands on the highest part of the city, and is surrounded with stately white walls, and consists of a great number of spacious squares, and two noble mosks. In one part is the seraglio, a vast extensive edifice; in another the halls of state, audience, council, &c.; a third is for the handicraft trades that work for the armory; and in a fourth are lodged the king's artillery, magazines, and a number of his guards. The galleries of all these grand apartments are adorned with variety of mosaic work; the walks, pavements, alleys, gardens, &c. are all kept in good order, except their master and his ministers, and the whole fabric is inclosed within a circule of three miles in compass. Stately palace.

THE *Jews* have their quarter in the heart of the city, and have here, and in most parts of the empire, the privilege of shutting their gates up at night, on account of their usefulness in carrying on the commerce (O). *Mequinez* is parted only by a road from *Negro-Town*, so called from the king's black troops which are quartered in it. Negro-Town.

SALLEE,

^e Vid. auct. sup. citat.

^a Ibid. ibid.

(O) Or rather, perhaps, to prevent their being robbed or insulted by the pillaging *Moors*, many of whom were some time ago crucified, or the murder of a *Jew*. In other cases they suffer them to be abused by

every rascally *Moor*, as they go along the streets; who call them *Cornados*, cuckolds, and dogs, and even pelt them with dirt. The noblemen, and princes of the blood, beat them severely with their whips, if they dare to come

Sallee.

SALLEE, *Saley*, or *Cele*, a city mentioned by *Ptolemy*, stands on the banks of the *Gueron*, now *Buragra*, or *Buregreg*, which divides it into two parts; the northern, called by the natives *Sela*, and by us *Sallee*, is encompassed by a strong wall, about six fathoms high, and half a fathom thick, on the top of which are battlements, flanked with towers, of a considerable height and strength. The southern part, on the opposite side

Rabat.

of the river, is called *Ravat*, or *Rabat*, and is of a much greater extent, but incloses a great number of gardens, orchards, and corn fields, in which they may sow wheat enough to serve 15000 men. This is likewise surrounded with high

Walls.

walls, said by the natives to have been built by those Christians which *Jacob Al Manzor*, king of *Arabia Felix*,

Watch tower.

brought hither from *Europe*, after his conquest of *Spain*. On the south east quarter stands a very high tower, from which they can see a ship at a great distance. It is now much lower than it was at first (P), yet serves still for a land-mark in the day-time, and for a light-house in the night; and under it are the two docks belonging to the town, the one for building of ships, and the other for them to winter in. The ascent between these and the tower is so easy, that a man may go up it on horseback.

Harbour.

THE harbour is large but shallow, seldom rising to above 12 feet at high-water; so that the corsairs, which belong to this place, are obliged to put into the island of *Fedal*, at a small distance from it; the entrance of the harbour having a bar across it, which prevents any but the lighter sort of vessels from sailing into it. The town is now guarded by two castles, the old and the new; the one stands directly at the mouth of the river, next to which the walls are built on rocks, and high enough to shelter the governor's house from cannon.

Old castle.

come in their way as they ride along: and, as a still greater mark of contempt, suffer them not to go out of their quarter with either shoes or boots, but bare-foot and bare legged. All which they are forced to bear with singular patience, it being sure death to them to lift up a hand against a *Moer* or *Negro* (15).

(P) This was owing to a clap of thunder, which struck off

some part of the top, and caused a wide rent on the south side which runs from top to bottom. The tower is fifty foot square; built of stone, jointed by a strong cement, and opens towards a stately mosque 1400 paces long, and 300 wide; in the centre of which is a well, 100 feet wide and 30 deep, for the ablutions of those that go to prayers there (16).

(15.) *Brav'breast Revol. of Morocco*, p. 198, & seq. *H. R. of Algiers, Morocco*, &c. an. 1750. p. 331.

(16) *Duruy, Dapper*, & al. ubi sup.

shot. The fortifications of it are very irregular, but such as the ground would permit; and within its walls, which are mostly of square stone, is a fort, just before the principal gate, which commands the whole town. Below it, next to the sea-side, near the point of the rock, facing the bar, is a bastion, mounted with five pieces of cannon, to secure the vessels that come to anchor in the road, or to shelter themselves from the pursuit of the enemy.

THE new castle is seated on the west side of the town; and *New cast* of a square figure, flanked with towers and battlements, like the walls of the city. There is a communication between one castle and the other by a high wall, flanked with two towers, and built upon arches, under which the people pass and repass to and from the strand. On the west side, before the breach in the town-wall, stands another bastion on a rock, but much neglected of late, which renders the taking of this part of *Sallee* very easy. The emperor sends thither a governor, who presides over the city council, which is chosen from among the citizens; all merchandizes imported or exported pay a tenth part of their value to the government, but the chief wealth of the place arises from the piratical trade carried on by the corsairs, who are the expertest and boldest of any on the *Barbary* coast.

FROM *Sallee* one may behold, in a most spacious plain, *Teseu* about eight or nine miles distance, the noble ruins of the ancient city of *Teseu fura*, situated on a fertile territory, and inhabited by the *Arabs* who have hitherto prevented it, as they have *Marmora*, *Almodine*, *Alcassar*, and a great many more from being rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range about with their herds.

MAZAGAN, by some *Masignan*, stands on the same coast, about ten leagues south-south-west of *Sallee*. It is a strong and well built town, in the hands of the *Portuguese*, who keep a good garrison in it, to prevent the *Moors* retaking it from them, as they did the strong city of *Larach*, situate on the same coast, near the mouth of the river *Lucus*, or *Lucerio*. *Mazagan* is surrounded with a stout wall, so thick that six horsemen may ride abreast upon them all around, and well furnished with cannon. The worst is, that the pirates often intercept the provisions that are sent to the garrison, which obliges it to make incursions on the neighbouring *Arabs* for subsistence. It was this inconveniency that caused the loss of *Larach*, though much more strongly fortified.

Alcassar, ubi sup. *AMMAY*, ubi sup. c. 4. *MARMOL*, ubi sup. c. 4. & al. sup. citat. * *MOUQUET* Voyag. 1. p. 23. *ST. OLAN*, p. 136.

Alcassar. **ALCASSAR**, *Alcazar*, or *Alcaçar*, formerly *Cæsar Al Cabiris*, is on the same western coast, and was once the residence of a governor. It is said to have been built by the famed *Jaacôb Al Manzor*, during his war with *Spain*. (Q), and was formerly a town of good trade, till the *Portuguese* made themselves masters of it, *an.* 1458. But though it did not continue long in their hands, it is since gone gradually into decay, and lies now in a ruinous condition^k. It is called *Alcassar Quibir*, or the great castle, to distinguish it from *Alcassar Zequir*, or the little palace, in the same kingdom.

Arzila. **ARZILA** stands upon the same coast, within eight leagues of the streights of *Gibraltar*, and about forty-eight from *Fer*. It is another of those cities that were taken and held for some time by the *Portuguese*, but being afterwards abandoned by them, have been decaying ever since. It was antiently called *Zitia*, and supposed to have been built by the *Romans*, about 12 leagues south of the streights^l.

Tangier. **TANGIER**, on the same coast, but about two miles within the streights above-mentioned, was antiently called *Tingis*, and was the capital of the *Mauritania Tingitana*^m. It stands on a handsome bay, and was once a very considerable place, and is said by the *African* fabulists to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeness and magnificence, and to have

^k *Iid. ibid. vid. & Hist. Morocc. an. 1750. p. 355.*
^l *ibid.* ^m *Anc. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 173.*

^l *Iid.*

(Q) The occasion of its being built, we are told, was that conqueror's being likely to have perished in a tempestuous night, among the marshes, in pursuit of his game, and a great distance from his retinue; when perceiving a fisherman's hut, he went into it, and was kindly entertained by the poor man. He asked him whether he could not conduct him to some adjacent town, and was answered that it could not be done without imminent hazard of both their lives, and on the next morning; the king being fully satisfied of the truth of what he had told him, bid him ask some recompence for his

hospitality; to which he modestly answered, that he should be very thankful to have a better house built on that spot. Upon which that generous prince caused a noble palace to be built there, and made him keeper of it, with a handsome pension, and used often to resort thither for his diversion, and called it by his name *Abdul Kerim*. He afterwards fortified it; from which time it grew to a considerable town, had a good market resorted to by the *Arabs*, who brought thither their dates, wax, honey, corn, cattle, &c. (17).

(17) *Let. l. iii. Granmay, l. x. c. C. A. & al.*

(17) *De Toret, D'Arv.*

been surrounded by walls of brass. It had, however, many sumptuous edifices and palaces, and a considerable number of noblemen who resided there in the time of the *Goths* and *Arabians*; but being taken by the *Portuguese*, an. 1471, or Taken by 1473, according to others *, grew more considerable for its strength than beauty. At length finding the expence of keeping it exceed by far the advantage they reaped by it, it was readily yielded to the *English*, as part of the dowry of the princess *Catherine of Portugal*, upon her marriage with king *Charles II.* who at an immense expence and labour, made it one of the strongest places on all those coasts, and built a deep mole, which ran 300 fathoms into the sea. But finding it too chargeable to keep, and the parliament refusing to vote him the sums demanded for its maintenance, caused all those fortifications to be blown up, after twenty-two years possession, an. 1684. Since which time the *Moors* have endeavoured to re-people it, but have not hitherto been able to raise it above the degree of a mean fishing town †.

CEUTA, no less considerable for its advantageous situation at the entrance of the *Mediterranean*, than for the beauty of its public buildings, and the strength of its walls and bulwarks, by which, and a good garrison, it held out, not, indeed, a vigorous siege, as the *Spaniards* style it, but an obstinate blockade, against an army of *Moors*, is situate on a rising ground, at the foot of the mountain of *Apes*, which juts out into the streights, and makes the nearest point to the *Spanish* coasts. It is still very considerable, and a bishop's see, hath a good palace and noble cathedral. Near it stands the celebrated mountain with seven summits, known to the antients by the name of *Septem fratres* †. The *Moors* laid siege to it, an. 1697, and have kept it blocked up ever since, without intermission, though without any great likelihood of their ever mastering it. Blocked up by the Moors.

THE extreme indigence of the natives round about *Ceuta* makes them so surprisingly active, that they will go, we are told †, from *Tetuan* to *Mequinez*, which is 150 miles, for a ducat, without minding heat or rain, in less than 24 hours. A river in their way causes no delay, because they swim across it with the same expedition that they make on land; and their whole support is only some meal, a few figs or raisins, which they carry in their goat skins; and their richest liquor water, mixed with a little honey.

See BRAITHWAIT *Revol. of Morocco*, p. 320. † Idem, *ibid.* & al. † Idem, *ibid.* † *History of Morocco*, an. 1750. *BRAITHWAIT Hist. Revol. Morocco.* & al. *sup. citat.*

Tetuan. SEVEN leagues south of *Ceuta* stands the city of *Tetuan*, al. *Tetegin*, or *Tetteguin*, upon the rising of a rocky hill, on the streights mouth. It is neither large nor strong, being surrounded by a wall made of mud and mortar, framed in wooden cases, and dried in the sun, without any mixture of broken bricks or stone. Here are not above 800 houses; but the inhabitants, what with piracy and a good trade for leather, wax, honey, raisins, &c. are most of them in good circumstances, without daring, however, to make any show of it, lest that should give occasion to the government to fleece and oppress them. Its chief strength consists in a stout garri-
Strong son of about 1500 men, and 400 horse; and the port is guarded
garri-son. by a square castle, flanked with towers of the same materials
Castle. with the town walls, and, in time of danger, can entertain a garri-son of 500 men. And, though it is commanded by the adjacent mountains, yet of great security, and affords a safe shelter to the corsairs, who resort here in great numbers, to take in provisions. On which account the *Spaniards* attempted to choak up the mouth of the river, by sinking vessels loaded with stones, but the *Moors* found means to open it again.

Dungeon. THERE is in the heart of the city a large Musmorra, or dungeon, wherein they lock up their Christian slaves at night, which are here very numerous, and as hardly used as in any part of *Barbary*. The inhabitants are mostly the descendants of those *Moors* and *Jews*, who were driven out of *Spain*; the latter of whom carry on here a very considerable commerce. The houses are kept so continually white-washed, out-side as well as in, that the reflection of them quite dazzles the beholders eyes in the sun-shine.

Basha's THE Basha's palace is not only a curious but a magnifi-
palace. cent structure, as is also his villa about two miles out of the town. The mosks and other public buildings are likewise very grand, though in the more so taste. There are like-
Twelve wise about a dozen cloisters belonging to their Santons, or
sanctu- monks, which are asyls for all manner of crimes, except
aries. those against the government. The *Jews*, who are computed to be about 5000, are allowed to make wine and brandy, by the help of which they often cozen those they traffick with. They have seven synagogues, and no more than 170 houses. The people here, as at *Algiers*, and other parts of *Barbary*, visit one another from the tops of their houses, which have handsome turrets on them, in which they regale themselves in the cool of the evening, and which add much to the beauty of the town.

BUT what completes the delightful prospect is the fertile *Noble* territory that surrounds it, and which is covered with fine *prospect*. gardens, orchards, villas, with shady walks, avenues, and other fine vistas, especially a spacious burying-ground, on an adjacent eminence, which is adorned with such a beautiful variety of cupolas, pyramids, and other monuments, that it looks like a fine city in miniature. To which, if we add its fine prospect towards the sea, and adjacent hills and plains, and the courteousness and affability of the people, beyond what they are even in their most noted capitals, we shall not scruple to pronounce it one of the most agreeable cities in all *Barbary*.

WE have now taken a review of the most considerable ci- *The pro-* ties of the two principal provinces, or kingdoms, of this em- *vince or* pire; viz. *Morocco* and *Fez*; it is now time to say something *kingdom of* of those of the third and last; viz. that of *Suz*, *Sous*, or *Sowz*, *Suz*. the most southern of all the three. The river of its name, which, as we observed before, was the southern boundary of the whole empire, divides it from the province of *Darah*, of which some part still retains the name of *Farther Suz*, as that on this side of that river is called *Hither Suz*. But whether the emperor receives any tribute from the former is not certain, nor very material.

THE province of *Suz* is mostly, more especially on the south *Produce*. side, intersected by several ridges of the *Atlas*, from which the many springs that flow render the whole country very fruitful in pasture, corn, rice, *sugar*, *indigo*, &c.; dates, vines, and other fruits. The river *Suz* in particular, which, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*, overflows all the low lands, and is, like that, cut into canals, doth exceedingly enrich all the territories it runs through. Some of the mountains yield copper and al-
lom; and those of *Tibar* gold in great quantities, which is *Tibar* called by the Negroes *Nack-naki*, and is conveyed away by *gold*. the caravans that trade here, and deal likewise in slaves and other merchandizes. The *Suz*, and other inferior rivers, drive a vast number of sugar mills, as well as for grinding of corn, &c. and the indigo, which grows wild in all the low *Fine indigo* grounds, without art or culture, is of a most vivid colour, *go*. and is made and exported in great quantities. The warmth of the climate, joined to the richness of the soil, and plenty of *Early* water, makes the harvest very forward, it seldom beginning *harvest*. later than the month of *May*. The inhabitants, who are mostly *Berebers*, are very industrious, and many of them live in towns, and are wealthy, and much more polite than those in *Fez* and *Morocco*.

† See History of the Revolutions of Morocco, ubi sup.

Cape Aguer.

THE two most remarkable capes are those of *Aguer* and *Nan*, or *Non*, the former on the north-west of the mouth of the *Suz*, near which the *Portuguese* built the town of its name, which was at first taken by the famed *Diego Lopez de Segueria*, who made afterwards a memorable voyage into the *East Indies*. This adventurer finding the town to have a convenient harbour, famous for its fishery, built a stout fort to defend it. Soon after which *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, having bought it of him, added several other fortifications to the old ones, and put a strong garrison into it. But they were afterwards driven from it by *Mohammed*, the youngest of the two *Sharifs*, who became soon after emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, as will be seen in a subsequent section. The other, about seven miles more south on the same coast, was called *Non* by the *Portuguese*, by whom it was imagined the *Ne plus ultra*, beyond which none had as yet ventured to sail.

Cape Non.

THE cities of this province are not very considerable, either for strength, bigness, or beauty.

Messa.

MESSA is situated on the river *Suz*, where it discharges itself into the sea, and at the foot of mount *Atlas*. It is divided into three distinct quarters, about a mile distant from each other, and each inclosed with its own walls. The inhabitants cultivate the lands about it, which are greatly fertilized by the overflowing of the *Suz*; though whenever it fails to do so, as it often doth, they are obliged to live mostly upon dates, which are here much cheaper than in other parts of *Africa*. As that river forms no haven, they have but little commerce abroad. The shore before it being flat and shallow,

Whales cast upon its coast.

it frequently happens that great whales are cast upon it; and there stands a mosk between the town and the sea, the beams, girders, &c. of which are made of the bones of that fish; which induces the people to believe this to be the place where *Jonah* was cast on shore. Some ambergrise is likewise found on this shore, which is sold very cheap, the *Moors* looking upon it as no better than the excrements of a whale, or of another fish which they call *Ambracan*.

Ambergrise sold cheap.

Tessut.

ON the same river, and about three or four miles from *Messa*, stands *Tessut*, *Tecent*, or *Techeut*, and, like it, divided into three parts, but much larger and more populous. In the heart of them is erected a stately mosk, through which a branch of the river runs. The plain on which the town is seated, is spacious, and fruitful in corn, barley, pulse, sugar,

• LEO, MARMOL, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, D. DE TORRES, DAPPER, MOUQUET, BRAITHWAIT, &c.

and

and variety of fruits. The town is supposed to contain 4000 families, most of them industrious and in good case. The sugar manufactory flourishes, and the finest *Morocco* leather is dressed here, and exported in great quantities.

TARUDANT, though not a large place, is in a flourishing condition, and carries on a good commerce with the *Berebers*, who resort to its markets, and are wealthy. Its buildings are handsome, and the adjacent plain fertile. It was once the residence of its own princes, who adorned it with sumptuous edifices, and is now that of the governors of the province, and its inhabitants are reckoned courteous and polite.

TEDSI hath about 5000 inhabitants; the sugar manufac-
ture is their chief wealth and employment. The great mosk
is the residence of the *Alfakis*, whose chief is sole judge in all
religious matters. Its market on *Mondays* is resorted to by
merchants from many parts of *Barbary* and *Negroland*, be-
sides the *Arabs* and *Moors*. The traffick consists in leather, *Commerce.*
cattle, horses, linen and woollen clothes, sugar, wax, honey,
butter, and great variety of iron tools. The *Jews* are nume-
rous and rich, and the town's-people much cried up for their
singular courteousness to strangers. The Sharif keeps a go-
vernor in it, with 400 horse, to protect the commerce,
which is one of the richest on that side of the *Atlas*. It was
formerly a little commonwealth, governed by six of its chief
inhabitants, who were chosen and changed every six months;
but was afterwards subdued to the yoke of the *Benimerini*, and
since to that of the Sharif.

TAGOST, or *Tagodst*, the largest city in the province, was Tagost.
built by the natives on a spacious and fertile plain, and sur-
rounded with walls now decayed. It is computed to have
about 8000 families, of which about 400 are *Jews*; the rest,
who are *Mohammedans*, preserve, nevertheless, a kind of reli-
gious veneration for the great *St. Austin*, whom they affirm
to have been born there. It enjoys two markets in the week,
to which the *Arabs* and *Moors* resort with their commodi-
ties, and the *Negroes* to buy cloaths. *Gared* was built by
Sharif *Abd'alla*, who was still reigning in *Marmol's* time, but
is only worth notice for its many sugar mills, and its leather
manufactory, the exportation of which into *Europe* alone, is
said to bring in to the Sharif 34,000 *l.* yearly. Thus much
may suffice for the geography of this empire, and of its three
principal provinces or kingdoms. We have now only to
speak of that of *Taphilet*, once a kingdom of itself, though
no very considerable one for any thing; but now become sub-

jeſt to the two emperors, ever ſince the reduction of its capital of the ſame name, by Sharif Muley Hamet.

Kingdom
of Taphi-
let, ſandy
and
barren.

THIS kingdom, which hath its name from its capital, ſituate on a river of the ſame, is a long tract of dry and barren ground, running almoſt eaſt and weſt, being bounded on the north by Fez and Tremecen, on the ſouth by the Sahrah, or deſart, on the eaſt by *Segelmessa*, and the country of the *Berebers*, and on the weſt by *Morocco* and *Suz*. The extent of it, including the provinces of *Itata*, *Darba*, *Sakrah*, and *Towet*, is of a prodigious extent, and too variously computed for us to adjust the difference, conſidering the little knowledge that can be had from the helps now extant of thoſe parts. The country is, for the moſt part, ſo ſandy and hot, that it ſcarce produces any thing of either corn or fruit, the only place where they can ſow any barley, is along the banks of the rivers, and even there it grows with great difficulty, and but in ſmall quantities, through the violent heat and parching drought that reign through all theſe regions the greateſt part of the year; ſo that the Alcaides and perſons of diſtinction are only able to purchaſe it, the common people being ſo poor, that they are forced to live moſtly upon dates and camels fleſh, both which are here in great plenty. Water is likewiſe ſo very ſcarce here, except where they live near ſome river, that they are forced to ſave that which falls from the clouds in winter, to ſerve them the whole year. What grows in greateſt plenty, and without art or culture, is their indigo, which, however, yields a more vivid and laſting blue than that which is cultivated with ſo much care and labour in the *American* plantations, and brings a very good profit to the inhabitants ^u. They have likewiſe abundance of ottriches, of a prodigious ſize, and good to eat; camels, which carry vaſt burthens through theſe barren deſarts, and dromedaries (R), exceedingly ſwift, and chiefly uſed for expedition,

Product.

^u LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, l. i. c. 23. TORRES, & al ſup. citat. ST. OLAN, etat de Morocco.

(R) We took notice, a little higher, of a particular excellency of theſe creatures, as their innumerable owners ſtyle it, that they will travel with their heavy burden, without food or drink, till they are quite emaciated, and ſink under a tenth part of its weight (18). Thoſe of *Taphilet* will do almoſt the ſame, and differ only from a camel in that they have but two

(18) See before, p. 57, & al. Marmol, Afr. l. i. c. 23.

expedition, they commonly travelling 120, or more miles in one day, and with little sustenance or refreshment. The chief commerce of the *Taphiletans* and *Itatans*, besides the indigo above-mentioned, consists in their dates, and in a sort of leather, made of the hides of a creature they call Dantos, or Lantos, which come from *Numidia*, and are here fabricated into excellent shields^w. They likewise make a sort of striped silk of various colours, much used by the *Moors* and *Negroes*, as also fine cassocks and caps for the men, veils for the women, curious carpets, and other such ornaments. Most of the dates that are brought into *Europe* come from *Taphilet*, the emperor not permitting them to be exported from any other place of his dominions, and they are reckoned the best that grow in his whole empire. We are told moreover, that the fine leather that is made here is tanned with the stones of that fruit. *Taphilet* has always been put under Governed the government of one or other of the emperor's sons, not to by young much, perhaps, on account of its having been formerly un- Sharifi. der its own kings, or Cheyks, as becaule Muley Ishmael and other Sharifs, were natives of it; though it is the least coveted by those young princes of any in *Morocco*. They en- Their tertain here commonly about 4000 troops, mostly horse, to force. keep the people, who are chiefly *Berebers*, or *Arabs* brought hither by the Sharifs, in subjection.

THE emperor, among his other titles, takes that of lord of *Taphilet* and *Darha*, and often permits the prince, whom he sends thither governor, to take that of king of *Taphilet*. And it is likely that the boundaries of this tributary kingdom, which are so variously fixed, extend only as far as these governors think it worth their while to send their troops to levy the usual tribute; but what that amounts to is beyond our power to tell.

^w De his, vid. LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. & al. sup. citat.

bunches on their backs, one larger than the other, and are more finely shaped. And we much question whether a circumstance, which we are told by a judicious author, concerning their young ones, be not chiefly owing to the hard use they are newly soaled, they will be motionless for a long while, and as in a deep sleep, sometimes about eight days, notwithstanding their running with such incredible swiftness, when they are come to their full strength (19).

(19) *St. Olan, etat de Morocco. p. 3, & seq. vid. & Leo, lib. ix. et al. ubi sup.*

City of Taphilet. THE city of *Taphilet*, the capital of this kingdom, is situate upon a river of its name, and hath a stout castle, the common residence of the young Sharifs. It is supposed to have been built by the old *Berebers*, and is inhabited by about 2000 of them, who are distinguished by the name of *Fitelis*, and are industrious and rich in date-trees, camels, horses, and other cattle. And it is chiefly here that the leather, silk, and linen manufactures, lately mentioned, are carried on. *Taphilet* hath a large concourse, and may be stiled the rendezvous of merchants, not only from *Barbary* and *Africa*, but even from *Europe*. The people are affable and civil to strangers, but the *Arabs* extremely addicted to superstition, and several kinds of witchcrafts; some of the most notorious may be seen in the margin (S). Other towns worth our notice we find not in this

(S) This weakness is not confined to the *Arabs* of this city, but extends to all the *Arab* tribes throughout this vast tract, and beyond, and hath communicated itself even to the *Berebers*. They are not only strict observers of the *Mohammedan* law, and scrupulous in their usual ablutions before prayer, five times a day, and in their dress and eating, but will not touch a bit of flesh, unless the creature hath been killed by one of their sect, which is done in the following manner. The butcher, turning the throat of it towards *Mecca*, speaks these words: *O God, behold this victim which I am going to slay, and grant that we may eat the flesh of it to thy glory.* They are no less scrupulous in freeing the flesh from any the least remains of the blood.

They pretend to be the only true observers of the *Koran*, which they say is but a sequel of the law of Jesus Christ, who ordained even the very dress they were to wear. They have therefore neither gold nor silver

among them, wear neither linen nor silk, but wrap up their bodies in a woollen cloth, two or three times round, leaving the arms and legs uncovered. This they call a *Hock*, which, they say, ought always to be of a white colour.

In their morning prayers, after the usual washing of their feet up to the knees, and their hands to the elbows, they turn their faces towards the sun-rising, and sitting themselves down on the ground, call upon *Cidy Mohammed*, their prophet, and afterward on *Cidy Bellbeck*, by whom they mean *St. Austin*, and some other of their saints, among whom they number *Cidy Naxffa*, which is the name they give to Jesus Christ, whom they believe to have been born of a pure virgin, and conceived by the breath of God; but acknowledge only one person in the Godhead.

With respect to their more ridiculous superstitions, we shall only say in general, ~~that~~ they pay a singular regard to a sort of pretended

this kingdom, nor any thing except the river of its name, which *River.* descends from the land of *Sagara*, upon mount *Atlas*, and directs its course from north-west to south-east; and, after having watered the city and plain of *Taphilet*, and received, among others, the *Segora* and *Haded*, loses itself in the lands of the desert of *Darba*. Between *Taphilet* and *Darba* is a high road, which crosses part of mount *Atlas*, through which the caravans go to and fro with their merchandizes *. *Road thro' Atlas.*

UNDER the kingdom of *Taphilet*, is included the province of *Gesula*, or *Guzula*, perhaps a corruption of the antient name of *Gatulia* †, part of which, if not all, the Sharifs have found means to bring under their obedience. This large territory hath *Taphilet* on the east, *Morocco* on the north, *Suz* on the west, and *Darba* on the south. Its extent and boundaries are too vague for us to ascertain; neither is there any thing worth our notice in it, except the few following particulars, with which we shall close this section. *Province of Gesula.* *Situation.*

THE country is mostly dry and barren, the inhabitants poor and brutish, and the best part of them employed either in the iron and copper mines of the country, or in the fabrication of those metals into all manner of utensils used in *Barbary*; and these they exchange for horses, linen and woollen clothes, spices, and such other commodities as they want, either by carrying them into other parts of *Barbary*, or by the frequent fairs they hold in their plains, or in their large towns (for they have no cities), some of which contain 1000 houses, or more. There is one fair in particular, which is kept in a large plain, and lasts two months, and which is resorted to by strangers from most parts of *Barbary* and *Negroland*. During the whole time, the *Gesulans*, though naturally brutish, seem to lose their savage temper, and to shew *Inhabitants.* *A great fair.*

* De hoc, *via. Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 213, & seq.*

pretended conjurers and charm-mongers, without whose advice they undertake not any thing of moment, and are by them furnished with amulets, and other pretended preservatives against sickness, fire, water, and other accidents; and these they religiously wear about them, sleep-

ing and waking, and place a greater confidence in them than in their prayers, or other acts of religion. In all which juggling tricks, one may discover a strange medley of astrological and other conjuring cant and superstitious trash, not worth any farther notice (20).

(20) *Leo, Marmol, Grammay, et al. sup. citat. vid. et St. Olan, etat: de l'Empire de Morocco, p. 2, et seq. Braitbwait, ubi sup. p. 347, &c.*

*Strangers maintain-
ed gratis.* an uncommon courtesousness to all comers ; inſomuch, that though theſe commonly amount to about 10,000 at leaſt, they are all maintained, during their ſtay, at the public charge, with their ſervants and cattle ; there being perſons appointed on purpoſe to dreſs their victuals, and furniſh them with all other conveniencies, all which is done without tumult or diſturbance ; to prevent which, as well as quarrelling, fighting, thieving, and ſuch-like diſorders, there is always a ſufficient number of ſoldiers under the command of two captains, who immediately ſeize and puniſh the offenders ; and, if a thief, he is immediately put to death on the ſpot, and his fleſh is thrown to the dogs. One remarkable cuſtom is here eſta- bliſhed, and religiously kept, that let them be at war with whom they will, they obſerve a truce three days in the week with all ſtrangers, for the encouragement of their commerce ; and the ſame is likewiſe done during the two months of the above-mentioned fair.

Weapons. THE inhabitants of this province are ſaid to be ſo nume- rous, that they are able to bring above 60,000 into the field. Their weapons are the ſcimitar, dagger, ſpear, and ſhort gun ; which laſt they are ſuppoſed to have taken up ſince their be- coming ſubject to the Sharifs, whom they ſerve as foot-guards, armed with that and their broad ſword. Their dreſs is only a ſhort ſtriped woollen or linen jacket, with half-ſleeves, over which they throw a kind of long coat or gown of coarſe woollen cloth, and under which hangs either a dagger or a ſhort two-edged ſword. Some ſuppoſe them to have no reli- gion at all, at leaſt not that of *Mohammed*, not ſo much on ac- count of their ferocity, but becauſe they chuſe to begin their great fair on the birth-day of that pretended prophet. They have neither gallows, wheels, nor croſſes ; but every capital offender is immediately pierced with darts, and his carcaſe, thrown to the dogs.

Product. THEIR country produces very little corn, but plenty of barley, dates, good paſture, and variety of cattle. The *Portu- gueſe* had once made themſelves maſters of part of *Geſſula*, and brought it under tribute, but they ſoon recovered their freedom again, and held it till the Sharifs ſubdued them, which ſecond loſs ſeems to have been owing to their frequent hoſtilities againſt them, and their often plundering their me- tropolis. But ſince their reduction, we are told, they have continued very faithful to them, though rather under the name of allies, than ſubjects and tributaries ².

*Subdued by
the Sha-
riſs.*

² LEO AFR. l. ii. GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. 8. MARMOL, l. iii. c. 51.
D. TORRES, LA CROIX, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. ſup. citat.

S E C T. II.

The Government, Laws, Religion, Trade, Learning, and Customs, of the Empire of Morocco.

THERE is not, perhaps, under the cope of heaven, a more despotic and tyrannical government than this, especially since the Sharifs have made themselves masters of it; though it was not much better even before that time. Religion, laws, antient customs, and inbred prejudices, all conspire to render the monarch absolute and arbitrary, and to confirm the subjects in the most abject and miserable state of slavery. The former is not only allowed to have an uncontrollable property and power over the lives and fortunes of the latter, but, in a great measure, even over their consciences too, inasmuch as he is the only person who, as successor of *Mohammed*, sets up for the principal interpreter of the *Koran*, and appoints all the judges under him, of whom those of *Morocco* and *Fez* are the chief, whose business is to explain and dispense all matters relating to their religion; and, being his creatures and dependants, dare not steer otherwise than as he directs (A). Whenever, therefore, any of his laws are once

(A) This is not, however, to be stretched so far as to flagrant breaches of their law, of which the *Moors* in general are very strict and zealous observers. For in such cases both priests and laity will dare to blame and condemn a prince, though not openly, much less make it a pretence for rebelling against him. Witness the reign of that of cruelty, oppression, drunkenness, and debauchery, *Muley Hamet Dabebby*, who, though he lived in open contempt of the *Koran*, and encouraged it in all his ministers (1), inasmuch that he preferred pork, so strictly forbidden by their law, and so detested by all *Mohammedans*, to all other flesh, except a roasted

fox, which was his beloved dish; yet was never disturbed by any opposition, except what was raised by his brother, *Muley Abd al Melek*, who, being older than he, had the fairer title to the crown, and with it all the opposite virtues to his brother's vices. But though these advantages procured him the good wishes of all the *Moors*, yet it was not without great difficulty that he wrenched the sceptre from him; nor was it long before that tyrant was recalled and re-enthroned by his subjects, in spite of all the opposition his brother could make against it, as shall be shewn in a subsequent section (2).

(1) *Braitwaik Revol. of Morocco, pass.*(2) *Ibid. p. 153, et seq.*

*A strange
notion
about their
kings.*

*Negroes,
why be-
come so
powerful.*

enacted by him, and proclaimed by his governors in all places of his dominions, as it is commonly done, that none may plead ignorance, they are every-where received with an implicit and religious submission. On the other hand, the subjects are bred up with a notion, that those that die in the execution of his command, are intitled to an immediate admittance into paradise; and those that have the honour to die by his hand, to a still greater degree of happiness in it. After this we need not wonder at finding so much cruelty, oppression, and tyranny, on the one side, and so much submission, passiveness, and misery, on the other.

THIS latter, however, extends no farther than the *Moors*; for as to the *Arabs*, the subjection and tribute they pay to those tyrants was always involuntary, and altogether forced; and as for the Negroes, their zeal and attachment is owing merely to the great sway and power which they had gained in the government during the last reign, both on account of their being better soldiers than the *Moors*, but more especially out of a particular regard which *Muley Ishmael* had for them, on account of his mother being a Negro; so that, being now grown in a manner too strong to be suppressed, their loyalty and affection to those monarchs, whom they strive to imitate in all their vices, must be supposed to rise and fall, according to the favour and encouragement they receive from them. And they are now the only ones to whom those tyrants intrust their persons, their treasure, and their concubines, and whom they raise to the highest posts of authority and trust (B), and whom they suffer, not to say encourage, by their own ex-

(B) These Negroes, ever since their adhering so closely to *Muley Ishmael*, have been in high request with his successors, and make the main branch of the soldiery, both of horse and foot. They are brought so young out of *Guinea*, that they quickly lose the memory of it; and having no relations or friends, nor dependence, but on the emperor's favour, are the more ready to obey his orders in all things. They are at first

brought up to be foot soldiers, and, after so many years service in it, or sooner, if their behaviour deserve it, are advanced to the cavalry, which is a great honour in that country. They are taught little else except the exercise of arms, and to obey the emperor's orders; and, by the readiest compliance with his views, politics, and inclination, advance themselves to the highest posts under him (3).

ample, to tyrannize and oppress their native, as well as their most faithful and submissive subjects^a.

BUT we shall, perhaps, find less reason to wonder at this connivance, if we consider, that, sooner or later, all the extor-
 tions of those blood-suckers come in course into their own
 treasury, either by the heavy fines they impose upon them
 upon any complaint preferred against them, or upon any
 other whether real or pretended mis-administrations, or by
 seizing on all their ill-gotten wealth at their deaths. For the
 emperors here have found means to establish another branch of
 despotism, which renders them still more powerful and formi-
 dable to their subjects; viz. their making themselves their sole
 heirs, and, in virtue of that, seizing upon all their effects, and
 making only such provision for their families as they think
 proper; and often, on some frivolous pretence, leaving
 them destitute of any, according to the liking or dislike they
 bear to the deceased; so that, upon the whole, they are the
 only makers, judges, and interpreters, and, in many instances
 likewise, the executioners, of their own laws, which have no
 other limits than their own arbitrary will. To preserve, how-
 ever, some specious shew or shadow of justice, they allow
 their Musti a kind of superiority in spirituals, and a sort of
 liberty to the meanest subject to summon them before his
 tribunal. But the danger which such an attempt would
 bring upon a plaintiff, perhaps no less than death and destruc-
 tion, is of itself sufficient to deter any man from it; especially
 considering the little probability there is that the judges of it
 would run the risk of declaring themselves against a monarch
 whose creatures they are, and on whom their lives and fortunes
 so absolutely depend^b.

*Kings sole
heirs of all
their sub-
jects.*

*Their will
the only
law.*

THE titles which the emperors of Morocco assume, are those
 of Most Glorious, Mighty, and Noble Emperor of Afric, King of the
 of Fez and Morocco, Taphilet, Suz, Dahra, and all the Al-
 garbe, and its Territories in Afric; Grand Sharif (or, as of Mo-
 otheros write it, *Xarif*, that is, successor, or vicegerent) of the rocco.
 great Prophet Mohammed, &c.

*The titles
of the
emperors*

THE judges, or magistrates, that act immediately under His minis-
 him, are, as hath been already hinted, either spiritual or tem-
 poral, or rather ecclesiastical and military. The Musti and the
 Kadis are judges of all religious and civil affairs; and the
 Bassas, governors, Alcaldes, and other military officers, of
 those that concern the state or the army. All of them the
 most obsequious creatures and slaves of their prince, and no
 less the rapacious tyrants of his subjects, and from whom

*His minis-
ters eccle-
siastical,
civil, and
military.*

^a D. TORRES Relat. de los Xarifs. MOUQUET Voyag. c. 2.
^b BRAITHWAIT Hist. of Morocc. 1750, c. 1. ^c Ibid. ibid.

All a rapacious crew. neither justice nor favour can be obtained, but by mere dint of money, and extortionate bribery, from the highest to the lowest. Neither can it, indeed, be otherwise, in such an arbitrary government, where the highest posts must not only be bought of the prince at a most extravagant price, and kept only by as exorbitant a tribute, which is yearly paid to him, but where no one is sure to continue longer than he can bribe some of the courtiers to insinuate to the monarch that he pays to the utmost of his power, and much beyond what was expected from him. Add to this, that those *Bashas*, governors, &c. are obliged to keep their agents and spies in constant pay at court, to prevent their being supplanted by higher bidders, slanderers, or other artful underminers^c.

Revenue. FROM what hath been said under this head, it may be reasonably concluded, that this branch of the imperial revenue must be very considerable, though there is no possibility to make any other conjecture of its real amount, than that it

The emperor takes a tenth of all cargoes, captives, products, &c. must be an immense one. Another considerable branch is the piratical trade, which brings the greater income into his treasury, as he is not at any expence either for fitting of corsair vessels out, or maintaining their men, and yet hath the tenth of all the cargo, and of all the captives, besides which he appropriates to himself all the rest of them, by paying the captors fifty crowns *per* head, by which means he engrosses all the slaves to his own service and advantage. This article is, indeed, a very considerable addition to his revenue, not only as he sells their ransom at a very high rate, but likewise as he hath the profit of all their labour, without allowing them any other maintenance than a little bread and oil; nor any other assistance, when sick, than what medicines a *Spanish* convent, which he tolerates there, gives them gratis; and which, nevertheless, is forced to pay him an annual present for that toleration, besides furnishing the court with medicines, and the slaves with lodging and diet when they are not able to work. Another branch of his revenue consists in the tenth part of all cattle, corn, fruits, honey, wax, hides, rice, and other products of the earth, which is exacted of the *Arabs* and *Berbers*, as well as of the natives; and these are levied, or rather farmed, by his *Bashas*, governors, *Alcaides*, &c. with all possible severity. The *Jews* and Christians likewise pay an income, or capitation, the former of six crowns *per* head, on all males from fifteen years and upwards, besides other arbitrary imposts, fines, &c.; that on the Christians, for the liberty of trading in his dominions, rises and falls according to

Jews and Christians taxed.

^c Vid. auct. sup. citat. Sr. OLAN, *etat de Morocc.* p. 106, & seq.

their number, and the commerce they drive^d; but which, whatever it may bring yearly into his coffers, is yet detrimental to trade in general, seeing it discourages great numbers from settling there, notwithstanding the artful invitations which the emperors and their ministers make use of to invite them to it; for besides those arbitrary exactions, there is still another great hardship attending them; viz. that they cannot leave the country without forfeiting all their debts and effects to the crown. The duties on all imports and exports, of which we shall speak under a subsequent article, is another branch of his income, the amount of which, *communibus annis*, no author hath yet given us any account of; only *consul Hatfield* hath computed the whole yearly revenue, including ordinaries and extraordinaries, to amount to 500 quintals of silver, each quintal, or 100 lb. weight, valued at somewhat above 330 pounds sterling; so that the whole amounts to no more, according to him, than 165,000 pounds: a small revenue, indeed, for so large an empire, if the calculation may be depended upon^e. But *St. Olan*, though he doth not pretend so much as to guess at the yearly amount of it, doth in general represent it as so considerable, that *Muley Ishmael* was reckoned to have amassed out of it a treasure in gold and silver of about 50 effective millions, but whether of crowns or livres he doth not tell us*, nor how he came by his knowledge of it, because that politic prince, even by his own confession, not only caused all his riches to be buried in sundry places under-ground, his gold and silver to be melted into great lumps, and laid in the same privacy under ground, but likewise all those whom he intrusted with the secret to be as privately murdered. However that be, we shall, upon the whole, have the less cause to wonder at those exorbitant exactions which he extorts from Christian princes and states, whenever they are obliged either to seek his alliance, or to obtain some redress in favour of their trading subjects; much less at the shameful delays, insults, extortions, indignities, and injustice, which their ambassadors must be content to put up with, to obtain the least favour from their rapacious ministers; of which we need not a more flagrant instance than the strange treatment which *Mr. Russel* met with at that rapacious court^f.

THE navy of this empire hath been always inconsiderable; neither is the number of their ships fixed, but rises or sinks according to the present emergency. In *St. Olan's* time it consisted of no more than twelve sail, one half of which

^d *Ibid.* *ibid.* & *al.* sup. citat.

^e *BRAITHWAIT*, ubi sup. p.

377. ^{*} *Estat. de Morocc.* p. 105, & seq.

^f *Ibid.* p. 160,

to 281. & *alib.* pass.

want of
ports, tim-
ber, and
tackle,

belonged to the emperour, and the other to private subjects; most of them in bad plight, carrying at the most 18 or 20 cannon, and about 200 men, poorly armed and accoutred ^g. In Mr. *Braithwait's* time their whole naval force consisted only of two ships of 20 guns each, the biggest not above 200 tons, a *French* brigantine they had lately taken, and a few row-vessels; and yet with these, well filled with men, they sailed out of *Sallee* and *Mamora*, and made a great number of prizes. And it is a constant maxim with them, if they find, in a ship of a nation with whom they are at peace, a man of a different nation, to make a lawful prize of her. And it is a singular happiness for Christian traders that the *Morocco* dominions do not afford one tolerable good harbour; that of *Sallee*, which is by far the best, being almost dry at low water: besides a very inconvenient bar, of which we have already taken notice (C), which prevents ships of any burthen from entering ^h; for, if they had better ports, it might be an inducement to them to make a greater figure at sea, and become a greater annoyance. Another want they labour under, besides that of timber trees for building of ships, is that of tackle to rigg them with, and with which, as well as powder and shot, they are furnished by *England* and *Holland*. And such is their prowess at sea, that, about 34 years ago, a single small *English* frigate of 20 guns, with an active commander, by taking some of their ships, and running others on shore, had struck

^g ST. OLAN, *etat de Morocco*, p. 14.^o ^h See before, p. 80.
& BRAITHWAIT, p. 343.

(C) This bar, joined to the shallowness of the harbour, hath induced the late Mr. *Braithwait* to propose a method whereby it might be intirely stopped up, as well as that of *Mamora*, and both rendered unfit for any service; which would very much distress their trade, and humble that proud and faithless people (4). The misfortune is, that the Christian powers are diverted from exerting their art and strength against those piratical nations, lest their suppression should prove an overbalancing advantage to any

other state but their own. And it is chiefly owing to this narrow piece of policy that the late *Muley Ismael* was suffered, with a couple of ships, of twenty guns each, and a few row-barks, to keep the freights mouth locked up, as well as the liberty they have ever since, till very lately, enjoyed, of carrying on their piratical trade with such success, to the great detriment of the *European* commerce, and the reducing of some thousands of Christians to the most miserable state of slavery.

such terror among them, that the name of captain *Delgarno*, *Strange* like that of other formidable warriors, was used by the *Ma work mora* and *Sallee* women to fill their peevish children ¹. And, if *made* so, what might not six ships of the like force do, were they stationed at *Gibraltar*, and kept in such readiness, that there *among them by* might be always two clean upon their coasts, and off their *captain* harbours, to be relieved by two others who should successively *Delgarno*. take their stations; by which means they might always have our ships in their sight: might not this prove the most effectual method to frighten that rapacious and barbarian court into better manners, and more equitable terms?

THE land forces would, indeed, make a much greater *Land* figure, were they not dispersed in small numbers through- *forces*, out this large empire, or were they better disciplined and *how levi-* accoutred than they mostly are. We have already hint- *ed and* ed, that the greatest part of their renegadoes are forced to list *maintain-* amongst the foot, and sent to distant parts to garrison castles *ed*. and forts on the frontiers. Their pay is only 20 Blankits, that is 40 pence, *per* month, and a small allowance of flour. However they are commanded by an Alcaide of their own, that is one who is a renegado, and hath but a small allowance. Those whom our author saw at *lex* were drunken profligate fellows, half-naked and half-starved ¹. The *Moor*s are not much better paid, or equipped; but the choicest troops, both of horse and foot, are the Negroes, who, being brought hither from *Guinea* very young, and trained up for the army, commonly make the best soldiers, and are most relied on, as having signalized themselves upon several occasions, particularly at the sieges of *Oran* and *Ceuta*, of which we shall speak in the sequel. These are computed to amount in all, horse and foot, to about 40,000, and the *Moor*s pretty near as many (D). He might, indeed, easily increase that number in a war

¹ BRAITHWAIT, p. 343. Hist of Morocc.
sup p. 349.

¹ Idem, ubi

(D) These forces, however, are neither raised, paid, nor armed at his expence, but, upon any concerted expedition, are sent to him by the Alcaldes, every one of which is to furnish his particular quota, according to the extent or capacity of his government; every town and village under them being obliged to maintain a proportionable

number to their bigness, to be ready to march, upon the first warning, ready armed; of whom those who are picked out to serve in the horse, are furnished with horses, which they are obliged to maintain, as well as themselves, out of the allowance they receive from their town or village, and both horse and foot are thereby exempted

*Arsenal
poorly fur-
nished.*

war against the Christians, wherein they come more voluntarily, than when it happens to be against any of the *Molammedan* princes. But how to arm one quarter of them, would be very difficult, his armory being scarcely sufficient to furnish above 10,000 with firelocks and scimitars, besides 150 pieces of cannon, part of which were taken in the *Spanish Capitana*, and the rest were brought from the fortresses of *Larrah* when the *Spaniards* were driven out of it: all which are there laid up, as well as his treasure, for the use of that son whom he designs for his successor, against any of his contending brethren, or any other competitor. For he that can make himself master of these two repositories, is, in a great measure, sure to gain the crown¹, which being neither wholly elective nor hereditary, commonly falls to the share of the strongest and best provided with those two main sinews of war, especially if he hath had the address to make himself beloved or esteemed by the Negroes, who, as was hinted before, are the sole guards of the king's person, palace, treasure, wives, concubines, and whole family, and who have the government of the most considerable provinces and cities in the empire, next to the princes of the blood^m.

*Negroes
in great
power.*

*Trade and
navigation
stagnant.*

There is little or no foreign commerce here, but what is carried on either by the *Jews* or Christians. The *Moors* neither understand it, nor have any trading vessels of their own, so that the whole navigation is carried on by *European* ships, but chiefly *English* and *French*. But the want of convenient harbours on the one hand, and the exorbitant duties laid on all imports and exports, to say nothing of many other frauds and exactions, with which the foreign merchants are oppressed, is such an obstruction to it, that it is not the fourth part so extensive as it would otherwise be.

The chief exports are copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raisins, almonds, olives, indigo, gum arabic, sandric, cordovans, ostrich feathers, elephants teeth, and fine mats; as for corn, none is suffered to be exported, that being

¹ T. OLAN, *ibid* p 117, & seq. ST OLAN, *ibid*.

BRAITHWAIT, *ubi sup*.

from taxes during the war. They only oblige the married to serve, and let the unmarried, and those who have no settled home, go free. In urgent emergencies, they can press a greater number of the former than the usual quota, and take two out of three brothers, but these generally come armed with only a sword, or lance, and some of them only with a staff (5).

(5) St Olan, *ubi sup* p 113, & seq. Braithwait, *ubi sup* p 350, & seq. Davy, *et al*, *sup* c. 10.

expressly

expressly forbidden by the *Koran*, though the *Tunisians* and *Algerines* usually dispense with it.

THE usual imports are cloths, linen, lead, iron in bars, *St. ps* pay hard-ware, arms, bullets, and gun powder; all which paid a *now* 5 per duty of 10, but now only 8 *per cent.*ⁿ, besides which, the cent. ships trading to these dominions pay one barrel of gunpowder for entrance, with twelve for loading and anchorage, and twelve more to the captain of the port. But vessels sailing to or from *Gibraltar* pay but half of that duty, by a former indulgence, granted by the late *Muley Ishmael*, who had a particular regard for the *English* above all other *Europeans*. *English* and *French* consulage is eight dollars, and every *French* and *Spanish* ship pays three more to the hospital, or convent, of *Spanish* friars, founded there for the benefit of Christian slaves. It is a politic maxim among the *Moor*s of this empire, and might be universally observed every-where, to trade with any ship that comes into their ports, though belonging to a state at war with them, and trade with them for all such commodities as they have occasion for. They will even permit their consuls and merchants to live with them in the same security as if they were at peace with them.^o

An excellent policy among them.

BUT they have another which is as detrimental as that is *Another* beneficial; viz. to cheat all the strangers they can, both in *very bad* weight and measure, particularly in their silver coin, which, besides its wear, is commonly clipped or lessened by the *Jews*, so that, if a man doth not carry a pair of scales to weigh, as well as a good pair of eyes to examine, what he receives, he is sure to be cheated.

BUT besides their commerce by sea, they carry on a very *Land com-* considerable one by land by their caravans, which set out *merce by* twice a year from *Fez* to *Mecca* and *Medina*, and carry variety *caravan* of their woollen manufactures, some of which are exceedingly fine and beautiful, besides cochineal, indigo, ostrich feathers, and *Morocco* skins; in return for which they bring silks, muslins, and variety of drugs^p (E). They likewise send large caravans

ⁿ ST. OLAN, p 140, & seq. BRAITHWAIT, Hist. of Morocco, p. 356. MOURTTE, ibid. c 15 & al. ^o lid. ibid. ^p lid.

(E) This branch of trade from *Mecca* might be easily put stop to by *England*, by our disposing silks from *Turkey* to *Libary* by sea; and the empe-

ror would most probably encourage it, for the sake of the duty of 10 *per cent* on goods imported on *English* bottoms, as it would likewise prevent ma-

caravans into *Guiney*, consisting of many thousand camels, which the length of the way, and difficulty of the passage, thro' de'arts void of provisions and water, render absolutely necessary, every other camel being loaded with those necessaries. The others carry thither salt, cowries, woollen and silk manufactures, oil, &c. which they exchange with the Negroes for gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and Negro slaves¹.

Coin of 3
sorts.

Clipped
and de-
based by
the Jews.

THE coin of this empire is of three sorts; the lowest of which, called a *Fluce*, is a small piece of copper, somewhat less than our farthing, 20 of which make a *Blankit*, another small coin of silver, of the value of about two-pence *English*. This last, for want of being milled, is so liable to be clipped by the *Jews*, and being most in use, grows so very thin, that, if one doth not take care to weigh them, one is sure to be a loser by them. For though both *Jews* and *Moors* will strive hard to put them off; yet, if they be light, they will refuse to take them, except by weight, in order to be melted again. For those *Jews* are both melters and coiners, and get considerably by both. They likewise exchange good money for bad; for which, besides the payment of the difference, they extort an extravagant premium. This makes it very troublesome and chargeable in marketing, because, if one of these pieces be but cracked, it will be refused; and yet most large payments are made in that coin, gold being both scarce and kept up.

Gold coin.

THE gold coin is the ducat, not unlike that of *Hungary*, worth about nine shillings sterling, three of which make a *moidore*, and are generally so changed. Merchants accounts are kept by ounces, each of which contains four *Blankits*, and four of which make a ducat account, or, as they style it, a *Metical*. But, in payments to the government, they will take no less than seventeen and a half for a gold ducat. These three last ounces and ducats, or, *Meticals*, are imaginary. As for the three real species above mentioned, the *Mohammedan* religion not permitting them to bear the prince's or any other effigy, they are only stamped with some *Arabic* characters. As for foreign coin, whether gold or silver, it is only valued

¹ BRAITHWAIT, *ibid.* p. 358. *Hist. of Barbary.*

ny of his subjects going to *Mec-* traders to settle themselves, as
ra, where the *u kiff* govern- under the least tyranny of the
ment, which is much milder two (6).
than his, invites many of those

(6) *Hist. of Barbary*, p. 357.

according to its weight, and as if it was to be melted; and the *Jews* make a considerable profit not only in the exchange of it, but in filing, lessening, and even debasing of it, which makes it dangerous to take any from them without the scales and the touchstone.

We have already said something of their learning, in speaking of the university of Fez¹; and all that we can add to it is, that it is in a great measure wholly confined to their priests and doctors of their law. As for the rest, they think themselves learned enough if they can but read, write, and cast accounts; and even these are much neglected, even by their princes and nobles, many of whom, like the late emperor *Muley Ishmael*, can neither read nor write. Though this seems to be a degeneracy of no longer standing, perhaps, than since their falling under the subjection of the Sharifs, and quite opposite to a proverbial saying of theirs, *A horse, a woman, and a book*²; which expressed their three predominant inclinations. The two former of which they retain as much as ever, no nation being more expert and dexterous in all kinds of horsemanship, nor more addicted to women than they. But at present their appetite for learning, for which they were so famed heretofore (F), seems wholly extinguished among them in every respect, except, perhaps, in the great regard they still pay to their doctors and professors. They are

Learning much neglected.

Confined to reading and writing.

¹ See before, p. 76. ² BRAITHWAIT, p. 346, & seq. & 351. ST. OLAN, p. 81. Hist. of Morocco, p. 362. & al.

(4F) We have formerly shewn, that these countries, barbarous as they were called by the *Romans*, were not without their arts and sciences, at the time they were conquered by them (7). Since which, both the *Moors* and *Arabians*, especially the latter, have rendered them still more considerable by the branches of learning they cultivated among them, such as philosophy, astronomy, physic, history, &c. as well as by the many learned authors they have produced, such as *Abu'lsaragius*, *Aigamal*, *Albu'ar*, *Maimonides*, &c.

Avicenna, *Averroes*, and a great many others, whom we have had occasion to mention thro' the course of this Modern History (8). So that this great decay of learning among them can hardly be ascribed to any other cause than to the many long and dreadful wars, vicissitudes, and devastations they have since undergone, and to the tyrannical government they still groan under. Those very causes having every-where, and in all ages, produced the same effects (9).

(1) See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 199, et seq. (8) See *Ref. vi.* col. xiv. pass. (9) *Leo African.* *Saint. Grammay*, *Marmol*, *Daviy*, *Braithwait*, *St. Olan*.

Much addicted to astrology. likewise much addicted to astrology, and place great confidence in charms, magic, and other superstitious trash. They have no physicians except quacks, who deal much in simples, amulets, and other pretended conjurings. Their surgeons are not much better; which gives the renegades an opportunity to set up for physicians and surgeons, when they can pretend to nothing better.

Schools. THEY have regular schools in all their cities and towns, to teach children to read, write, and cast accounts; and all the books they are taught are some short catechisms of their faith, and last of all the *Koran*. And when a boy hath once gone through this last, he is handsomely dressed, and set upon a horse, and led in triumph through the city by the rest of the school boys. The children never receive any chastisement, either at school or at home, but on the soles of their feet, with a small rod, or flat rule. All other punishments of them, especially some in use amongst us, are abhorred by them ^u.

Martial discipline defective. THEIR martial skill and discipline, notwithstanding their continual wars at home and abroad, and the care which the late Sharifs have taken to breed their Negro troops to arms from their infancy, is still amazingly rude and imperfect in every respect, excepting, perhaps, their dexterity in riding and horsemanship; and even in this they rather shew an unusual agility, than any military skill, their horses being now rather remarkable for their docility and fleetness, than for true martial exploits; and yet, in antient times, the *Mauritanian* cavalry was reckoned of all others the most formidable. The foot is still worse disciplined, and worse armed and accoutred.

Way of fighting. When they engage the enemy, their method is to place the horse on the two wings, and the foot in the center, which extends itself in the form of a crescent; and, where the ground will allow it, never consists of above two ranks, which are the more easily broke by the horse, whenever these can come to attack them, because the foot have neither discipline nor order to prevent their breaking upon them; and what is still worse, stand in such dread of them, that 500 foot will be put to flight by 50 horsemen. They make but a poor figure at best, either in marching, encamping, or fighting; and the only mark of courage they shew, is when they are going to engage the enemy; at which time they begin the onset with a loud shouting, which is followed with some short ejaculatory prayer for victory. The cavalry which is nearest to the emperor, and chiefly consists of Negroes, is armed with guns, pistols, and scimiters; and that which is farthest from him only with musquets and lances. The infantry is variously armed, some with guns, others with bows, slings, short pike,

^u *Iid. ibid.*

clubs, and broad-swords. With these weapons they engage the enemy, especially Christians, rather with a kind of enthusiastic fury, than like a well disciplined army; but if they meet with a brave opposition, or an unexpected repulse, they are the more easily put to the rout; and, when so, are with great difficulty rallied again, it at all; especially if the enemy be of the same religion with them; in which case, they usually engage them with an ill will, and will fight no longer, when they think themselves in danger of being killed, or when they can see a way of saving themselves by flight *. As to the Arabs or Berbers, they are seldom called in as auxiliaries, because, being under a kind of forced subjection, they cannot be safely trusted by either side; but what is required of them is, that they furnish the emperor's troops with provisions of corn, barley, meat, butter, oil, honey, &c. under pain of military execution, where-ever they encamp. They are very numerous, and for the most part brave and stout, and fond of liberty, and would soon shake off the irksome yoke, if they were not kept under by oppressive taxes, and the want of good arms. But as they are all of the *Mohammedan* religion, the Sharifs, when at war with any Christian powers, will venture to oblige them to send a certain quota to fight under their banner; at which time they will furnish them with fire and other arms, and even with horses, all which they strip them of again, as soon as the campaign is over, before they are suffered to return to their own homes *.

We have already hinted that the established religion throughout this empire, both among *Moors* and *Arabs*, is that of *Morocco*. A *Phammed*, of which, and its four principal sects, a full account hath been given in a former volume †. These are strict followers of that of *Malik*, whose extravagant and superstitious doctrines they have adopted, and without the belief of which they think a *Mohammedan* cannot be saved. We shall have further occasion to mention some of those strange tenets in a subsequent chapter, as they are still more strenuously held at *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Taflet*, and other parts of *Barbary*, where we shall speak more fully of them; all that we shall observe concerning them here is, that, of all others, those of *Morocco* and *Fez* are not only the most zealous sticklers for them, but have introduced several others, equally impertinent and ridiculous, and of which they are no less strict observers. Such as sending on certain days variety of victuals to be placed on the tombs of

* *Ibid. ubi sup. vid. ST. OLAN, p. 113, & seq. BRAITH. p. 359.*
 † *MARMOL, LEO AFRICANUS, GRAMMAY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.* See vol. i. p. 32, & alib. pass.

Veneration for the dead.

their deceased relations ; their burying gold, silver, and jewels, and other conveniencies, with them, that they may live the more at their ease in the other world ; the digging their graves narrow at the top and broad at the bottom, to give the deceased more room, and greater facility to gather up his bones at the resurrection : on which account, and to prevent any mixture or collusion, they never inter two persons in one grave. They pay a great veneration to those sepulchres, embellish them with tomb-stones, cupolas, and other ornaments, and forbid all Christians, even ambassadors, for approach them. Every *Friday*, which is their sabbath, those sepulchres, which are commonly out of town, are crowded with men and women, in a blue dress, which is the colour for their mourning; but mostly by the latter, who are allowed to repair thither, to pay their tribute of tears and prayers for the dead ; and by marabouts, who commonly have their cells in that neighbourhood, and, for a little money, join in their devotions with seeming zeal and fervency, this being a considerable branch of their trade. They all ply here with their beads in their hands, and repeat a certain number of passages out of the *Koran*, more or less, according to the generosity of their devotees.

Hatred of all Christians. THEY profess a more than common abhorrence against all Christians, and breed up their children to the same. The usual name they call them by is that of dogs ; and they seldom make mention of any without tacking some hearty curse to it. The very ambassadors themselves are not exempt from their insults and curses as they go along the streets, and are often pelted with stones and dirt by the populace.

Strangers regard to pilgrims extends even to horses, &c. THEY are not only pay a great veneration to their marabouts, an idle pack of priests, who live and thrive on the folly of the Mecca superstitious laxy, as they do at *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. but to pilgrims ; those who have made their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, whom they style *Hadjes*, or *saints*, and allow them several considerable privileges. But what is still more singular, the very camels and horses that have been there are esteemed so holy, that they are exempted from future service, well fed and kept, and when they die are allowed the same kind of burial as they do to their nearest relations (G).

THEIR

* LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMON, & al sup. citat. vid & ST. OLAN, p. 50, & seq. BRAITHWAIR, p. 364, & seq. * BRAITHWAIR, ibid.

(G) These sanctified beasts beads and other relics and ornaments about their necks, which are

THEIR worship in their mosks is much the same as we have already described in other parts of the *Moslem* dominions. They enter them bare footed, and behave with great decency and seeming devotion. If a man be convicted of having absented himself from them during eight days, he is, for the first fault, rendered incapable of being a witness in any court; is mulct^{*Absence from their mosks how*}ed for the second; and burnt as a heretic for the third. As ^{*punished.*} for the women, they being looked upon as only created for procreation, and apt to inspire men with impure thoughts at their devotions, they are not permitted to enter those places, ^{*Women excluded from them.*} but pray at home, or at the sepulchres lately mentioned^b. They allow salvation for all, of what nation or religion soever, that die before they are fifteen years of age; but to none beyond it, unless to the *Moslems* of their own sect. And those females of other religions that die virgins under the age above-mentioned, are reserved to make up the compliment of seventy females which every male will be intitled to in paradise. They reckon ideots, madmen, and pretended forcerers and charm-mongers, among their saints of the first class, and build chapels to them after their deaths, which are visited with great devotion; and those places, as well as the sepulchres of their Hedges, or *Mecca* pilgrims, whether men, camels, or horses, are allowed sanctuaries for all crimes, except treason^c. The *Koran* forbidding all games of hazard, that prohibition is so strictly observed in these dominions, that the people of all ranks content themselves with playing at chess, draughts, and other such-like games, and express an utter abhorrence for cards, dice, &c. If any person hath lost his money at any game, and complains of it to the Kadi, he will order it imme-

Sepulchres esteemed sanctuaries.

Games of hazard forbidden.

^b History of Barbary, p. 361. ST. OLAN, ubi sup. p. 49 Mou-
LIERTE State of Morocco, c. 1. ^c Id. ibid.

are commonly some verses out of the *Koran*, upon parchment or paper, and sewn in a piece of rich silk or brocade. If their owners are not in a capacity of keeping them, they procure them a maintenance from the revenue of the mosk, or parish, they belong to; and they never want some devotees, who take a singular pleasure, in visiting and feeding them.

We are told that *Muley Ismael*, who was a very strict *Mohammedan*, in the first audience he gave the *French* ambassador, had one of those horses led before that he rode on. It was sumptuously clad, and, among other marks of distinction, had a young Christian slave to hold up his tail with one hand, and with the other a pot to receive his excrements, and a napkin to wipe him clean (10).

diately to be restored to him, and the winner to be bastinadoed or fined. The same punishment is assigned to all those that are caught playing at any chance game, or for any money, except a mere trifle by way of diversion. They suffer neither Jews nor Christians either to enter into their mosks, or to have any carnal conversation with their women; and if any of them are found guilty of either, they must either turn *Mohammedans*, or be burned or impaled alive. They have one settled maxim among them, which is religiously observed by all, from the highest to the lowest; *viz.* not to keep faith with infidels; in consequence of which they make no conscience to lye, forswear, and violate the most solemn engagements. For which shameful practice one of their *Talbes*, or priests, did not scruple to give this reason to the *French* ambassador, that they would soon become slaves to the false religion and idolatry of the Christians, if they were, like them, as great ones to their engagements with them^d. But whatever their motives be for it, one may safely affirm, that there is hardly a more rapacious or faithless court and ministry than that of *Morocco*; nor a more cheating and perfidious people than the subjects of that empire. They verify a proverb, current among them, that *given vinegar is sweeter than bought honey*. To close up this article of their religion, they are exact observers of the superstitious part of their law, beyond all other *Mohammedans* in *Barbary*, and especially of their *Ramadan*, or Lent, which is kept with such strictness, that they will not, during that whole month, taste one drop of coffee, or a whiff of tobacco, from two hours before sun-rising till after it is quite set, much less will they touch any other victuals or refreshment. Their very children are so enured to the same abstinence, that it becomes natural to them; their very corsairs, though the basest villains under the sun, will keep this long fast on ship-board; and if a renegado is found to neglect it, as they often do, he is punished with 100 or 200 bastinadoes on the soles of his feet. Strange infatuation this, to imagine that a regular repetition of praying, washing, fasting, &c. shall atone for the vilest frauds, oppressions, cruelty, perjury, and the most immoral and unnatural vices, and the violation of all moral rectitude and virtue!

Their
faithless-
ness how
palliated.

Wretched
charac-
ter of the
court and
people.

Strict ob-
servers of
lent.

Punish-
ments.

THEIR punishments are much the same as those we have already seen in other parts of *Barbary*, except with regard to such as flow from the arbitrary sentence of their monarchs; such as sawing in sunder, either length or cross-wise; burning

^d ST. OLAN, p. 51, & seq. MONETTE, ubi sup. c. 1. BRATHWAIT, p. 362, & seq. History of Barbary, p. 362. ^e Ibid, ibid.

by slow fires, and others which they take delight in, but which are a shame and abhorrence to human nature, especially considering how often the most cruel of them fall upon the innocent, and are the mere and sudden effects of jealousy, revenge, distraction, and often of drunk madness or disappointment. The renegadoes are here likewise punished with fire, but with some additional severity, they being stripped quite naked, and anointed all over with tallow, and having a chain fastened about their loins, are dragged from prison to the place of execution, and there burned. *Jews* who debase the coin, or wrong the king, and slaves that attempt to run away, are likewise punished with greater severity here than in any other parts of *Barbary*, thought inhumanly enough every-where.

THE dress, customs, marriages, burials, food, drink, baths, *Customs*, houses, &c. having nothing particularly worth notice, we shall refer our readers to the general account we shall give of them in a subsequent chapter. On one custom we cannot pass by, which seems to be peculiar to them, is that it is reckoned so shameful a thing for a man to make water in a standing posture, that those that are found guilty of it are excluded from being evidence in any trial. Whether this be to prevent any drop of their urine from falling upon their cloaths, which is esteemed a legal defilement, or upon any other account, we cannot determine; only we are assured by most writers that they are very careful to squat down, like the females, whenever they have occasion to empty their bladder. The women have likewise a strange superstitious custom when in labour, which is, to send to the school for five little boys, four of whom are employed in holding the four corners of a cloth, in each of which is an egg tied; and running with it through the streets, singing some prayers, alternately, upon which the *Moors* come out of their houses, with bottles, or pitchers full of water, which they throw into the middle of the cloth; by which means they expect to be more easily and quickly delivered.

THE language of this country is, without all peradventure, one of the most extensive in the whole world; namely, the *Arabeesk*, or modern *Arabic*, which is here spoken not only in towns and cities, but in all the villages, adowards, tents, and mountains of this empire; nay, those western *Barbary Moors* are understood all over the *Turkish* dominions; the reason of which may be their frequent pilgrimages to *Mecca*, from this and other parts of *Barbary*; by which means that language is so naturally kept up, that *Turks*, *Moors*, *Algerines*,

† BRAITHWAIT, p. 366, & al. sup. citat. * ST. OLAN, p. 53/ BRAITHWAIT, p. 364—368.

Tunisians, Tripolitans, Fezans, and Moroccans, understand one another perfectly well ^b. What that language is, and what affinity it hath with the antient *Arabic, Hebrew*, and other eastern tongues, the reader may see in the history we have already given of the antient and modern *Arabs*, and other learned authors quoted by us there ¹.

*Somelaud-
able cus-
toms
among
them.*

HITHERTO we have mentioned little relating to the religion, manners, &c. of the *Moors* of this empire; but that we may not be thought partial in exposing only the worst part of them, we shall now, in justice to them, acquaint our readers with what we find to be most commendable among them. And first, they cannot be too much admired for the great regard they pay to the name of God; that great abhorrence which they bear to the impious custom, so much in vogue among Christians, of swearing upon the most trivial subjects, which the greatest aggravated resentment cannot provoke them to; much less to blasphemous and indecent expressions of him, not having so much as a word in their language to express blasphemy by. Neither do they suffer their quarrels and contests with each other ever to transport them so far as to come to blows, much less to stab and murder one another, as is too common in ours and other Christian countries. They never kill but in war; their religion allowing of no pardon for murder: and it is with the utmost reluctance that they engage in battle against those that are of their own religion.

*Aversion to
swearing
and fight-
ing.*

*Respect to
parents.*

THEIR respect and obedience to their parents, superiors, and even of a younger brother to an elder, is no less exemplary and praise-worthy, before whom they neither dare to sit or speak without being bid. They are extremely jealous of the honour of their wives, and impatient of the least blemish or suspicion that is cast upon it. We likewise took notice, at the beginning of this section, of their extraordinary loyalty to their princes, even to the most brutish and abandoned of them; and we may add to it here, the singular zeal and bravery in defence of their country, though the small property they enjoy in it, one would hardly think worth the tenth part of the trouble and hazard they go through to preserve it. They are moreover very moderate in their eating; and as for their drinking, wine and other intoxicating liquors are forbidden by their law. And tho' this prohibition is perhaps the least observed by them, many even of their great men indulging themselves in drinking them privately; yet, in general, those persons, of whatever rank, that abstain from them, and regulate themselves only with such liquors as sherbet, coffee, and such

Sobriety

^b BRAITH. p. 371.

¹ BRAITH. ubi sup. p. 354.

^a Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 397.

sober beverage, are the most esteemed. And even in their licenced houses for wine, brandy, &c. if any *Mohammedan* is proved to have drank to excess of these, not only he, but the retailer, is severely punished, either by fine or bastinado; and the Kadi's officers come and stave all their vessels¹. They have indeed a much better succedaneum at hand upon such occasions; viz. their opium, which, moderately used, hath all the invigorating, cheering, and healing qualities of the noblest wines, without any of their pernicious effects. *Use of opium.*

THEIR visits are commonly short, lasting no longer than the business which occasions them requires; and the visited only treats his visitor with coffee or sherbet, and a pipe of tobacco, unless on particular occasions. The women have their particular apartments, where they receive their female visitors, and from which the husbands are excluded. We have already mentioned their forbidding of all games of chance, or playing at any other, except for a regale of coffee, sherbet, or other such small refreshment. But what must they think of our suffering men and women of all ranks, ages, and conditions, to murder their time, waste their fortunes, ruin their families, neglect their own and the public welfare, in those very games which are moreover rendered more dishonourable and destructive, by the base and scandalous abuses that are suffered to reign impunely, at almost all those places of resort? Lastly, when any person is convicted in any of these states of *Barbary* of a capital crime, he is conducted to the place of execution, by two or three officers, without any retinue, or any other crowd of spectators, than a few unruly boys. But what must they think, were they to see the crowds and tumults that attend our most common executions, to see so many myriads neglect their own affairs, hire seats on scaffolds, raised at an extraordinary charge, run the risk of breaking their limbs or necks, to behold some uncommon criminal put to death; and, with as much avidity as they would behold a coronation, triumphant cavalcade, or magnificent spectacle, behold, at their ease, the distresses, dying agonies, and destruction of an unfortunate person, whom either his crimes, misfortunes, or, perhaps, his enemies, have brought to an untimely end¹? *Aversion to gaming.*

WITH respect to the policy of the government, they have one maxim which we have lately hinted at, and which several eminent civilians have wished was universally observed, which is, that though they are at war with almost all the Christians, except the *English*, and even when they have been at war with *Encouraging free trade with poor.*

¹ De hic. vid. MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, ST. OLAN, BRATHW. History of Barbary, &c.

*Emperor
at no
charge for
shipping.*

*Of his duty to
keep fair
with Al
giers, Tu
nis, &c*

with us, they nevertheless permit our consuls and merchants to reside in their ports unmolested, and will trade with any vessel that comes bound to their ports, of what nation soever, for what commodities they stand in need of, and suffer every trader to live with them in as much security as in time of peace. It is, indeed, the emperor's interest to suffer his subjects to carry on a piratical war with as many Christian nations as they can, because it brings him a considerable income, without putting him to any charge to fit out ships; for besides the tenth of all the cargoes of the prizes, he hath, as we hinted before, all the captives to himself; which, still adds to his wealth, as well as to his grandeur, by the excessive price he puts upon the ransom, and the profit he makes of their labour, without allowing them any thing but a small pittance of bread and oil. But as the foreign commerce is likewise a considerable branch of his revenue, it is no bad policy in him to preserve and encourage it for the sake of the large duty which he lays on all imports and exports; especially as this last is a great promoter of the inland trade, by caravans, all which help to increase his revenue; whilst the subjects of Christian princes, though at war with him, find their account in making use of this liberty and encouragement of trading thus unmolested in his dominions. Another political maxim which the emperors of *Morocco* are obliged to observe, is at any rate to keep in friendship with the states of *Tunis*, *Tripoly*, and *Algiers*, but more particularly with the latter, not only as the most powerful and warlike, as they have formerly found to their cost, as will be seen more fully in their history, but as being their strongest barrier against the *Ottoman Porte*, and on the other hand screen them from any suspicion from that jealous court. The necessity of this policy will be best understood from their history, which we are now going to give.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Sbarifs, or Emperors, of Morocco.

THIS empire, as well as the rest of the states of *Bartary*, *History of* having continued about four centuries under the *Roman Morocco* yoke, from their first conquest by *J. Cæsar*, to the declension under the of the *Roman empire* ^a, fell immediately under that of the *Saracens Goths*, who, as we have formerly seen, crossed over from *and vari-* *Spain*, and made an easy conquest of all those provinces, *ous other* whose inhabitants rather chose to submit to them than *govern-* make their captivity harder by fighting for their old oppres- *ments*. sors ^b. This new government lasted only till about the year 600, when the *Saracens*, a nation no less furious than the *Vandals*, tyrannized over them in their turn, till they were driven out by the *Arabians*, who, besides their natural ferocity, burning with a fiery zeal to propagate their *Mohammed-* *ism* every-where by force of arms, over-ran this whole coun- try among the rest ^c, and obliged them to submit themselves to their religion, as well as government. By their quick success Christianity was banished out of *Africa*, which, from that fatal epocha, took a quite different face, and was divided into variety of kingdoms under divers princes, who governed their new subjects with wisdom and mildness, yet, by their frequent dissensions and hostilities against each other, caused those strange alterations and incidents of which we have already spoken in some former chapters ^d, raised at length the family of the *Almoravides* to the sovereignty ^e. *Yusef*, the se-Morocco cond monarch of that line, was the person who built the city *built* of *Morocco*, and conquered the kingdom of *Fez*, and the *Moorish* dominions in *Spain*. All which, together with the sovereignty, were lost by his grand-son *Albo Hali*, the same who caused the works of *Avicenna* to be compiled by a set of *Arabian* doctors, in the form we now see them. This prince having been defeated and killed in *Spain*, the crown passed to the *Moheadins*, or *Almohedes*, by the defeat and tragical end of his son *Abraïam*. It had not continued in it above three *The Al-* generations before *Mohammed*, the son of *Al Mansur*, a prince mohedes no less worthy of the crown than his father, lost the famous *defeated in* *Sierra Morena*, in which 200,000 of his *Moors* were *Spain*.

^a See Anc Hist vol. xiii. p. 245 vol. xviii. p. 208, & seq.

^b See before, vol. xiv. p. 119, & seq. ^c Ibid. p. 24, & seq. & alib.

^d Ibid. p. 23 & seq. & vol. xviii. p. 16, & seq.

^e C. 1068.

slain, which caused likewise the loss of several *Spanish* conquests, which *Alphonso X.* retook from him immediately after.

Various
kingdoms
set up.

The Me-
rini outed
by the
Oatazes.

MOHAMMED died soon after, and left several sons, whose mutual feuds ended in a bloody war, during which the viceroy of *Fez*, *Tunis*, and *Tremecen* found mean^s to shake off the yoke, and strengthen themselves so well in their respective governments, that none of his descendan^ts could afterwards reduce them. One of the princes of the royal blood of *Tremecen* having put to death *Cezed*, and *Geyed*, one of *Mohammed's* grandsons, and defeated all the *Almohedes*, gave his government a kind of new form, and settled himself at the head of it; soon after which *Abda'llah*, of the family of the *Merini*, having made himself master of the kingdom of *Morocco* and of that of *Fez*, intailed those two crowns on his own family. Some of his successors, having chosen the latter for their royal residence, contented themselves with sending their viceroys to the former; who, by their cruel extortions, almost unpeopled that great metropolis. These *Merini*, or *Beni-merini*, having been outed in their turn by the *Oatazes*, or, as they are called by others, *Beni Oatazes*; who by their ill conduct and government, joined to the wars which *Don Manuel*, king of *Portugal*, had been successfully waging against the *Moors* for a considerable number of years (A), gave a long-wished-for handle to the old sharif *Hafish* and his sons to drive them from the throne, and by the most

(A) That prince was at this time possessed of most of the strong ports of this empire, both on the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic* ocean; viz. *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Arzilla*, *Alcassarzeguer*, *Axamer*, *Maxagan*, *Sapbi*, *Cape Aguen*, and the castle of *Erguen*; in all which he kept very strong garrisons both of horse and foot, and a sufficient quantity of cannon, and other warlike stores. He kept, besides his Christian troops, about 16000 horse, and near 200,000 foot in his pay, who were either *Berebers* or *Arabs*, and natural enemies to

the *Moors*, by which means he had kept them in continual awe, and gained many signal victories over them. Whilst these being daily weakened by intestine wars, gave him an opportunity of becoming more and more powerful; and he was actually by this time become by far the most formidable prince in all *Barbary*. This was the distracted state of the country, when the sharifs above-mentioned laid the first plan with their politic father, bringing it under their (1).

(1) *Grammay*, lib. ix. c. 7. & seq. *Marmol Afric.* c. ult. *A'igo de Torres* original de los *Xerifes*. *Histoire de l'empire des Cherifs* & al.

unheard of artifices, dissimulation, and treachery, to make themselves masters of it; and these are they who have kept themselves upon it ever since.

THIS is the sum and substance of the revolutions which have happened in this part of *Barbary* from the expulsion of the *Vandals* out of *Africa*, to the time in which the sharifs began to lay the foundation of this new empire; an attempt so deep'y laid, and so strenuously as well as successfully pursued, that a curious reader will hardly think it inconsistent with our designed brevity to be acquainted with their original, and the various means which those consummate politicians made use of to accomplish it.

HASCEN, or as others call him *Hassan* and *Hassen*, ^{Of the empire of Morocco} pretended to be of the race of the Sharifs, a title affected by the descendants of *Mohammed*, was a native of the city ^{founder of} *Tigumedet*, in the province of *Dhara*, and first projector of this plan, had already acquired such a reputation for wisdom, learning, and sanctity, whilst this country was ^{Hascen and his 3 sons} torn in pieces by intestine jars, and a bloody war against the *Portuguese*, that he was looked upon as the oracle of his time. He had three sons grown up to manhood, viz. *Abdelquibir*, *Hammed*, and *Mohammed*, whom, to raise to the same degree of esteem and confidence, he sent on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*; during which they behaved with such circumspection and seeming piety, that, upon their return, the people came in crowds to kiss the hems of their garments. Both *Hascen* and they pretended to strange ecstatic visions and revelations, and an extraordinary zeal for the *Mohammedan* law, and as such were looked upon as sent by heaven ^{said of} to be the defenders of it. The two youngest of them the ^{them grown} old Sharif, who moved all this scene as it were behind the ^{powerful} curtain, sent to *Mohammed Dalan*, king of *Fez*, where they ^{at Fez.} so far insinuated themselves with that credulous prince, that he immediately raised *Hammed*, the elder of the two, to the professor's chair, and intrusted the youngest with the education of his sons; soon after which they as easily obtained from him the government of the provinces of *Sus*, *Morocco*, *Hea*, *Tremecen*, and *Ducata*. His brother *Muley Na-The king's* ^{brother} *cer*, a person of much deeper discernment than he, and who ^{could} far better penetrate into their sinister views, tried in- ^{uppos-} deed, by all proper means, to alarm him against putting so ^{them in} great a confidence in these two artful hypocrites, rather than ^{gain.}

* GRAMMAY, l. ix. c. i. & seq. MARMOL, l. ii. pass. DIERX de TORRES, Relat. de los Xerifes, MOUQUET, BOULET, Empire des Cherifs, Paris, 1733. Hist. Barbary, Lond. 1750. p. 319 & seq.

in his own tried peers and officers. All his judicious representations proved in vain, and the two brothers hastened their departure to the province of *Ducata*, in the kingdom of *Morocco*, where they had a good number of friends; and where, without having ever made any trial of their martial genius, they attempted at once the siege of *Saff*, then in the hands of, and strongly guarded by, the *Portuguese*: finding the place too strong for them, they proceeded to the Cape *Aguer*, in the kingdom of *Sus*, where they made some successful inroads against the *Portuguese*, in that and some other provinces; by which means, as well as by their affected sanctity and zeal against those enemies of their law, and the strict discipline they maintained among their troops, they gained so far the esteem and confidence of the *Moors*, that when they were just upon the point of disbanding their troops, for want of proper remittances from the court, the people immediately agreed to pay them the tenths of all their income, to help to maintain them. Among others, the inhabitants of *Tarudant* and *Fedsi* signalized their attachment to them, by chusing old *Hascen*, their father, for their chief, and assigning him a regiment of 500 horse, with a proportionable stipend, to enable him to defend them from the frequent incursions of the *Arabs*, by whom these and other cities were greatly impoverished, and in some measure unpeopled. In the first of these places *Mohammed*, the most active and enterprising of all his sons, having built the fortress of *Saragza*, and obtained a new commission and supply, led his forces against the city of *Mezoar*, whose inhabitants had sided with the *Portuguese*, and made himself master soon after both of that and the whole province of *Dhara*, then in their possession^t. These successes raised their reputation to such a height, that not only the king of *Fez* and his subjects, but all the *Moors* in general, congratulated themselves upon it, and began to entertain the greatest prospects from three such successful, wise, and zealous warriors. *Muley Nacer* alone, who penetrated through their perfidious views, was the only one who secretly bewailed the evils which he was unable to prevent, whilst those consummate hypocrites, under pretence of assisting the other provinces against the Christians, made themselves masters in a short time of those of *Hea*, *Ducata*, and *Tremecen*; the city of *Tednet*, capital of *Hea*, was the only one that ventured to oppose them, but was quickly forced to submit; and, being the place which the traitor *Mohammed* had pitched upon for his residence, he imme-

The people
maintain
their
troops.

Sharif
Moham-
med's suc-
cess.

They gain
several
provinces.

^t MARMOL, l. ii. c. ult. & auct. sup. citat.

diately caused it to be well fortified, built himself a sumptuous palace in it, and took upon himself the title of prince of *Hea*.

In the mean while the continual inroads which he made ~~Moham-~~ against the *Berebers* and *Arabs* in the *Portuguese* service, ~~med de-~~ obliged *Tajay Ben Taful*, one of their tributary princes, to ~~be-~~ call in *Nugno Fernandes*, governor of *Safi*, to his assistance; ~~the Portu-~~ and these two having formed a small army of 400 *Spanish* ~~guese, &c.~~ horse, 3000 *Moors*, and 8000 *Arabs*, of foot, marched directly to *Tednett*, in hopes to surprise that place. But *Mohammed* had timely intelligence of their coming; and trusting more to his fortune than his forces, went out to meet them at the head of 4000 horse, and was scarcely got three miles out of the city, before he saw the enemy's vanguard commanded by *Tajay*, who, without waiting for the rest, fell immediately upon him, and put his troops to flight, and him after them. Being thus unexpectedly repulsed, and not daring to return into *Tednett* for fear of being besieged in it, he saw himself obliged to abandon that city to his pursuers, who immediately entered it, but found that the inhabitants, who were wholly devoted to *sharif Mohammed*, had also forsaken it, and had betaken themselves to the adjacent mountains; and having with ease reduced all the adjacent country, returned to their respective homes. They had not ^{retakes} been gone long, before *Mohammed*, in order to repair his ^{Tednett.} loss, sent for his brother *Hammed*, who joined him at the head of a powerful army; and these two taking the advantage of an uproar that had been raised in *Tednett*, easily got possession of it again.

To this high pitch of power and reputation were the *sharifs* Circ. grown up, when *Hascen* their father died, about which A. D. time the *Portuguese* were besieging the city of *Anega*; upon 1516. which the three brothers, his sons, marched with a powerful ^{Old Hascen dies.} succour to its relief. A bloody fight ensued, in which *Abdelquibir*, the eldest of them, but the least active and warlike, was slain; but *Mohammed* and *Hammed* gained the victory, *Mohammed* and took *Lopez Barriga*, the *Portuguese* commander, ~~primed de-~~ soner, and with him a good number of other officers of the ~~seats the~~ same nation. Some years after this, they formed the design ^{Portu-} of making themselves masters of the city of *Morocco*, which, ^{guese,} with only a small territory about it, belonged to a prince of *Cyd Meneti*, named *Nazer Buxentuf*; and to avoid the length and uncertainty of a siege, agreed, if possible, to win the place by treachery. *Buxentuf* was easily captivated by their flattery and vast promises, and received them into it with all the marks of honour. They soon insinuated them- ^{Takes} selves into the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants by *Morocco*.

Treachery to Buxentuf. the same artful treachery, and no sooner found them firmly devoted to them, than they got *Buxentuf* to be poisoned at a hunting match, without being in the least suspected of it. *Hammed* found no difficulty to get himself proclaimed king in his stead by the inhabitants, in prejudice to the deceased's children; upon whom he however, to avoid all suspicion, bestowed some considerable lands and governments in the remote provinces. But not thinking himself yet sufficiently strong to pull off the mask, he thought fit to send a sumptuous embassy to the king of *Fez*, accompanied with vast presents, and the assurances of an intire submission, and a yearly tribute, which met with a ready acceptance from that weak prince &c.

Embassy to the king of Fez.

Treachery to the Arabs.

Hammed's to the king of Fez.

It was not long however, before an opportunity offered itself to the two brothers, which at once enabled them to take off the disguise, and to render themselves more powerful than ever. Two considerable *Adouars* of the *Arabs*, in the province of *Ducata*, were at war with each other, and both had applied to them for assistance, and received a promise from them. *Hammed* and *Mohammed* marched accordingly out of *Morocco* at the head of a powerful army; at the sight of which the two *Arabian* chiefs fell furiously on each other, in full confidence that the sharifs were come to succour them; but, to their great surprize, instead of assisting either side, they saw them stand only as unconcerned spectators; till, their forces on both sides being nearly exhausted, they immediately rushed upon them, and cut all the remainder in pieces; and seizing upon all their arms, horses, and warlike stores, returned to *Morocco* in a kind of triumph. Immediately after this open piece of treachery, *Hammed*, resolving to give the *Fezian* monarch to understand, that he did not design to continue his tribute and submission any longer, contented himself with sending him 12 of the very worst horses and camels he had lately gained (B),

z GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

(B) The tribute which *Hammed* had engaged to pay to that monarch, ever since he was become master of *Morocco*, was the fifth part of all the horses, camels, prisoners, arms, and ammunition, that he took in war (2); so that the sending upon this occasion, where he had carried off such a vast plunder of all sorts, only six lean camels, and as many horses, could hardly be designed as other than an avowed insult on that generous, tho' weak monarch; but which the treacherous sharif knew was out of his power to revenge.

(2) *Marmol, lib. 2. cap. ult.*

together

together with some plausible excuses for it; by which that monarch began to be sensible of his own weakness when it was too late. He expressed his resentment in some severe menaces, which he sent to him; but his treacherous vassal, who knew that this was all he could do against him, regarded them accordingly. *Mohammed Oataz* died soon after ^{who dies} of grief, as it is supposed, and was succeeded by his son ^{of grief.} *Hammed Oataz*, who having been educated under *Mohammed*, the youngest of the three sharifs, whether he retained any real regard for him on that account, or, which is more probable, for want of sufficient power to punish the perfidy of his elder brother, let him know, that he would be contented with a small yearly tribute from him. This ill-timed condescension easily convinced *Hammed*, that he had nothing to fear from that side; however, to prevent coming to an open rupture with him, he sent him word, that, being descended from their great prophet, it was neither lawful nor honourable to pay tribute to any prince whatever: and that, if he thought fit to treat him as a friend, he would always preserve a grateful remembrance of the favours which he had received from his father and him; but that, if he went about to obstruct him in the wars which he was waging against the Christians, he could expect nothing less than some grievous punishment from god and his prophet, for his impiety; and that, as for himself, he neither wanted courage nor strength to repel force by force ^b.

A. D.
1529.

Treachery
to Oataz.

ALL this while his brother *Mohammed*, whom he had *Hammed* made governor of the Kingdom of *Sus*, had been fortifying ^{files him} and embellishing the city of *Tarudant*, the metropolis of it. ^{self king} But having lately made an unfortunate attempt against ^{of Sus.} the *Portuguese* at *Cape Aguer*, which had obliged him to abandon *Tarudant*, the king of *Fez*, provoked at the insolence and success of the two brothers, resolved to lay siege to their capital of *Morocco*; but, being stoutly repulsed by the ^{Oataz re-} *rison*, was forced as shamefully to raise it; of which *Ham-* ^{pulled be-} *med* having timely notice, pursued him with such speed, that ^{fore Mo-} he cut the greatest part of his rear in pieces, and obliged the rocca, province of *Esfure* to pay him the tribute, which they were wont to pay to the *Fezian* kings. He did the same by several other provinces, whilst *Oataz* was employed in quelling a rebellion a brother of his had raised against him; which he had no sooner done, than he raised a more powerful army than his first was, with full resolution to exterminate, if possible, the two sharifs and their forces, and marched at the head of them to the banks of the *River of the*

^b Ibidem, ibid.

Negroes, near the town of *Buacaba*, where the enemy was already posted. Here the two armies met; and tho' that of the *Fezians* was by much the stronger, yet they continued three whole days, one on one side the river, and the other on the other, without any hostile motion. At length *Palaz* having given the command of his vanguard to his son *Mohammed*, who had under him *Abdala Zobeidi*, the refugee king of *Granada*, who had been driven out of his dominions by the *Spaniards*; and that of the main army to his brother-in-law *Muley Dris*, or *Idris*, and reserved to himself that of the rear, which consisted of the noblest and bravest persons of his kingdom, *Zobeidi* immediately crossed the river, and stood firm with his troops to facilitate the coming over of the cavalry. The two sharifs, who had divided their forces into two bodies, thought it a proper time to fall upon him; which they did with such fury, that they drove him back into the river, poured whole showers of arrows and musquet-shot upon them, and the rest of the king's forces; who, being thus intangled with each other, could neither come over nor fight. The king, who beheld this from the opposite shore at the head of the rear, did what he could to encourage them; but, not being able to prevent their betaking themselves to a shameful flight, was forced to flee after them, leaving all his cannon, tents, baggage, and wives, behind. His son and the *Granadan* king lost their lives; and the victorious sharifs, marching across a branch of mount *Atlas*, with all their immense booty, went and besieged *Taffilet* with the artillery they had taken from the *Fezian* monarch; and in a few days made themselves masters of that capital, and its large territory: from thence they spread their conquest over all those mountainous parts, and obliged the inhabitants to become their tributaries, by which they prevented that unfortunate prince receiving any farther assistance from those parts.

This obliged him, both by way of reprisal, and in order to support the shattered remains of his army, to send them in two bodies to raise contributions in the province of *Sus*; but here also they were repelled by the superior forces of *Mohammed*.

defeated
by Mo-
hammed;

who gains
an immense
plunder.

Oataz re-
pelled in
Sus.

A. D. 1536. THIS last, flushed with his success, resolved soon after to take the strong fortress of *Aguer*, situate on the cape of its name¹, which was kept by a strong *Portuguese* garrison; and, after a stout defence on both sides, made himself master of it; but lost 16,000 men before it; in revenge of which he put the whole garrison to the sword, except the brave

¹ See before, p 119.

Mont Ray, the governor of it, to whom he gave a kinder reception, rather on account of his beautiful daughter *Donna Mencia*, than of his valour or merit (C).

THE reduction of this place soon injected a terror among all the *Moor*s and *Arabs* of those parts; inasmuch that those that were in alliance, or under tribute to the king of *Portugal*, came over to the conqueror; and that prince, finding that the towns which he held on the *Atlantic*, cost him more to keep than they were worth, ordered them to be forthwith dismantled and abandoned. By this means our *Hammed* young sharif easily became master of *Saffi*, *Arzilla*, *Azamor*, *takes* and *Alcassar-eguir*; after which he made no longer scruple *Saffi*, *Ar-* to take the royal title and ensigns, and to reckon himself as *zilla*, &c. more than on a level with his brother *Hammed*, whom he *takes the* now exceeded as much in power, as he had all along in *title of* valour and policy. This behaviour failed not to cause a *king*. most dangerous rupture between them; which, in spite of *Agaveus* all the remonstrances of *Cid Arrabal*, an *Alfaki* of great sense *rupture be-* and probity (D), ended in an open war ¹. *tween the*

MOHAMMED, *two bro-*
thers.

¹ GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. ubi sup.

(C) This young lady, no less admirable for her virtue than her beauty, having rejected with scorn all the caresses and offers of the enamoured *Mohammed*; and even his promise of marriage to her, was just upon the point to be delivered up to the brutish lust of his *Moor*s, by the exasperated conqueror. The horror of such a dreadful doom soon determined her to capitulate, and to consent to the marriage, upon condition that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion, and be regarded as his lawful wife.

Mohammed made no scruple to consent to these conditions, and married her accordingly. But his other wives, exasperated at the preference which he shewed to the young *Portuguese* lady above them, found means

to poison her in her first pregnancy; soon after which, to shew his grief and tender regard for her, he restored her father to his liberty, and sent him home laden with presents (3).

(D) This brave officer, who was a sincere friend to them both, having represented to them the imminent detriment which this rupture would infallibly bring to their common interest, as well as to that of their religion, had so far succeeded, as to bring the two parties to an interview. But, upon their first mutual embracing, *Hammed*, the strongest of the two, taking fast hold of him, threw him flat upon the ground. *Mohammed*, no less nimble and active than his brother was strong, soon recovered himself; and, having upbraided him of

(3) D. de Torres, *Relas. de los Xerifes*, lib. i. Boufet, *Hist. des Cherifs*, ibid. Marmol, lib. ii. c. ult.

MOHAMMED, however, wisely forbore all kind of hostilities, till he was attacked by his brother; and till then contented himself with apprising the great officers of his army of *Hammed's* treachery and ingratitude; and giving them such an account of his own actions and behaviour, as he knew would most effectually incline them to his side; and, putting his hand to his beard, assured them, that they should see, in a few days, that haughty and perfidious *Hammed* vanquished and made his prisoner.

ACCORDINGLY, having sent part of his army before, under the command of one of his best officers, to secure a pass on the south side of mount *Atlas*, leading from *Tary-dant* to *Morocco*, *Hammed*, who had been apprised of it, marched his army on the opposite side. He had given the command of his vanguard to *Muley Nacer*, his second son; who, being overtaken in a narrow defile by *Harran* the son of *Mohammed*, a prince already experienced in war, a bloody skirmish soon ensued, which was followed by an engagement of both armies, in which that of *Hammed* was defeated, with the loss of 8000 men, and himself and *Bu-hanzen*, another of his sons, were taken prisoners, as he had foretold. Upon this overthrow, *Muley Zidan*, another of his sons, who had happily escaped, and thrown himself, with the small remains of his army, into the city of *Monocco*, proposed at first, in a kind of despair, to apply to *Charles V.* for assistance; but was dissuaded from it by his friends, as such a step would have rendered him odious to all the *Africans*; and might, perhaps, engage them to join all their forces against him. At length, by the strenuous interposition of his own daughter, who was then married to prince *Harvan*, *Mohammed's* eldest son, and of some of the greatest men on both sides, a partition treaty was concluded between the two brothers, in which it was agreed, that *Mohammed* should possess the kingdom of *Sus*, and all provinces on the south-side of mount *Atlas*, together with *Numidia* and *Lybia*, and be paid one half of the vast treasure, which *Hossen*, their father, had left to them; and that *Harran*, his eldest son, should be declared heir to both kingdoms, and after him *Muley Zidan*, according to their father's last will. *Hammed*, being set at liberty in

Hammed and his son taken prisoners.

They are reconciled.

his perfidy in the severest terms, went away full of anger and resentment; and with a full resolution never more to be reconciled to him, but to let the fortune of war decide the difference between them (4).

(4) *Idem, ubi sup.*

virtue of this treaty, had no sooner reached his capital of *Morocco*, than he absolutely refused to ratify it, as prejudicial *Hammed* to his eldest son; and began to make great preparations for *refusing to* renewing the war. *Mohammed* did not give him time to do *stand to* it, but marched directly with his army towards *Morocco*, *the treaty* and with *me* by his brother's forces at *Quebera*, about 7 *A. D.* or 8 miles short of that capital. Both armies engaged *1543.* with unusual fierceness; but, whilst that of *Hammed* was *defeated,* employed in disengaging the royal standard, which had ac- *and taken* cidentally intangled itself in a thicket, *Mohammed* charged *prisoner.* them with such surprising speed, that he put them to the rout, and pursued them all the remainder of that day, and the following night, and found himself on the next morning within sight of *Morocco*. He immediately summoned it *Morocco* to surrender, and a report to be spread, that *Hammed* had *surrendered* been killed at the last action; upon hearing of which, *Gi- to Mo-* *hani*, who was left governor of it, afraid of incurring the *hammed.* displeasure of the conqueror, delivered it up to him, together with all the garrison, arms, treasury, and seraglio, of his brother. *Mohammed*, upon this occasion, shewed an extraordinary moderation, and forbore laying his hands either on his treasury, or on the effects of the inhabitants; but this did not hinder the fearful *Hammed* from mistrusting him; and, instead of endeavouring to treat with him, he sent his two sons to the king of *Fez*, to beg his assistance against his brother. *Oataz*, who thought this a fair opportunity to recover some of his lost provinces, readily engaged to send him a powerful succour, with all possible expedition; but *Mohammed*, who foresaw how prejudicial such an alliance might prove to them both, chose rather to persuade him to come to a new composition, and easily brought him to agree to break off his alliance with the *Fezian* king.

A new treaty concluded between him and his brother.

IN this second interview, which was under a large pavilion, where *Mohammed* was seated on a stately throne, the vanquished *Hammed* was conducted by his two nephews, and stood some time before his brother, in a kind of gloomy mournful silence, to give him an opportunity to break it first. *Mohammed*, after a short demur, taking him by the hand, caused him to sit down by him, and made him a most pathetic speech intermixed with severe reproaches, and brotherly affection; wherein he told him, among other things, that he must blame his own unnatural perfidy to a faithful and affectionate brother; if providence had now delivered him up to the mercy of the man whom he had lately treated as a mortal enemy, and would, if he had got him into his power, have used with the utmost cruelty. "But," added he, "though I have great reason to be
"offended

Mohammed's art-
ful speech
to him;

sends him
governor
of Taffi-
let;

batches a
war
against the
king of
Fez.

"offended at your ungrateful behaviour; yet I cannot for-
bear looking upon you as my brother, as well as my pri-
soner, and as such am willing to give you an opportunity
of repairing the injuries you have done me, and retrieving
your honour and royalty. Restore but to me your bro-
therly affection and confidence, and I will promise to re-
store to you your own dominions, and with them my
zeal and allegiance; and will be content to obey you in
the quality of your grand vazier. One thing only I must
beg of you, that you will retire with your whole household
for some time to the province of *Taffilet*, that I may ac-
quit myself of my promise to the inhabitants of your me-
tropolis, and free them from the dread they are in of
your extreme resentment, for having so easily opened their
gates to me. As for the wrong you complain to be done
to your children, in yielding the succession of the king-
dom to mine, according to our father's last will, you may
assure yourself, that, as soon as you and I join forces, and
act in concert together for the interest of our religion,
we shall not want for new conquests sufficient to make
up that loss to them; and that I shall make it my chief
glory, to give them fresh opportunities of displaying their
merit, and advancing their fortune." *Hammed* seemed
deeply affected with this speech; and only answered it by
some feigned excuses on his past behaviour, and promises of
a more conformable one for the future; and, on the next
morning, departed with his retinue and family to the king-
dom of *Taffilet*. *Mohammed*, having thus far succeeded
in all his views, began now to think on some pretence for
declaring war against the king of *Fez*, whom he looked upon
as not only an enemy, but as an eclipser of his glory, on
account of his boasted long series of royal ancestors. He
therefore sent to demand of him the restitution of the pro-
vince of *Tedla*, which belonged to the kingdom of *Mo-
rocco*, of which he was now possessed; and had no sooner
received his absolute denial, than he raised a powerful force,
and laid siege to the castle on the frontiers of *Fez*, but was
quickly forced to raise it; partly by the bravery of *Onzar*,
who commanded it, and partly on account of the approach
of the *Fezian* army; who, with *Oataz* at their head, were
in full march against him. It consisted of 30,000 men,
among whom were the chief nobility of his kingdom,
Velles and *Dubdu*; besides some *Arabian* cheyks at the head
of their troops; 800 *Turks*, commanded by a *Persian*; and

^m MARMOL, GRAMMAY, & al. sup. citat.

1000 archers on horseback, who came and joined the body of his army.

MOHAMMED'S army consisted of 18000 choice troops, and about 1200 archers; nevertheless, trusting partly to his own good fortune, and partly to the inconstancy of the *Arabs and Fezians*, marched by slow journeys towards him; and had the pleasure to hear, from day to day, that the *Fezian* army continued to decrease, either by the desertion of his own subjects, or the retreat of some of his allies. This obliged that prince to engage him as soon as he could; which *Mohammed* perceiving, only reminded his troops of *Speech to* the great consequence of this present action; which, if *his army* crowned with victory, would infallibly open a way to them for the reduction of all *Barbary*; and, as he was leading them to the onset, he farther assured them, that not a man *Strange* of them should fall, except a *Negro*; and that the king of *prophecy*. *Fez* would be taken prisoner; all which, he told them, he knew by his skill in the magic art. The two armies met; and *Mohammed*, having given express orders to his, not to stir, till the signal was given, *Oataz* gave the same to his own; but the former only waited till the hot sun, which shone too full against him, was declined far enough to do the same to the enemy; and then gave the signal for the onset. Both sides engaged with equal ardor, till *Mo-* *Defeats* *ammed's* center, where he commanded, opening to the right *the Fe-* and left, discovered a battery of cannon, which he had con- *zians ac-* cealed there behind the ranks; which, as soon as it began *cordingly*. to play, spread such an universal panic among the *Fezians*, that they betook themselves to flight. The king himself *Oataz* was hurried away by his own officers after them; but in his *wounded*, flight had the misfortune, wounded as he already was, to *and taken* fall off his horse, and to be taken prisoner, and brought *prisoner*. bound to *Mohammed*. The first interview of those two *Interview* rivals having something singular in it, we shall content our- *with Mo-* selves with giving our readers the substance of it in the *ammed*.
-margin (E), to avoid interrupting the main thread of the history.

AFTER

(E) As soon as *Mohammed* gave you, as I was wont for-
saw the unfortunate *Oataz* merly to do, some useful les-
brought prisoner before him, he sons, rather of tenderness
addressed himself to him in than resentment. You can-
words to this effect: "Tho' not, indeed, be blamed for
"fortune hath now made you any thing, but the neglect of
"my prisoner, yet the remem- punishing a great variety of
"brance that I was once your atrocious crimes, which you
"tutor, inclines me rather to subjects impunely commit in
"your

After this victory, *Mohammed*, by the consent of his royal prisoner, marched his army directly to *Fez*, where they

"your metropolis, once so
"famed for religion and learn-
"ing, but now the sink of im-
"piety, and every kind of
"vice. But since it is so, that
"you had not the courage to
"make use of the authority
"which God had intrusted you
"with, to suppress these enor-
"mities; if you see yourself
"now deprived of all your
"royalty, do not imagine me
"to be the author of it, but
"think rather, that it is God
"himself, who hath fought on
"my side against you; and
"that your defeat is wholly his
"own work.

"Great kings are seldom
"able to see truth, but through
"mists and clouds, or to re-
"ceive the wholesome counsels
"that are given to them, till
"some misfortunes oblige them
"to open their eyes. It is,
"therefore, to render you more
"obedient to his voice, that
"he hath brought you to this
"low estate; and now enjoins
"you, by my mouth, to restore
"religion, arts and sciences,
"to their antient splendor;
"by punishing those who are
"enemies to them, and whom
"you have hitherto tolerated
"within your own dominions.
"As for me, do not think that
"I will take any advantage of
"your present ill fortune; for,
"though I have just cause to
"resent the assistance which
"you offered to my brother
"against me, yet I know as
"well how to forgive, as to
"revenge an injury, when I
"have just cause to do it. Be

"therefore of good courage,
"and depend upon it; that it
"will not be long ere you are
"restored to your dominions."

Thus ~~for~~ the subtil *Sharif*,
whom *Ustaz* heard with as
much patience, as the excessive
heat of the day, the smart of his
wounds, and the insolence of
the speaker, would permit him.
But, as soon as he had the li-
berty to speak, he made him a
most noble reply, in terms to
this effect. "Though few
"victors make so moderate an
"use of their victory as you do,
"yet I can hardly believe that
"you took up arms against
"me merely to give me this
"lesson. However, since you
"give it me as a master, I will
"receive it rather as a disciple,
"than a prisoner; and, in hopes
"that my answer may prove as
"useful to you, as you think
"your advice is to me, I shall
"readily own, that many ab-
"uses and irregularities may
"be introduced in a state,
"which it is not in the power
"of a monarch to foresee, or
"redress. But, granting, that
"those you charge me with
"were ever so great and enor-
"mous, and intirely owing to
"my neglect of suppressing
"them, doth it belong to such
"a man as you, to take the
"punishment of my misconduct
"upon yourself? You whose
"my father, at my request, had
"raised from the vile employ-
"ment of a schoolmaster, to the
"height of credit and fortune,
"to which you are arrived,
"upon the ruins of our fami-

they both supposed the inhabitants would readily yield him the province of *Mequinez*, as a ransom for their king. They were got within two leagues of that metropolis, when they received news, that the *Fezans*, to whom *Muley Nacer*, one of the king's sons, had fled immediately after the battle, had raised him to the crown, on condition, that he should surrender it to his father, as soon as he had regained his liberty. *Oatéz* thereupon sent his son orders, that *Mequinez* should be surrendered to the Sharif, as the only ransom he would accept of; to whom *Nacer* answered, that he was ready to comply with it; but required a longer time to dispose the council, and others concerned in it, to an agreement. This he did only to gain time, till he could make himself master of the *Hangay*; and, by that means, hinder the Sharif's retreat, himself designing to surprise his camp in the night. *Mohammed*, who had notice of his design time enough to prevent it, marched, with the utmost speed and fury, quite to the walls of the capital; where, having seized upon 200 buighers, who were walking along the

"ly? Is it for you, upon whom I
 "myself have heaped the great-
 "est favours, to repay me now
 "with the blackest ingratitude;
 "and this, under the specious
 "cloak of virtue and religion?
 "But to avoid saying any thing,
 "that may expose the unparal-
 "lled dissimulation you are so
 "great a master of, to those
 "that hear us, be persuaded ra-
 "ther, that providence hath
 "now delivered me up into
 "your power, to try what use
 "you will make of your vic-
 "tory; and whether, after you
 "have violated the most solemn
 "treaties, and broke the most
 "sacred ties of allegiance and
 "gratitude, your heart can be
 "capable of relenting. And,
 "since you have gone so far to
 "make me sensible of my duty,
 "let us now see how well you
 "can perform your own; and
 "whether you can perceive how
 "far the inconstancy of for-

"tune hath made us stand in
 "need of each other. As for
 "your complaint of my assist-
 "ing your brother against you,
 "I disdain to justify an action
 "so laudable in itself, and
 "which ought only to make
 "you sensible, how ready I
 "should have been to have done
 "the same by you, had you
 "been in his case." This an-
 "swer, severe and mortifying as
 "it was, was received by the at-
 "tful Sharif with a smiling coun-
 "tenance. But, to avoid all fur-
 "ther repes on either side, he
 "ordered the king, out of a pre-
 "tended regard to his wounds, to
 "be conducted into a stately tent
 "next to his own; where that
 "monarch had the mortification
 "to hear, that *Abn' Onzar*, to
 "whom he had committed the
 "government of the fortress of
 "*Fextela*, was come to deliver
 "the keys of it to his compen-
 "tor (5).

Mohammed's cruelty to the Fezans. walls of it without suspicion or fear, he caused them to be strangled in his sight. Then taking his two royal prisoners with him, he caused them to be led in chains to *Morocco*; and sent his two sons *Harrán* and *Abdel Cader*, with a powerful army, to ravage all the territories about *Fez*.

Oataz ransomed on hard terms; MULEY NACER wisely foreseeing, that the longer he delayed his father's ransom, the more difficulty he should find to content an enemy, who daily gained ground of him, fell immediately on a negotiation with his two sons, and soon after put them in possession of *Mequinez*; but their father, who pretended to know nothing of this new treaty, absolutely refused to ratify it, unless *Oataz* engaged to surrender the city of *Fez* to him, whenever he should think fit to demand it of him; to which harsh article the unfortunate monarch was forced to agree, though it gave his enemy a specious pretence of renewing the war against him, whenever he pleased. *Oataz*, having upon these hard terms obtained his liberty, returned directly to his own capital, where his sons, upon his arrival, readily surrendered the crown to him.

A. D. 1549.
lays siege to Fez.

MOHAMMED had no sooner taken possession of the country of *Mequinez*, than he came back to demand the surrender of the city of *Fez*, according to the late treaty; to which *Oataz*, in the utmost perplexity, answered, that it was out of his power to oblige the inhabitants, scarcely recovered out of their fright, at the dreadful slaughter he had lately made of them, to open their gates, or suffer him to enter into their city; upon which refusal, the impatient Sharif ordered his two sons to join him with a powerful army, and came and incamped before the place.

Hammed sends a succour to it.

In the mean time his brother *Hammed*, having broke his promise a second time, had sent a powerful succour to the *Fezan* king, under the command of his eldest son *Muley Zidan*. The two armies met, and a long and desperate engagement ensued; in which, though neither party could claim the victory, yet *Zidan* gave such marks of his valour and conduct, that the *Fezan* king began to look upon him as the chief prop of his crown. But this unfortunately raised such a spirit of jealousy between his own sons and that brave young hero, that he retired soon after, in great discontent, to *Taffilet*, where his father still resided. This did not hinder *Mohammed* from carrying on the siege of *Fez*; and though it advanced so slowly, that he had already lain near two years before it, yet was he not discouraged from pursuing it with a surprising assiduity. At length the

Iidem, ibid.

inhabitants,

Inhabitants, quite exhausted and tired with the length of it, *the inhabitants* as well as the want of victuals, found means to treat privately with the Sharif; and, on some advantageous considerations, agreed to deliver up the old city to him. The king, who was in the new city, and had some intelligence, or at least suspicion, of this treacherous negotiation, ordered his general, named *Bubanzon*, to make a sally, with his cavalry, and endeavour to surprize the besiegers camp in the night; but the *Moroccans* immediately acquainted the Sharif with it, who caused two ambushes to be laid so closely for him, that he was repulsed with great loss; and with only 12 of his men recovered the city, whilst the rest made the best of their way towards *Fez*.

At length *Mohammed*, having made himself sure of the inhabitants, approached nearer to the walls, and caused a breach to be made, at which he entered sword in hand, and was received with demonstrations of joy by the treacherous citizens, before the king, who was still in *New Fez*, had any notice of it. He came out, however, time enough to stop his progress; and might, in all likelihood, have repulsed him, if his troops had had no other enemy than he. But, whilst both sides were hotly engaged in the streets, one side crying out, Long live the Sharif, and the other, Long live the *Merini*, at length a new outcry was heard above the rest, Long live the man that gives us bread; upon which, men and women got up to the top of the houses, and threw such volleys of stones on the king's forces, as obliged him and them to retire to the new city; upon which *Mohammed* returned to his camp. *Bubanzon*, seeing the enemy master of *Old Fez*, advised the king to fly with him to *Fez*, and try to obtain some succour from the Christian princes, who were now highly concerned to put a stop to the Sharif's career; but as that could not be done, without abandoning his mother, wife, and family, to the mercy of an exasperated enemy, he rather chose to send *Lela Malalib*, the old queen, in the guise of a suppliant to him, to obtain, by her prayers and tears, the best conditions she could for herself and her unfortunate son; or, at least, that he might assign him such a maintenance as was suitable to his dignity, and in such a part of his new dominions, as he should think fit. The tyrant at last agreed to it, upon condition, that her son abandoned the city to him, and departed out of it, with his whole family, within three days; which being complied with, he ordered the king to *Morocco*, and his two sons to *Tarudant*; threw a strong garrison into the city, and, having taken possession of the royal palace, obliged the king's daughter to marry him; which was done with great solemnity,

solemnity, in order to make himself some colour of a title to that great metropolis, and to the greatest part of the *Fezan* kingdom, which he was now possessed of.

Sends his brother to the desert of Zahara.

He was no sooner settled in that capital, than he sent orders to his brother *Hammed* to leave *Taphilet*, and retire to *Tagoret*, or the country of *Taguira*, in the desert of *Zahara*; who, to regain, if possible, his confidence, sent him his four sons as hostages. But *Mohammed* sent him back the two eldest, with the same orders, and married the other two to two of his own daughters; and, having thus so far put it out of his power to hurt him, ordered his own son *Abderam*, or *Habdarraman*, to take the government of *Taphilet*, in *Hammed*'s room. Not long after *Mohammed* sent his three other sons *Harran*, *Abdelcader*, and *Abdalla*, to take the city of *Tremecen*, which surrendered to them almost upon the first summons. *Harran* gave the government of it to *Abdalla*, intending to surprise that of *Oran*; but was taken ill, before he could come near the place, returned to *Fez*, and died there. This we may look upon as the beginning of his misfortunes, as he had been so surprisingly successful hitherto, as well as his sons who had fought under him; but was now bereaved of that whom he designed for his successor, not only on account of his primogeniture, but much more of his conduct and bravery. Not long after his death, a rumour being spread that the *Algerines* were coming, with a powerful force, to retake the city of *Tremecen*, *Mohammed* sent his next son thither, with a strong reinforcement; and, at the same time, dispatched an express to *Habdarraman*, then at *Taphilet*, to join his brother with another body. This last obeyed; but a misunderstanding happening between them (F), the former suspecting nothing of the trea-

Tremecen surrendered to his sons

Harran dies at Fez.

• GRAMMAY, MARMOL, D. TORRES, & al. ubi sup.

(F) *Abdelcader* and *Habdarraman*, who were born of different mothers, had always entertained an emulous jealousy against each other, which increased at this juncture, on the following occasion. The former, as being the elder of the two, and whose horse was already quite fatigued, desired of the latter to exchange 2000 of his, which were quite fresh,

for an equal number of his own, which he at first absolutely refused; but, at the desire of *Abdalla*, the other brother, agreed to it with some difficulty. He carried his resentment so far, however, that he would not be present at the battle; and, by thus sacrificing his brother to the enemy, became the just victim of his own perfidy (6).

(Marmol, et al. ubi sup.

chery

chery of the latter, but depending upon his being bravely seconded by him, engaged the enemy with his usual valour; but, to his great surprize, *Habdarraman*, instead of coming to his assistance, stood only as an idle spectator, and saw him fight like a person that is resolved to conquer or die, till he was actually killed, and his brother *Abdalla* dangerously wounded in the arm. *Bahagi*, the son of the brave *Abdelcader*, seeing his father and uncle in such imminent danger, went and inquired of *Habdarraman*, why he did not second them with his forces? but received no other answer from him, than a blow with his back sword across his arm: upon which he went and complained of him to his grandfather; who, to punish his perfidy, caused him to be privately poisoned, as is supposed, for he died about a month after. By this time *Mohammed*, worn out with old age and the fatigues of war, and his late ill success, and more with grief for the death of his two sons, had contracted such a strange moroseness, and brutish jealousy, that he caused the unhappy king of *Fez* and his son to be strangled, merely on suspicion that they had encouraged an insurrection in the province of *Derenderen*, tho' his own exactions and tyranny were the most probable causes of it, which made those brave mountaineers fight with such fury and intrepidity against his son *Abdalla*, that he could not, with all his forces, valour, or policy, reduce them to their obedience. The old Sharif, provoked that his son should meet with so many bloody repulses, resolved to march himself against them, but had no better success; and was forced to return, without any other achievement than plundering some few of their villages at the bottom of the mountain.

- IN the mean time the sad catastrophe of the *Fezan* king had reached the ears of the noble *Buhanzon*; who, ever since that monarch had declined his advice of asking assistance from the Christian powers against the incroaching Sharifs, had retired to the Pennon of *Velez*. This old minister, who was himself of the royal blood, tried in vain to engage the emperor *Charles V.* and other Christian princes, to restore him to the *Fezan* crown, promising them to become tributary to them, and to deliver up the Pennon above-mentioned into their hands. *Mohammed*, who was thoroughly acquainted with every step he took, was no less industrious in breaking all his measures, the last of which was a treaty he had made with the king of *Portugal*, which, instead of answering his sanguine hopes, served only to

hasten his ruin. He returned to *Africa* with the small assistance which he had obtained from that monarch; and no sooner landed his forces at the port of *Albuzomas*, than he was forced to defend himself against the neighbouring inhabitants, who had taken up arms against him; and, which was still worse, whilst he was engaged against them, *Salb Rays*, governor of *Algiers* under sultan *Soleyman*, attacked his forces at sea, towards sun-set, and continued fighting them all that night. On the next day, *Bubanzon* expostulated with him for falling thus upon him, whilst he was waging war against the Sharif, their common enemy; but was answered, that he was justly punished for going about begging help of the Christians, instead of applying to *Soleyman*, who had sent *Sinan*, his admiral, with a powerful fleet, to fight against them, and was ready to restore him to his lost dominions. It is not improbable, that the *Algerine Rays* had some private instructions for what he did and said, either from *Zidan*, or the *Porte*; however that be, it made such an impression on *Bubanzon*, that he was easily persuaded to join forces with him against the Christians; upon which they both together began to advance towards *Fez*, whilst the old Sharif was taken up in reducing the revolted *Derenderians*. As soon as he heard of the danger that threatened his capital, he made all the haste he could towards it at the head of his army; and, advancing towards *Tezan*, on the frontiers of *Tremecen*, continued there 50 whole days expecting the *Algerine Rays*; who, on his side, was advancing by slow marches, in order to avoid his cavalry, which was sent to range along these roads, and gain an opportunity of increasing his forces as he went. But having one day fallen accidentally on *Mohammed's* rear guard, commanded by his son *Abdalla*, a desperate fight ensued, in which the young Sharif was totally routed, lost all his artillery and ammunition, and was forced to march night and day to reach the city of *Fez*. But *Salb Rays*, a few days after this defeat, encamping his army along the banks of the *Cebu*, or *Cebro*, soon obliged him to take the field again, to prevent the surrender of a city (G), in which he knew he had so few real friends, and his competitor so many. *Mohammed* therefore was, much against his will, obliged

Mohammed
med
marches to
secure Fez;

defeated,
and forced
into Fez.

* MARMOL, TORRES, BOWLET, &c. ubi sup.

(G) The city of *Fez*, which, from time immemorial, enjoyed as we have shewn before (6), is this singular privilege, that it situate upon the *Cebu*, hath, can surrender itself to an enemy,

(6) See before, p. 74, & seq.

obliged to fall out against him, which he did only at the head of 8000 men; but suspecting the *Turkish* captain of his guard of holding an intelligence with *Salh Rays*, he caused his head to be cut off before he ventured farther; after which he sent the *Rays* word, that he came with full intent to engage him. His whole army consisted of 80,000 horse, 8000 of which he sent to oppose his passage over the river; but they were so briskly cannonaded from the other side, that they were forced to retire, and shelter themselves behind a rising ground; upon which he immediately crossed the river; and having cast up in haste a slight intrenchment, ordered his army to continue in arms all that night. On the next day both sides prepared for the engagement; in which the *Rays* at the first gained an advantageous post, which *Mohammed* had been possessed of, and which proved a kind of omen or prelude to his victory. The *Turks*, resenting their strangling of their captain, and seeing a body of renegadoes placed before them, lost all patience, threw down the *Sharif's* standard, and fell on the renegadoes and what other troops stood before them; whilst the *Fezians*, disconcerted at the fire of the enemy's artillery, betook themselves to flight; upon which all those, who were in prince *Buhauzon's* interest, forsook the *Sharif*, and came over to him. *Mohammed* thereupon immediately ordered his son *Abdalla* to go and force himself, if possible, into *Old Fez*; which he, with some difficulty, did; and causing the artillery of the ramparts to fire upon the enemy, made the *Rays* suspect that the inhabitants were resolved to hold out against him. He complained bitterly of it to *Buhauzon*, who had assured him that they were all in his interest; upon which that prince, in a fury, took 500 *Janissaries* with him, broke one of the city gates open, and entered the place sword in hand, which obliged *Abdalla* to retire into *New Fez*, where his father was already got. They soon discovered how impossible it would be to hold it out against the victorious *Rays*; and being resolved to abandon it out of hand, *Mohammed* ordered his wives and household to get on horseback, and take with them their most valuable effects; and arming him-

as soon as they are advanced within half a mile of its walls, if the king doth not send another army, or is not strong enough to oppose them. Every monarch, at his coronation, is obliged to ratify this privilege to the *Fezians*; which, it is sup-

posed, was granted to them by some of its founders, who thought it unreasonable that so considerable a place should be lost, out of an ill-timed fidelity to a prince who was not in a condition to defend it (7)

(7) See *Marmol*, D. de *Torres*, & al. n.º. sup.

self only with his sword and shield, hasted with them to a place of safety, whilst *Budcar*, one of his captains, guarded the gate, to prevent his being pursued.

Salh Rays's BUHANZON thought now of nothing but of being proclaimed king of *Fez*, and put in possession of the vast treasure which *Mohammed* had been forced to leave behind.

zon. But the treacherous *Rays*, under pretence of his being too great a favourite of the *Christians*, for whose help he had gone a begging so long, caused him to be thrown into a prison, set prince *Meroui* upon the throne, and seized upon the Sharif's treasure. This strange behaviour, joined to a report that he had murdered prince *Buhanzon*, raised such a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to produce him to the people, and

Forced to settle him upon the throne; but, in revenge, sent a man after crown *Mohammed*, under pretence of treating with him about some him, and female prisoners of distinction, but in reality to invite him to returns to Algiers. that he was now too far engaged in another war to accept of his offer, he obliged the inhabitants to pay him a fine of an ounce of silver per head, and returned to *Algiers* laden with an immense spoil.

Pennon of BUHANZON being thus settled on the *Fezian* throne, sent *Velez* and his son *Mohammed* to demand the restitution of the *Pennon* of *Velez*, with which the Sharif's governor immediately complied. Neither was this the only place of consequence which that prince took from him; *Abdalla* being obliged to abandon *Mequinez*, to join his father, now engaged in a new war, that city fell immediately after into his possession.

MOHAMMED had at this time two enemies to struggle against under his present ill fortune; viz. *Buhanzon*, now on the *Fezian* throne; and, what grated him still more, his brother *Hammed*; who being informed of all that had passed, and thinking it now a proper time to revenge himself of him, had found means to get out of his desert, and to make himself master of *Taphilet*. He lost no time in deliberating, but sent immediately his son *Abdalla*, at the head of a strong army, against the former, whilst he led the other in person against the latter. His son no sooner advanced towards *Fez*, than *Buhanzon* sent his two sons, *Muley Nacer* and *Mohammed*, against him, at the head of a numerous host: but these two young princes, through an emulous jealousy, refusing to engage the Sharif jointly, *Mohammed* was rash enough to engage the enemy without him, in hopes of securing to himself the sole honour of the victory, and was quickly put to the rout: whilst *Nacer*, more cautious than he, chose

A D.

1555

A fatal jealousy between Buhanzon's two sons. refusing to engage the Sharif jointly, *Mohammed* was rash enough to engage the enemy without him, in hopes of securing to himself the sole honour of the victory, and was quickly put to the rout: whilst *Nacer*, more cautious than he, chose

* *Ibid.*

rather

rather to retire to *Fez*, than to hazard the loss of his forces by a second engagement, which he easily foresaw would only yield his antagonist the glory of a double victory. However, this did not discourage their father from making a fresh attempt; who sallying out at the head of those very troops, before *Abdalla* could put his own in order of battle, fell so unexpectedly upon him, that he put him to a shameful flight, *Abdalla* and pursued him to the very walls of *Morocco*. It happened ^{put to} luckily for the old *Sharif*, who then held his brother *Hammed* ^{sent into a} *close* besieged in *Taphilet*, that he heard the news of his son's ^{convent.} *him*. victory before he did that of his defeat and flight; which gave him an opportunity to give out, that *Bubanzon*, after a total overthrow, had been obliged to refuge himself in the Pannon of *Velex*, whence he would be quickly dislodged, and sent a second time a begging for help from his old *Christian* friends. For this so alarmed *Hammed's* dread of his brother's resentment, that he immediately sent his two sons to implore his mercy; and, upon his promise of it, surrendered himself into his hands, and was sent by him into a *Turkish* monastery, *Hammed* where he was ordered to be kept confined the rest of his life. *Mohammed* having thus easily recovered the city of *Taphilet*, left a strong garrison in it; and taking his two nephews, *Nacer* and *Sidan*, with him, hastened with all speed towards *Fez*; but in his way caused the two young princes to be butchered, to prevent their raising any commotions in favour of their father, or of themselves¹.

In the mean time *Bubanzon*, flushed with his late victory, *Bubanzon* would not let him come too near his capital; but went to *defeated* meet him at some distance, fully resolved and prepared to *and killed* give him battle. His son *Mohammed*, who commanded his van-guard, consisting of 9000 *Arabians*, made a great slaughter among that of the *Sharif*, who coming speedily to their assistance, obliged him to retire. Upon which *Bubanzon*, who knew that his all depended on the success of this engagement, advanced with his other son *Muley Nacer*, and charged the enemy with no less conduct than bravery; but having received a dangerous wound in his thigh, which had laid him flat on the ground, his troops, who supposed him to have been killed, betook themselves to flight; *Nacer* was the only one who stood his ground for some time; but finding ^{him} *him* overpowered, was at length forced, with a few *soldiers* which he rallied, to betake himself to the mountains. He was quickly followed thither by his brother *Mohammed*, who seeing their father dead, had immediately

¹ *Iid. ibid.*

retired into *Fez*; but fearing lest the inhabitants should betray him to the enemy, had abandoned the place, and fled to the mountains; upon which *Mohammed* entered the city in triumph.

*His sons
embark,
and are
taken by a
corsair.*

THE two unfortunate princes found no better resource than to retire to *Maquinn*, and thence to *Sallee*, where embarking in an *European* merchantman, they were taken by a corsair, commanded by a renegade of *Bretany*, in full sight of the *Spanish* coasts. *Mohammed* stayed not long at *Fez*, being resolved to go and suppress the mountaineers of *Derenderen*, who had already given him so much trouble; and, leaving *Abdalla* with a strong garrison in that metropolis, marched directly to *Morocco*, whence he sent a sufficient force against these revolvers; and having in a great measure reduced them, and nothing now to apprehend from any side, he invited his brother *Hammed* and his whole family to his capital; and then gave himself up to his old nuptial delights (H). He was again soon satiated with them; and putting himself at the head of 12,000 *Turks*, of which his guard consisted, besides a great corps of cavalry, he marched directly from *Tarudant* to *Sus*, which proved the most unfortunate expedition he ever took.

*The Alge-
rine go-
vinnor
bires a ruf-
sian to as-
sassinate
the old
Sharif.*

BY this time *Hascen*, or *Hassan*, the son of the celebrated pirate *Barbarossa*, the late tyrant of *Algiers* (of whom we shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter) had succeeded him in that kingdom, and was in constant fear of being invaded by the old *Sharif*, and in no condition to make head against him, resolved at any rate to rid himself of so dreaded an enemy. He had in his service a *Turk* of his own name, every way qualified for any base exploit; and this desperado he engages, by a large sum, and larger promises, to undertake to assassinate him at all adventures; and engaged to pay his surviving family a

(H) The old *Sharif*, no less uxorious than warlike and ambitious, was accustomed to add every year a new wife to his old ones, and to indulge himself in dalliance with them, whenever fortune favoured him with a vacation from his martial toils. He had now, according to custom, cast his affections upon a beautiful young damsel at *Tarudant*, with whom he intended

to solace himself, being now free from any apprehension from his brother, whom he kept in some measure prisoner in his capital of *Morocco*. But whether his removing now to *Sus* was only deemed as a journey of pleasure with his new bride, or, which is more probable, from the escort that followed him, to quell some new revolt, our authors have not told us (8).

considerable pension, in case he perished in the attempt. Fraught with these hopes, the wretch hastens to *Fek*, where he pretended to *Abdalla* to have received some ill treatment from the *Algerine* governor. The young Sharif, who never looked upon the *Turks* but as a set of treacherous villains, without admitting him to his presence, bid him go to his father, who put greater confidence in them, and would readily take him under his protection. He was accordingly received by the old Sharif with singular favour; and in a little while made captain of his guard; which made so deep an impression upon the villainous assassin, that it was a long time before he could prevail upon himself to perpetrate the horrid deed on so generous a benefactor, or contrive a way to execute it without suspicion or danger. At length, as they were on their march from *Tarudant* towards *Sus*, he discovered such a Moham-
 general murmuring and discontent among the *Turkish* guard, med-
 on account of their pay having been with-held from them *months*
 above a year, as left him room to doubt of his easily engaging from *Ta-*
 a sufficient number of them into his perfidious design, by the *rudant to*
 prospect of the Sharif's treasure, which he promised to share *Sus*;
 amongst them, and to secure them a safe retreat in *Tremecen*.
 The place they pitched upon for the execution of their plot was the *Streight of Bibona*, which crosses part of *Mount Atlas*.
Mohammed was then sitting at his tent door in the cool of the evening, attended by a few guards, and a favourite renegado, where *Hascen* and his assassins presented themselves before and in the
 him, as it were to pay their obedience to him, when the rene-
 gado perceiving the foremost of them to draw their scymitars, *way is, af-*
 cryed out, Treason, and called to the Sharif to run for his *assinated*
 life. He did so; but in his hasty flight fell upon his face; *by a Turk.*
 upon which *Hascen*, who was got close to him, cut him across the hand; and the rest falling upon him, pierced him thro' with their swords, and left him weltering in blood, with his
Portuguese renegado, who had defended him to the last, ex-
 piring by his side. Such was the tragical end of that great warrior and wicked tyrant, who, under the specious cloak of religion, had raised himself to the summit of power and grandeur, by the blackest treasons and basest ingratitude. *Hascen* had no sooner perpetrated the horrid deed, than he caused it to be proclaimed through the camp, that they had assassinated the tyrant; and without meeting with the least opposition either from those troops, or, which is still more sur-
 prising, from any of the Sharif's sons, seized upon his *The trait-*
 treasure, wives, and children; and promised his protection to *or seized*
 as many of his forces as would come over to him. He *on his*
treasure,
wives,
&c.

† MARMOL, D. DE TORRES, & al. sup. citat.

thence

thence marched to *Tarudant*, and made himself master of the town and castle, and all the treasure he found in them, the young Sharif, who commanded in it, being fled at his first approach. This young prince had some time caused a *renegado Jew* to be imprisoned for debt, or rather for having found him too dangerous and enterprising a fellow. Him *Hafsen* soon released, and made him chief judge of the city; and he, in return for the favour, advised him to fortify himself in that place, till he received the reinforcement which had been promised from the governor of *Algiers*; which, if he had done, might have greatly embarrassed the measures of the new Sharif. But whether this gave him a mistrust of his fidelity, or his guilt made him apprehend the arrival of some forces from *Morocco* and *Fez*, instead of following his advice, he suddenly abandoned the place, and marching through all the most desert parts of the country, strove to reach the city of *Tremecen* with all his ill-gotten treasure. The *Jew*, on the other hand, to reingratiate himself with the new Sharif, and maintain himself in his new post, sent immediate notice of his flight to that son of his who was lately fled at his approach; upon which he got together all the *Arabs* and *Berebers* in that neighbourhood, and went at their head in pursuit of them with all imaginable speed. They were fortunate enough to overtake the traitor, and all his accomplices, and cut them all in pieces, except five, whom they took prisoners; and recovered all the treasures and young princes which they had carried off, and brought them back safe to *Tarudant*. The first thing which the young Sharif did after his return, was to drive all that he suspected of disaffection out of that city; after which he readily surrendered it to *Abdalla*, as the immediate successor of *Mohammed*. In the mean time the news of the old Sharif's assassination having reached the city of *Morocco*, *Hali ben Budchat*, then grand vazier and governor of it, fearing lest any insurrection should be raised in favour of Sharif *Hammed*, whom his brother had left prisoner with him, caused him, and seven of his sons and grandsons, to be murdered, without *Abdalla's* orders or knowledge; so that these two rival brothers, who had so long contended for the empire, were cut off within a very short space of time from each other by a violent death, and left *Abdalla* in the quiet possession of it. We have dwelt the longer on the reign of that prince, as he was the founder of the new monarchy, in order to shew our readers by what means, and variety of events, he arrived at this excessive height of power and grandeur. Several of those that followed it, having little else worth notice, but the bloody wars that happened between the competitors to the succession, and the oppression and misery

The murderer rises all his treasures.

Is cut off, and stripped in his flight.

A. D.
1557.

Hammed and his sons murdered at Morocco.

misery beneath which their subjects groaned under each of them, we shall, for that reason, forbear to enlarge upon, till we come to that remarkable one of *Muley Ishmael*; the first of this dynasty, whose reign hath made any considerable figure in the history of that empire.

To return to that of *Abdalla*; the officious cruelty of *Budchar* on so many young princes, did not go long unpunished. Among those whom that prime minister caused to be cut off, were two sons, whom *Zidan*, *Hammed's* eldest son, had by *Meriam*, *Abdalla's* beloved sister; at which that prince^s was so grievously affected, that her resentment soon furnished her with the most effectual means to ruin the murderer. She began with infusing some jealous fears against that designing minister into her brother's mind, as if he had butchered those young princes with no other view than to deprive his son, then a minor, of the succession, in order to raise his brother to the throne after his death. The Sharif being impatient to have some farther proof of it, she immediately devised a stratagem, which failed not to convince him of it. She took the opportunity of *Abdalla's* sickness, *Princess* to debar every one from coming to see him. Among *Meriam's* the rest, the vazier *Hali* was very frequent and importunate in his visits; but being still denied access to him, and suspecting him to be really dead, he took the liberty to tell her, that there was an absolute necessity of his being satisfied on that point, seeing every thing was kept in such suspense, that no matter, how important soever, could be determined without it. The prince^s, thinking it now a proper time to spring her mine, went in to her brother; and, with his consent, throwing a covering over his face, called in the prime minister, and told him, the king was indeed dead; and asked him what was proper to be done in such a juncture: upon which *Hali*, throwing off the disguise, told her boldly, that he thought the king's son by far too young to succeed his father; that the state required an intrepid governor, who was capable to hold the reins of it with his own hands, in order to quell the troubles that might arise, punish the crimes which *Abdalla* had connived at, and recompence the services which he had overlooked; that he could see none fitter to restore the peace of it than his brother; and that, notwithstanding his great obligations to the late king, he should be the very first who should oppose the succession of his son in favour of that prince. He was going on, when the king, no longer able to contain himself, uncovered his face; and shaking the stick, on which he leaned, at him, asked him, whether it was thus that he requited the signal favours he had heaped upon him? adding to it the most severe reproaches and dreadful threatenings; insomuch that the vazier, confounded and terrified beyond measure,

Their death so rarely revenged.

Princess stratagem against the grand vazier.

Who runs measure, ran home with all the speed he could; and having
away in a disguised himself in a woman's apparel, made the same haste
woman's out of it. But while he was waiting under an olive tree for
dress. some horses, which he had ordered to be brought to him
 there, some huntsmen, who happened to ride by, taking him

Is caught, sently knew him, and brought him back to the palace in that
and loses disguise; where *Abdalla*, not yet recovered from the violence
his head. of his resentment, caused him to be beheaded upon the spot.

Abdalla FROM this time *Abdalla*, growing more and more jealous
puts other and cruel, as well as more debauched (I), removed from him
princes to every thing that might interrupt either his repose or his plea-
death. sures, caused his nephew *Mohammad*, the son of *Abdelcader*,

to whom he had given *Lela Sophia*, his sister's daughter, in
 marriage, to be put to death, merely because his singular
 merit and valour made him too much beloved by the people.

His horrid He continued committing the most horrid cruelties on his
cruelties, ministers and subjects; and though he became thereby more
debauch- hated and dreaded by all, yet he was happy enough to keep
tries; and himself in quiet possession of his vast dominions, and at peace
death. with all his neighbours. He began his reign in the year

1557, being then about 40 years old, and died *anno* 1574.
 In the 17th year of his reign he was possessed of the two
Mauritania's, and a great part of *Numidia* (K); the former of
 which

" MARMOL, D. DE TORRES, & al. ub. sup.

(I) *Abdalla* was excessively
 given to wine and women; and
 when he had once subdued his
 enemies around, and secured
 himself from any further at-
 tempts from his brother, he gave
 himself up entirely to drinking
 and debauchery. He was seldom
 sober, but most frequently dead
 drunk; and when so, indulged
 himself in the most flagrant acts
 of injustice, cruelty, and lewd-
 nels: insomuch that he scrupled
 not, among other modest wo-
 men, whom he forced to submit
 to his brutish lusts, to debauch
 his own sister *Lela Meriam*, tho'
 he had above 200 wives and
 concubines in his seraglio. He
 was of a brown complexion,
 middle size, but fat and corpulent

lent towards the latter part of
 his life, homely and unpolished
 (9).

(K) According to *Marmol*,
 who was there in his time, his
 dominions reached, north and
 south, from the *Streights of*
Gibraltar to the frontier of *Ben-*
ney Negroes, on the furthest parts
 of the kingdom of *Sus*; and east
 and west from the *Atlantic*
Ocean to the kingdom of *Tren-*
mecen, which tract included the
 provinces we mentioned at the
 beginning of this chapter (10);
 to which we may add some
 other cantons which he held in
Numidia and *Libya*, as far south
 as to *Tagaest*, which is reckoned
 eight days journey from the
 nearest frontiers of *Sus*, and to

(9) *D. de Torres, Boulet. &c.*

(10) *See before, p. 55, & seq.*

which contained fourteen large provinces; among which *His dominions* those of *Sus* and *Dhura* furnished him yearly with 15,000 *horses*; the kingdom of *Morocco* with 25,000; and that of *Fez* 15,000, besides 5000 more which belonged to his life-guard; the whole amounting to 60,000: he also kept, a good number of *harquebutiers*, both of foot and horse, in his garrisons, particularly in the city of *Fez*, which he made his residence. The *Berebers* and *Arabs* were obliged not only to pay him a constant tribute of corn, barley, dates, and other product, but likewise a certain quota of forces, whom he only maintained during the war; and after that was ended, dismissed them to their respective *Adowars*. He built several stately palaces at *Fez* and *Morocco*, together with some other public buildings, particularly a spacious college, consisting of 400 halls, or schools, for teaching the *Koran*. His successors, who are still possessors of this large empire, have ever since trod in the same track of politics, and maintained the same maxims of arbitrary government, which *Mohammed* his father, as founder of that monarchy, had settled among them; except perhaps that all his successors, that have hitherto reigned, have exceeded him in their oppression and extortions, cruelty and perfidy.

ABDALLA was succeeded by *Muley Mohammed*, surnamed *Muley the Negro*, because he was born of a negro woman; who had no sooner got possession of the crown, than he caused one, some say two, of his brothers to be seized, and beheaded; and the third, who was still young, to be closely confined, and kept prisoner. But being himself dethroned by his uncle *Muley Moluch al Melech*, was forced to flee to *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, who sailed into *Africa* with a powerful fleet and army; but being a prince of more courage than conduct, was defeated and killed at the famed battle of *Alcassar*: *Muley Mohammed* was likewise slain in it, or, as others say, was drowned in his cowardly flight in endeavouring to cross a river.

MULEY MOLUCH, or, as others call him, *Abdel Melech*, who fought against the *Portuguese* king at the battle, being then *Moluch's* very ill of some grievous disease, was brought to the field of battle in his litter; and having tried, in spite of his illness, rather of nature, to assist at it on horseback, was soon exhausted to such a degree, that he was forced to be brought

• D. DE TORRES, DAVITT, BOULET, &c. •

Teguarin and *Tegua* on the which are inhabited by several confines of *Guinea*, countries warlike nations (11).

Succeeded
by his brother
Muley Ham-
med.

His con-
quest of
Gago and
Tombut,
1594.

1595.

back to his litter, where he expired almost as soon as he was seated in it*. Some say that his illness was caused by a dose of poison, which a *Granadan Alcaide* had given him. However that be, he shewed to the last more concern for the victory than his life, commanding those about him to conceal his death, in order to save his troops: inasmuch that his brother *Muley Hammed* was so thunder-struck, when, coming to the side of the litter to speak with him, he found him quite breathless and cold, that he could not refrain himself from tears, and grievous outcries, if they were not rather owing to the sudden joy he conceived at the prospect of raising himself to the throne, as he actually did immediately after the battle; and was acknowledged by all the officers of his army, and soon after by the provinces of the empire. After this he put himself at the head of an army of 60,000 horse, and a great multitude of his tributary *Arabians*; and taking his eldest son *Muley Cheyk*, he made his four brothers that were with him, viz. *Bal Hascen*, *Bouffers*, *Sidan* or *Zidan*, *Axin* or *Haxyn*, together with all the Alcaldes and the whole army, take the usual oaths to him; and then proceeded to the conquest of the kingdoms of *Gago* and *Tombut*. He had already signalized himself by several victories, and almost reduced those kingdoms, when *Muley Nacer*, his nephew, and the son of *Muley Moluch*, returning from *Spain*, where he had been detained seventeen years, that is, ever since his father's death, being now flushed with the promise of a considerable assistance from *Philip II.* came over; and having raised an army of mountaineers, resicgadores, and other disbanded troops in the neighbourhood of *Fex*, drew a considerable party over to his side. Against him *Muley Hammed* sent his son, at the head of a powerful force, who engaged and defeated him. *Nacer* being dangerously wounded, was put to flight, and left his camp, arms, and baggage behind. After this victory *Hammed* reigned peaceably and happily; being a great lover and encourager of learning (L), and highly respected

* THUAN. Hist. lib. li. c. 5. & seq. DE TORRES, DAVIER, & al. P. de GUADALAZAR, prefa del Arache.

(L) This prince is said to have been a good proficient in the mathematics, and especially in astronomy. His wars and conquests in the two great kingdoms above-mentioned made it, in a great measure, necessary; because there is no other way to cross these vast sandy deserts but by the compass, and astronomical observations; for which he always carried with him a handsome apparatus of them. He took no less care to make himself amends for the cost and pains of conquering these two kingdoms;

respected by his subjects, and died on the 29th day of August, 1603. not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his son Sidan, after a reign of twenty-six years*.

BUT immediately after this, the empire was torn into so many factions, that in less than six weeks there were no less than three kings proclaimed, besides Sidan, who, though the youngest of all, had caused himself to be crowned on the very day on which his father died. The other three brothers, *seizes the crown.* equally contending for the throne, were at length overcome, after a great many bloody wars, which he was forced to sustain against them, and more especially against *Muley Wars* *Chbeyk*, his eldest brother, a prince of great valour and conduct, *with his* highly esteemed by the subjects and soldiery, and who had, *brothers.* besides, procured a considerable assistance from Spain. So that it was not till after a great deal of bloodshed, and many considerable losses, both by sea and land (M), that he got the better of him, and was enabled to restore the peace of the state. But a gang of pirates, who had settled themselves at *Sallee*, a famed port in the kingdom of *Fez**, soon disturbed it afresh, by the frequent outrages and depredations they committed within the inland provinces; to suppress which he sent a splendid embassy to King *Charles I.* of *England*, to desire him to send him some ships, ammunition, &c. who readily complied with his request. *Zidan* soon afterwards made himself master of *Sallee*, destroyed all the pirates he could come at, and, in return for the king's timely assistance, sent him 300 Christian slaves as a present. After this he reigned very peaceably all the remaining part of his life, except that he was often pestered by the *Alarbs*, or *Arabs*, of *Wars* the province of *Morocco*, his inveterate enemies, who had *with the* once forced him to abandon his capital to escape their fury. *Arabs.*

* *Iid. ibid.*

* See before, p. 80.

kingdoms; from one of which he brought thirty mules loaded with gold dust, and from the other sixty quintals (or 100 weight) of the same (12).

(M) Amongst these losses there was one considerable one; namely, that of 3000 *Arabic* volumes on physic, philosophy, and divinity, which the *Spaniards* took from him at sea;

which he regretted the more as they fell into such hands. This sea-fight happened in the year 1611, the year after his competitor had delivered up the important fortress of *Arach*, or *Larach*, to the count *St. Germain*, the *Spanish* commander, who was sent to his assistance by *Philip III.* of *Spain* (13).

(12) *Vid. Davity, & au F. ab eo citat. presa del Arabe, Mouquet Voy. lib. iii. p. 161 & 179, & seq. Davity, St. Olan mgs de Maroc. p. 75, & seq. & el.*

(13) *P. Mart de Guadalemar, & seq. Davity, St. Olan*

1630.

Abdelme-
lech's
cruel
reign.

But having at length overcome some of them, and gained others by treaty and presents, he returned to *Morocco*, and there continued in peace till the year 1630, in which he died.

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Muley Abdelmelech*, a prince who soon became odious to all his subjects, on account of his drunkenness, cruelty, and other vices; insomuch that the *Fezians* invited a younger brother of his, named *Hammed*, to come and reign over them; but finding him no less tyrannical and cruel, they dethroned and imprisoned him. *Abdelmelech* was likewise opposed by two others of his brethren. But they were so slow in their preparations, that they gave him time enough to be before-hand with them, and to put them to the rout. He had hardly reigned four years in his debaucheries, before a Christian slave, whom he designed to have castrated, entered his tent, he being then in the field in the month of *December*, and finding him asleep, and drowned in wine, shot him dead with a pistol (N) ^c.

Murdered.

^a P. de GUADALAZAR, D. DE TORRES, MOUQUET, PUNCHAS, DAVITY, & al. ^c Ibid. ibid.

(N) *Abdelmelech* is reckoned the first who took the title of *Emperor of Morocco, Fex, Sus, Tabilet, &c.* He pretended to a great deal of religion. He ordered an universal mourning for his father, insomuch that the subjects were obliged to have their very shirts dyed blue, which is their colour for it. He was very fond of Christian slaves that turned renegadoes, and put more confidence in them than in his own *Moors*. But he was no less cruel and inhuman to those who refused to turn *Mohammedans*, and made it his chief diversion to have them devoured by some fierce lions, which he kept for that purpose, and sometimes would hack them in pieces with his own scymitar.

The *French* ambassador having made pressing complaints of this to the *Porte*, and of his being

still more inhuman to the *French* slaves than to those of other nations, and being answered, that the king his master's arms were long enough to do himself justice, *Abdelmelech* resented it to such a degree, that he swore by *Mohammed* he would destroy the first ambassador that came to him from the court. By good fortune monsieur *Sanson*, herald at arms, who was sent thither in that quality, had notice given him by a *French* renegado, of a noble family, who advised him to appear only as a private merchant. He was, however, sent for, and strictly questioned by the king, who had an executioner ready in the next chamber to dispatch him; but he had the address, or rather good fortune, to avert the danger, and got off unhurt (14).

He was succeeded by his brother *Muley Elwaly*, or *El Muley El-gualid Elgwaly*; called by the Dutch relations and the Provençals, *Muley Lowely*; whom he had condemned to lose his eyes a little before; but his being assassinated prevented the execution; for on the contrary, and above all expectation, he was fetched out of prison to ascend the throne. He was a prince of so sweet and affable a temper, that he quickly gained the love of all his subjects. He began his reign with the enlargement of several prisoners of state, and raising the pay of his officers and soldiery. Among the prisoners which he had released, was an *Andalusian Alcayd*, named *Mohammed Zarroy*, who was ungrateful enough presently after to join with prince *Semen*, a brother of *Elwaly*, in a rebellion against him; but being defeated and taken, the former was beheaded, and the latter strangled. After which *Elwaly* reigned peaceably the remainder of his life, and died in the 12th year of his reign. It was from him that *Monsieur Sanson*, the French ambassador, who had so narrowly escaped being murdered by his brother, obtained a treaty for the mutual exchange of prisoners^d.

He was succeeded by his brother *Muley Hammed Cheyk*, Muley the last surviving son of *Sidan*, a prince so strongly given to women, that he seldom stirred out of his seraglio, or troubled himself with any affairs of state, but let a few rapacious favourites govern the realm; which gave the *Alarbs*, or *Arabs*, about *Morocco*, the irreconcilable enemies of the *Sharifs*, a fair opportunity of besieging him in that capital; of which they easily made themselves masters; and having murdered him, elected *Crumel Hack*, one of their princes, to reign in his stead, which he did some few years, and was succeeded by *Sharif Muley*, king of *Taphilet*. This last being soon after at war with *Sidi Omar*, prince of *Illech*, had the misfortune to be defeated and taken prisoner. During his tedious, rigorous confinement, he begot two sons on an ugly negro, whom *Omar* had sent him; the eldest of whom, named *Muley Archy*, succeeded him in the kingdom of *Taphilet*, during whose short reign nothing considerable happened, except that, having drank to excess, and riding furiously on an unruly horse, he fractured his skull in a grove of orange trees. Upon his death, *Hammed*, one of his nephews, then *basha* of *Morocco*, caused himself to be proclaimed king, whilst his brother took the same bold step at *Taphilet*. But *Muley Ismael*, the other son of *Muley Sharif*, and brother of *Muley Archy*, found means to overcome those two competitors; and, in a short time, to wrench both kingdoms from

^d D. TORRES, DAVILY, BOULET, & al.

them, and to raise himself to an higher pitch of power wealth, and grandeur, than any of his predecessors had ever attained to.

Muley
Ishmael's
reign,
A. D.
1672.

MULEY ISHMAEL, so famed throughout *Europe* as well as *Afrie*, for his policy and cruelty, and what must seem most strange, if not a downright contradiction, his zeal and strict observance of his religion (O), began his reign in the year 1672 : but excepting the two victories which he gained over his nephews, lived more like a private man than a king ; and took up his residence at *Mequinez*, which was then no more than a castle, situate about twelve leagues from *Fex*, but in one of the most delightful and richest spots in all *Barbary*, where he at first spent his time in cultivating the adjacent lands ; and being no less fond of money than agriculture, applied himself likewise to commerce. The charming situation of *Mequinez* soon made him resolve to make it not only his chief residence, but the metropolis of his kingdom ; and, in order to that, he adorned it with many sumptuous buildings ; some of which he would again cause to be pulled down, and rebuilt in some other place ; insomuch that it is reported, that if they were all now standing, they would make a contiguous street that would reach quite to *Fex*. But his pre-

Makes
Mequinez
his capi-
tal.

(O) His strictness was such during his whole reign, that he would never drink any wine or strong liquor. He observed the *Ramadan*, or *Mohammedan* Lent, four whole months (15) every year, and with a more than ordinary abstinence. He was no less scrupulous an observer of the usual washings, public prayers, and other branches of his law ; and never undertook any thing of moment without prostrating himself a good while upon the ground, and praying for the divine direction and assistance, fully satisfied that *Mohammed* would obtain it from heaven ; so that whatever was the result of his devotions, he firmly believed it to be the immediate direction of that prophet.

In his administration of justice, in which province he always

shewed himself very ready and easy of access, he was very rigid and impartial ; yet would sometimes run into some wild extravagancies ; of which the following instance may serve for a taste. A poor farmer, of the *Berebers* race, having complained to him that some of his negroes, whom by the way he was noted for keeping at short allowance, had stolen from him a yoke of oxen, which were his sole dependence, he ordered his whole negro guard to pass before him, and shot every one whom the former accused. But asking him afterwards what amends he could make him for the loss of so many stout negroes, and the man being at a loss what to answer, he made him undergo the same fate with the robbers (16).

(15) *D. de Torres, Boulet.*

(16) *History of Barbary; & al.*

tence for building and pulling down in that extravagant *A great* manner was, he used to say, to keep his subjects employed ; *builder.* for, added he, if I keep a bag full of rats, they'll eat their way through, if I do not keep it in constant motion, and sure *Cruel, a-* it is that in this, and all other respects, he treated them no *varitious,* better than as so many vermin, whose lives and all were at his *and arbi-* arbitrary disposal, inasmuch that he made it even a piece of *trary.* diversion to shoot or behead them, to shew his dexterity and as for the rest, he loaded them with such taxes and labour, and other oppressions, that their state was much more to be pitied than that of those whom he sent out of the world So intent was he in heaping up riches, which his fordidness would not permit him to enjoy, that though he was ever levying some new taxes, or imposts on the people, yet would he be at no expence in maintaining either his household or his army, but obliged his *Moorish* soldiery to serve him without allowing them either pay, cloathing, arms, or victuals. He gave a signal instance of this unnatural barbarity to them not many years after his accession to the throne, when, having ordered *A D.* them to join his son *Muley Sidan*, to go and retake the city *1675* of *Morocco*, which *Muley Mohammed*, another of his sons, had made himself master of, upon their officers applying to *Barbarity* him for a stipend to maintain them, he gave them this brutal *to his* answer ; *Moors.* *Do you see, ye MOORISH DOGS, any other of my mules, camels, or other beasts belonging to my empire, ask me for any maintenance ? Do not they take it where they can find it, without troubling me about it ? Go, march with all speed whither I send you ; and do you maintain yourselves as they do.* This was, indeed, the most effectual way to set both officers and soldiers a plundering all that came in their way. This, and many other such arbitrary acts of oppression, the effects of his insatiable avarice, occasioned a general decay of trade, misery and poverty among his subjects, a most shameful corruption among his ministers, and an universal deluge of injustice and oppression throughout every province in his dominions (P).

HE

(P) As it was a constant custom with this rapacious monarch to make every thing subservient to his avarice ; so, whenever any complaint of theft, fraud, or injustice came before him, his sentence always was, first, that, strict restitution should be made to the amount of the wrong ; not indeed to the plaintiff, who

in that case reaped no other advantage than the pleasure of seeing the offender punished, but to himself, to whom alone he pretended the satisfaction was due but this did not excuse the offender from an additional fine, such as he pleased to impose upon him. Sometime, especially if the accused was supposed

Barbarity
to his
wives,

and chil-
dren.

Long
reign.

Muley
Moham-
med, his
favourite
son, en-
raged
by the Sul-
tana

He was no less cruel and tyrannical to his wives and concubines; of which he kept no less than 3000 of the former, and 5000 of the latter rank; and among whom he was looked upon as such a monster of inhumanity, that it was with the greatest dread they approached him; and not without just cause, seeing they often were made the victims of his ill-humour. Some of them he caused to be punished for the least word or action that displeased him, in a most barbarous and shameful manner, by his eunuchs and slaves; others to be strangled, or otherwise dispatched for the least fault, such as plucking off an orange, or other fruit in his garden. His very children, for some of whom he had an uncommon fondness, were, nevertheless, so much the objects of his jealousy and mistrust, that the least apprehension made the father degenerate into a tyrant, inasmuch that those that were his greatest favourites, had the greatest cause to dread him. This was the real picture of *Muley Ishmael*, upon which we have dwelt the longer, as it cannot but be looked upon as the most surprising of all, to find that a person of his hateful character and detested tyranny, did yet keep himself on his throne during the long space of 55 years, in a country where rebellions, dethronements, and assassinations of princes, were so very frequent, without meeting with any disturbance from his oppressed subjects, or his jealous neighbours, or indeed from any quarter but from his own son *Muley Mohammed*, the most beloved of all his children, who openly having attempted to wrench the crown from him, fell an unhappy victim of his ambition and his resentment.

THIS prince was born of a beautiful *Georgian* slave, brought up in the christian religion; and whose superior charms to all his other wives soon engrossed his father's affection, as he himself did by the beauty of his person and mind; so that he only had a royal education given him, whilst the rest of his brethren were brought up in the most profound ignorance; but it was this partial fondness that occasioned his ruin. *Laila Ajakab*, a fat negro woman, since styled *Sultana Sidana*, or *Sultana Queen*, who had a great attendant over *Muley Ishmael*, beheld with such inward dread and jealousy the preference which he gave to this favourite above her own eldest son,

to be in good circumstances, he would condemn him to some severe punishment, merely to oblige him to buy it off at the dearest rate. And it was with him such a crime for a man to be

rich, that the bare name, or suspicion of it, hath cost the life of a great number of his subjects, which was always followed with a confiscation of their all into his own treasury (17).

named *Sidan*, that she resolved to ruin both the mother and the son as soon as possible. The first she quickly accomplished by a false accusation of infidelity, for which that jealous monarch caused her to be put to death, though he was soon after undeceived, and highly grieved at his credulity and precipitation. But *Laila* had still a more dangerous victim to sacrifice to her fear; and *Mohammed*, who was become a greater favourite of the king, on account of his innocent mother's untimely death, as well as for all his other good qualities, made her look upon him as a formidable rival to her son *Sidan*, a loose, cruel, and profligate prince, and hated by all that knew him. The king could not but be sensible of her hatred to him; and, in order to put it out of her power to raise any fresh cabals against him, ordered him a sum of 15 quintals, or 100 weight of silver, and to go and take upon him the care and superintendency of his old seraglio at *Taphilet* (Q), where he had not been long before a very dangerous rupture happened between him and another brother, named *Maimon*, who was then governor of that city, a very debauched prince, about precedency, which occasioned a bloody rencounter to ensue, and they were both ordered to court in chains, by the express order of their father, from whom, upon their first approach, they received a short, but very severe reprimand (R).
They

(Q) *Muley Ishmael* kept there an old seraglio, to which he used to send all his cast off wives, with all their children, whenever he took it into his head to fresh colony his new one at *Mequinez*. The government of it was usually given to some favourite officer, or prince of the blood, together with a sufficient annual revenue, or maintenance, for all that were sent thither. But a complaint having been sent to court, that the present governor abused his trust, and sunk the money into his pockets, and suffered those ladies to want their usual allowance, he sent this favourite son with his quintals of silver to take the care of it upon him. It fell out soon after, that the two brothers, be-

ing obliged to assist at a public ceremony, had this dreadful contest about the precedency, in which several of their retinue were killed on both sides, which obliged the king to have them both brought in chains before him (18)

(R) The reader will not, perhaps, be displeased, if we give him a specimen of that monarch's behaviour, and strange rhetoric upon that occasion. They no sooner appeared prostrate before him, than with a scornful smile he welcomed them in words to this effect: "Good-morrow, Good-morrow How do you both do? I am heartily glad to see that you are both still alive, and that neither of you hath lost his

They were next ordered to plead their cause before him which they did in such a manner, that *Maimon*, whom some of the king's brothers did then accuse of sundry heinous crimes, was sent with disgrace to *Tezami*, a castle about nine miles from *Taphilet*: but, upon his departure, he told the king, that nothing grieved him so much as that that christian, meaning *Mohammed*, should get the better of him. This raised a fresh contest between them, which grew to such a height, that he at first ordered a scymitar to be given to each of them, that they might have an opportunity to shew which was the better man; but at the earnest entreaty of some of the nobles that were present, he ordered the scymitars to be exchanged for a couple of cudgels, which they plied against each other with such fury, that they both were quickly covered over with their own blood. The king in vain commanded them to leave off; but *Mohammed*, without regarding it, continued his blows; upon which the king took *Maimon's* cudgel and struck him with it; which so enraged him, that he seized *Maimon* by the collar, threw him upon the ground, and stamped his foot on him; for which his father was going to pierce him with his spear; but recalling himself, he was contented with giving him a slight blow with it, and upbraiding him with his christian blood, bid him go and eat swine's flesh with them. It was not long, however, before his tenderness got the better of his resentment; so that, to make him amends for his harsh words, he offered him the government of *Taphilet*, which he refused for that of *Fez*, where he was better beloved. He had not long enjoyed the happiness of it, before the king sent him orders to go to that of *Taphilet*; to excuse himself from which, he pretended to be very ill, and forced to keep his bed: upon which the king immediately dispatched the doctor belonging to the christian religion to him. The young prince tried in vain several ways to avoid being seen by him; and, when forced to it, to prevail upon him to impose upon his father: the old gentleman on his return told him honestly, that his son was quite cured before he could find out his distemper. *Mohammed* was immediately sent for to court, and severely reprimanded for his disobedience and pretended sick-

Muley Mohammed refuses the government of Taphilet.

life in your last bloody engagement. I easily perceive, either that you think yourselves to be without a father, or forget that I am he. You appear indeed as meek as lambs before me, but out of my sight you are worse than roaring lions. If, while I am still

alive, you have the boldness to take up arms against each other, what will you do when I am dead? Let me therefore hear, without any disguise, the occasion of this quarrel of yours, that I may apply a speedy remedy to it."

ness,

and easily excused from going to *Taphilet*, and of *Montigara*, along with his own brother *Muley Sbarif*, whom he dearly loved, and with whom he continued five years in that place with all possible content. But, at the end of that time, a sedition being raised in the kingdom of *Suz*, by the governor of *Tarudant*, *Muley Ishmael*, who had caused him to be beheaded for it, ordered that favourite son of his to go and take the government of it, as being the most considerable in the whole empire; which he thankfully obeyed, and quickly restored peace to that remote province. But his success and preferment failed not to awaken the jealousy of queen *Laila*, and to make her look upon him as the person designed for the successor, and who, in that case, would infallibly revenge his mother's death on her and her son; to prevent which, and bring on that dreaded rival's ruin the more effectually, she took the advantage of the king's absence, who was then at the siege of *Oran*, procured a letter to be counterfeited under his hand and seal, and sent it to *Mohammed*, wherein he was expressly ordered to put an old venerable *Arabian Cheyk*, whom the king highly esteemed for his signal services, to immediate death; which he accordingly did, and sent the same courier back to acquaint the king with it. The express arrived at the court of *Mequinez* soon after the king's return; and much about the same time came the sons of the deceased *Cheyk*, who were come to make their complaints to him; at which he was so highly provoked, that he ordered his son to repair to him with all speed. He did so; and upon his arrival found his father in the greatest fury, and attended with the *Cheyk's* children all in tears. The first question he asked him was in an angry tone; *Art thou Sharif?* To which he, rightly judging at the cause, readily answered, Thou knowest whether I am or not. I have only executed thy commands, and here they are under thy hand and seal, giving him the forged letter. The king had scarce read it before he got on horseback, and made such speed towards the palace, that every body concluded that he was gone to sacrifice the sultana to his resentment. But she found means to appease him by some specious pretence; so that he contented himself with distributing some money among the weeping orphans, and sent them and his son back to *Tarudant*.

It was now impossible for *Mohammed* not to perceive, as well as resent, at once the sultana's treacherous designs against him, as well as the great ascendancy which she had over his father; from which he could but too plainly conclude, that she would leave no stone unturned till she had wrought his total ruin. All these sad prospects were fully in his mind, as he was returning to his government; when he unhappily met

Mohammed
med quells
a revolt in
Suz.

The Sultana
con-
trived his
ruin.

Her
strange
ascendency
over the
king.

With

with the *Alcayd Cader*, on his return from *Guiney*, who guarded an immense quantity of gold belonging to the king, and seized upon it for his own use, and prevailed upon several of the *Alcayd's* retinue to follow him to *Tarudant*. As soon as he was arrived at his government, he sent a letter to his father; conceived in such terms as should plainly indicate his revolt, and another to the sultana, full of reproaches and bitter reflexions against her and her son *Sidan*. All which so exasperated the old king, that he was upon the point of setting aside for a while his intended expedition against *Algiers*, to suppress this new rebellion before it grew to a head. But his ill fortune made him determine otherwise; and though his army consisted of above 60,000, and that of the *Algerines* no more than 12,000, yet those being by far the better soldiers, totally defeated him, killed a vast number of his men, and forced him to a shameful retreat.

Defeated
by the Al-
gerines.

Moham-
med re-
volts, and
takes Mo-
rocco by
strata-
gem.

By this time *Mohammed* had so far increased his army, and so many discontented *Alcayds* went over to him, especially after his father's defeat, that, though he had neither artillery nor other materials for a siege, yet trusting in the affections of the people, he marched directly to *Morocco*, and summoned the governor of it, an old experienced officer, to surrender. He found, however, an opposition there, which he did not expect, and which made him have recourse to the following stratagem, which succeeded to his wishes. He ordered his army to march off, as if he had abandoned the siege; and was scarcely gone a league, when, as he expected, the governor sallied in pursuit of him, at the head of 8000 men, whom he so closely surrounded by the disposition of his own forces, that he either killed or made them all prisoners; and, amongst the latter, the governor, several other *Alcayds*, particularly *Kali Bouchafra*, a near relation of the sultana; all whom he ordered to be conveyed to *Tarudant*. After which he entered the city with sword in hand, seized on all the treasure he could find, and gave the plunder of the place to his troops. But hearing quickly after that his brother *Sidan* was coming with a great army to besiege him in it, he immediately marched away to *Tarudant* with all his rich spoil. Here the artful *Alcayd Bouchafra*, his prisoner, in order to betray him the more easily to his father, had so far insinuated himself into his favour, that he became privy to all his designs, of which he gave immediate intelligence to the court, and would in all likelihood have ruined all his measures, had not some of his letters been intercepted and brought to *Mohammed*, who caused them to be openly read in his

Finds an
immense
treasure in
it.
Returns to
Tarudant.

• See Histoir. des Cherifs, DE TORRES, & al.

council,

council, and asked them what the treacherous writer of them *Boucha-* deserved? *Bouchafra*, who was then present at it, to remove *fra's* the suspicion from himself, was the first who condemned him *treachery,* to death; upon which the *Shafif* told him, that he had pro- *and punish-* nounced sentence against himself; and, by a double stroke of *ment.* policy, ordered *Melech*, the late governor of *Morocco*, to cut his head off (S). *Mohammed* being now become more powerful than ever, resolved to go and engage his brother *Sidan*, who was making long marches at the head of a powerful army against him. But when they came to engage, *Melech*, *Moham-* whom *Mohammed* had entrusted with the command of his negro med *be-* troops, either in revenge for the late affront, or to regain the *trayed by* emperor's favour, suffered himself to be surrounded by *Sidan's* *Melech.* forces, which obliged his brother to betake himself to a shameful flight, after the loss of a great number of his own. *Defeated* The king, as soon as he heard the news of *Sidan's* victory, *by Sidan.* ordered him to send all the prisoners to him, who fearing for *Melech*, to whom he owed it, earnestly interceded for him; the same did his wives and children, but all in vain: the king told them, that he forgave him, but the sultana and her relations never would his cutting *Bouchafra's* head off. The cruel monarch, instigated by his queen and her relations, and some treacherous *Talbi*, ordered that faithful and brave officer to be publickly sawn in the middle with the utmost cruelty (T); and, in excuse for his extreme barbarity and ingratitude,

(S) *Melech* having displayed so singular a fidelity to the king at the siege of *Morocco*, it is not unlikely that *Mohammed* suspected him to be privy to the perfidious steps of *Bouchafra*: he, therefore, took this method to gain so valuable a prisoner to his own interest, as he knew it would prove an effectual bar to his ever being forgiven by the king, the cutting off the head of so near a relation to his favourite sultana. But the sequel will soon shew how much he was out in his politics (19).

(T) To add to the pomp of this dreadful execution, the cruel

monarch had obliged the relations and friends of the unfortunate *Melech* to stay at *Mequinez*, in hopes of his pardoning him; and, on the other hand, caused all the numerous family of the *Loudays*, which was that of the sultana and *Bouchafra*, to be present at it, to the amount of several thousands. Between these was the prisoner, led by six stout negroes, who held muskets cocked against him, to the mosque, called *Gemma Kadra*, where they made him sit upon a stone and wait his doom. Here perceiving several of the *Talbi*, or priests, very pressing for his death, he cried out, Why may I not be

(19) *De Harte, in Vit. Mul. Ismael. Hist. des Chérifs, &c.*

Melech's
dreadful
death.

Moham-
med be-
sieged in
Tarudant.

A. D.
1706.

titude, alleged, that *Melech* having proved a traitor to his son *Mohammed*, as well as to him, he had ordered him to be thus sawn into two parts, that each of them might have one half of his body. In the mean time *Mohammed* having reached *Tarudant* with the shattered remains of his army, the victorious *Sidan* pursued him thither, and laid close siege to it; but was so often repulsed with great loss, that, despairing to get it by force, he retired to *Morocco*, where he contrived such a lucky stratagem, as soon put an end to the rebellion, and to the life of its chief author.

MOHAMMED had been to visit his camp out of the city, on a *Friday*, which is the *Mohammedan* sabbath; and, on his return, fell into an ambush of *Negroes*, whom the alcaide *Abdelcary*, a creature of *Sidan's*, had set near the

brought to the king, and acquaint him with your treason? for the cutting off *Bouchafra's* head was forced upon me, but you were the treacherous dogs that sent his letters back to *Mohammed*, which were designed for the king; for they were the persons who by intercepting *Bouchafra's* letters, had caused him to be put to death; and it was their fear of his discovery, that made them so urgent with the king to have him haled to execution; this was the reason why he was hurried away to the fatal place with such cruel speed, mounted on a mule, with his hands and body chained, amidst the dreadful cries of his friends, and the shouts of his enemies the *Loudeys*, whilst he alone appeared calm and unconcerned, and rode with a pipe in his mouth. Being arrived at the market place, he was taken down and stripped, and the *Talbs* took care to have all the papers that were found about him burnt, for fear of a discovery. Immediately after this the sawyers laid him flat upon a plank, fast-

ened his hands and feet to it, and were going to begin their work at his skull; but *Bouchafra's* children, to whom the king had given leave to order the manner of his execution, to make his torments last the longer, commanded them to begin at the other end, which forced the most dreadful outcries from him. When they had proceeded so far as his navel, they were ordered to draw their saw, and begin now at his head, which they did; and, when they had gone thro' their work, they divided his body into two parts, after which they went to the king with their saw wrapped up in a cloth; who, seeming highly satisfied with what they had done, ordered two ducats to be given to the two journey-men, and four to their master. This was the dreadful reward with which that inhuman monarch recompensed the fidelity of that brave old minister, and may serve to give a lively idea of that detestable court and government (18).

(18) *De Torrez, ubi sup. Hist. des Chérifs, &c. et.*

gates to intercept him, at which he immediately cried out, *Mohammed* that he was *Muley Mohammed*; to which they answered, *med seized* we know thou art, and are ordered by the king to seize thee; *in an ambuscade,* and immediately surrounded him on all sides. He made *and carried off* several efforts to break through them, in order to gain the city gate; but, finding it shut against him, he fought so desperately among them, that he laid a good number of *prisoner.* them wounded at his feet: whilst they, afraid of shedding a Sharif's blood, dared not lift their weapons against him. At length, one of them advised the rest to cut off the legs of his horse; upon which they easily seized on his person, and carried him prisoner to *Morocco*, whence *Sidan* caused him to be conveyed to *Mequinez*, under an escort of 500 horse.

THE king, upon the first notice of his coming, whether *The king* to avoid the solicitations of his court in favour of his son, *meets him* or for any other view, set out of *Mequinez* attended by *with a* 2000 horse, and 1000 foot, and waited for him at *Beth*, *most dreadful* the place where he designed to punish him for his revolt. *ful train.* And, to add to the horror of the cavalcade, was preceded by 40 Christian slaves, who carried a monstrous copper, with 100 weight of pitch, and the same quantity of oil and tallow, and were followed by six butchers with large knives in their hands, and a cart loaded with wood; which dreadful apparatus filled the city of *Mequinez*, who had so lately beheld the execution of the unfortunate *Melech*, with the utmost horror and confusion; but more especially *Mohammed's* daughter, who, attended with a number of other ladies, and others of his friends, came to implore the king's clemency in his behalf. The very sultana, his bitterest enemy, could so far disguise her hatred, as to become one of his intercessors. All these the king received with an affected coldness; and, by way of comfort, told them, that he designed him no other punishment, than pouring a little boiling oil upon him. He was a whole day and night without seeing his son, who was arrived at *Beth* the day before him; but, upon his appearing prostrate before him the day after, the king clapped the point of his spear to his breast; upon which, and seeing the butchers, and the rest of the dreadful apparatus, he cried aloud to him, for God and his prophet's sake, forgive me, I beseech thee. But he, *Causes his* without minding his cries, ordered one of the butchers to *band and* hoist him on the cart, and cut off his wrist on the rim of *foot to be* the copper; at which the fellow in a fright protested, that *cut off* he would lose his life sooner than shed his son's blood; the consequence of which was, that the king cut off his head with his own hand, and ordered another of them to go up and perform the operation, who immediately obeyed. Whilst

and to be
brought to
Mequi-
nez ;

this was doing, the king called the children of *Bouchafra*, and bid them look at the hand and foot of that traitor ; and, as soon as the execution was performed, asked them, whether they were satisfied ? To which they answered, with great submission, in the affirmative. He then cast his eye on his bleeding son, and, in a surly tone, asked him, whether he knew his father now ? Then, drawing his sword again, lopped off the executioner's head at one blow ; at which his son could not forbear crying out to the spectators, Behold my father's valour, who equally puts to death those who obey his commands, and those that do not. The king only staid to see his arm and leg dipped in the melted pitch to staunch the blood, after which he mounted his horse, and returned to *Mequinez* ; not without leaving express orders with four of his alcaides, to bring his son alive thither, under pain of death.

It is impossible to express the doleful cries, and bitter weeping, with which the news of this execution filled the whole palace, especially the women's apartment ; inasmuch that the king could find no other means to suppress them, than by threatening immediate death to all who should be heard to weep ; and, to shew them that he was in earnest, ordered four of them to be strangled, who had not been able to conceal their grief. *Mohammed's* daughter was the only one to whom he indulged that liberty, and whom, for that reason, he carefully avoided ; whilst one of her brothers, being denied that poor relief, threw himself down a high terrace, and died of the fall.

were he
dies of a
gangrene.

TOWARDS the close of the evening *Mohammed* entered *Mequinez*, mounted on a mule, with his arm in a scarf, and his leg in a wooden box ; and, being arrived at the house appointed for him, received the visits of his friends on the next morning, with a seeming cheerfulness, and was constantly attended by the Christian surgeons ; though others affirm, that he would not suffer any to come near him, and that he tore off the plaisters, which his servants put on to staunch the blood : however that be, 13 days after the amputation, a gangrene having seized upon his wounds, carried him off ; and, according to his desire, he was buried without any other ceremony than was used to the poorest *Negro* (T).

SIDAN

* Hist. of Barbary, p. 325. Hist. des Cherifs, & al. ubi sup.

(T) This he did by way of reproach to his father, by whom, he said, having been treated more like a vile profligate than a prince, he desired his funeral might be agreeable to his treatment when living.

The

SIDAN was no sooner rid of his rival brother, than he was sent back with his army to reduce the remainder of the revoltors, who were still in arms at *Tarudant*; and besieged that capital so closely, that, for want of a fresh supply of victuals, above 10,000 of the besieged died of downright famine; and were at length obliged to surrender themselves at discretion. A bloody massacre of them soon ensued, *Sidan commits the cruellest butcheries at Tarudant.* which set the streets of the city streaming with human gore; whilst those, who had the greatest cause to fear his fury, defended themselves to the last breath, to avoid the exquisite tortures which he committed on those who had the misfortune to fall alive into his hands. He had no sooner glutted his cruelty by the most horrid butcheries, and excruciating torments, which he inflicted upon those unfortunates, than he set himself upon satiating his most rapacious avarice, by making a strict search for those great treasures which his brother had laid up there, as well as those of the great alcade and principal officers, who were come over to him; and which altogether amounted to an immense value, besides the plunder of the city, and of all the adjacent countries. All which dreadful cruelties and depredations injected such an universal terror all over that province, that *Moors, Arabs, Berbers*, and other inhabitants, fled to the most inaccessible deserts, mountains, and caverns, to avoid him; insomuch *Santa Cruz* that the city of *Santa Cruz*, tho' at a good distance from it, *Cruz deserted.* and very strongly fortified, was abandoned both by the governor and garrison, and none of the inhabitants left in it, but a poor old *Moorefs*, and a few blind with old age. The very trading vessels, that rode at anchor there, had likewise taken the alarm, and fled, till a proclamation, issued some time after, gave them fresh assurances, that they might safely resume their commerce as formerly, on condition that they paid the usual duties.

IN the mean time his great success, numerous forces, and *The king* immense treasure, soon alarmed the old king's jealousy, and *grows* made him repent that he had ever intrusted him with so *jealous of his son,* much power. He tried, in vain, all the fair means and stratagems, *who refused to come to him.*

The king, however, caused a stately *Mausoleum* to be erected over his grave, supported by four marble pillars, and covered with a wooden cupola, painted over with green.

He likewise ordered his fa-

vourite brother *Muley Sharif*, then in his government of *Mon-tigara*, to bring all the deceased's children to court; on whom he heaped many signal tokens of real tenderness and affection (19).

tags to draw him from *Tarudant* to *Mequinez*, or to oblige him to send him some of his forces for the siege of *Centa*. *Sidan* was never at a loss for some plausible excuse for his non-compliance, which forced him at length to have recourse to artifice.

*Sundry
stratagems
tried in
vain to
bring him
to Mequi-
nez.*

A. D.
1707.

HE began with confining himself to his apartment, without being seen by any but the sultana, mother of *Sidan*; a few days after which a rumour was spread abroad, that he was taken ill of the strangury, of which she sent notice to her son, advising him, as a mother, to draw nearer to *Mequinez*, with as little noise as he could, as the most effectual means of securing his succession; to which he sent word, that he knew his father too well to trust himself so near him.

The king, continuing still invisible, a diversity of opinions were spread abroad, which put the kingdom into confusion, and obliged her to send a second express to acquaint him, that he must come to her immediately, if he designed to pay his dying father the last filial office; to this he answered, that, let his father live or die, he would not quit his army. After she had used a great variety of stratagems, which rendered him still more inflexible, and increased the general

*The sulta-
na raises a
riot there;*

ferment, she sallied out of the palace in her chariot, attended by her women, eunuchs, and a numerous retinue, one of whom carried the sword before her; and behaved in such a despotic manner, that the people, who concluded from it the king was dead, and that she designed to seize on the throne, and reign lady paramount, rose up in arms, and forced her to retire, and pursued her to the palace gates. The king had not been out of his apartment during the space of 52 days, when this last uproar happened; but, as soon as he was informed of it, he immediately shewed himself, to the great surprize of the whole city, which was by that means restored to its usual tranquility. His foes, as well as his friends, made public rejoicings at the news of his pretended recovery; and even the Christian slaves expressed their joy, by one of the finest and most curious fireworks that had ever been seen in his dominions; which made him say, that the Christians had a greater affection for him than his own *Moors*.

*The king
appears,
and quells
it*

*Birds Si-
dan's
wishes to
murder
him.*

NONE of his stratagems having been able to draw his son out of *Tarudant*, his jealous fears of him rose at length to so great a height, that he resolved to get rid of him at any rate; and finding that he was grown detested for his continual excesses in drinking, and the horrid murders, rapes, and other unnatural crimes, which he committed in them, not only on his subjects, without distinction of quality, age, or sex, but likewise on his own wives, who lived in con-
stant

stant dread and abhorrence of him, easily prevailed upon these to become his executioners. Accordingly, taking the first opportunity they found him drowned in wine, which he used to be sometimes twice or thrice in a day; they, without difficulty or opposition, smothered him in his bed, and rid the empire of one of the most dangerous tyrants, and monsters of lust, drunkenness, cruelty, and impiety * (U).

MULEY ISHMAEL had not long enjoyed the delightful prospect of a more peaceable reign, by the death of one re-

* *Idem, ibid.*

(U) Our readers will perhaps wonder to find this jealous and exasperated father, after having caused his rebellious son to be so unnaturally dispatched, should so soon after relent so far, as to cause the authoresses of his death to be sacrificed to the furious resentment of the sultana; and to order the most magnificent obsequies, that had been ever seen in his dominions, to be performed to his remains. But it must be remembered, that all this was done in order to pacify his exasperated mother; who not only had the greatest ascendance over him, but from whose vindictive temper he had every thing to fear, as he was now in his decline: So that, not daring to refuse her any thing, he was forced to deliver up into her hands not only seven of *Sidan's* wives, who had had a hand in his death, but even the wine-merchants, and others, who had furnished him with those liquors, with which he was wont to in-oxicate himself; all whom she sacrificed to her resentment. She shewed a more uncommon inhumanity against three of the former, whose breasts she ordered to be cut off, and, having

forced them to eat them, caused them to be strangled.

He was no less obliging to her in the interment of her son, whose body he caused to be embalmed, and brought from *Tarudant* to *Mequinez*, under an escort of 6000 horse (who, by the way, being denied a passage thro' the mountains of *Tedela*, were obliged to obtain it at the price of 2000 piasters), and to be buried with great pomp in the common sepulchre of the Sharifs. What is still more extraordinary, he caused a stately mosk to be erected over his grave, which was to be ever after a sanctuary for malefactors (20). Here a vile debauched prince, guilty of all manner of vices, cut off in open rebellion against his father, and in a most beastly excess of wine, a liquor forbid by the *Mohammedan* law, is raised to the dignity of, and prayed to as, a saint after his death, who, in his life time, was justly detested by all mankind; and all this to calm and appease an imperious wife, or perhaps to avoid her suspecting the part he bore in his death.

Muley
Abdelmelech re-
volts in
Suz.

bellious son, before it was troubled again by the revolt of another. This last was called *Muley Abdelmelech*, and had been long ago preferred to the government of *Suz*, where he had, for some time, assumed the title and state of a king; but now broke out into an open refusal of the usual tribute and allegiance. The king had immediately recourse to his usual artifices, in order to allure him to court, being now too old and infirm to engage in a civil war with him; but, to his great grief, found this new rebel as diffident and inflexible as the last; only with this difference, that he still continued making the most solemn protestations of his filial affection, of his fervent prayers for his life; and that he never had entertained the least thought of taking up arms against him, as had been falsely represented to him. The king, doubtless, was too sharp sighted and mistrustful to be satisfied with such specious excuses, but yet chose to appear so, rather than come to extremities with him; but yet took care to give this mortifying proof of his resentment, that he changed the order of succession in favour of his brother *Muley Hammed*, tho' two years younger than he. Some people, however, have suspected him to have shewed him this preference, not so much out of dislike to his elder brother, as with a view of obliterating the memory of his own tyrannic and inhuman vices, by appointing for his successor a prince of the most dissolute, vicious, and debauched character. However that be, *Muley Ishmael* died soon after of extreme old age, which had deprived him of his usual exercise of riding on horseback (V), and was succeeded by

Muley
Ishmael
alters the
succession;

his death.
A. D.
1727.

(V) We are told, that notwithstanding his extraordinary sobriety and temperance, which in every respect, but that of women, no man in his kingdom carried to a greater height, towards the close of his last sickness there steamed such a stench out of his body, that he was abandoned by all his servants, not one being able to approach him, tho' there was a continual fumigation made of the most aromatic gums, and other perfumes; so that he had not so much as an eunuch or a slave to assist him in his last moments, or to see him breathe his last.

The disease of which he died was an inflammation in his bowels, which turning into a mortification, created that intolerable stench. He had, however, been so far from following the *Mohammedan* doctrine of predestination, which makes most of its professors despise the help of physic and surgery, that he had been consulting all along the most skilful persons in both about his disease, against which he used to receive great ease from riding and exercise; but quickly sunk under it as soon as that help began to fail him (21).

(21) *Diag. de Torres, Boulet, Brainsuit, 4 & seq. & al sup. citat.*

Muley Hammed surnamed *Deby*, or *Debaby*, according to his appointment. His death, pursuant to his order to *Basha* *Empfael*, the chief of his eunuchs, was concealed during two whole months, in order to give *Hammed Deby* time to secure himself against his two brothers; but this caused such an universal discontent, that *Empfael*, under pretence of shewing him alive and well on the next day, as if to go to some monk to return thanks for his recovery, brought him out accordingly in his close chariot, and went himself to take sanctuary in the house of a famed saint named *Muley Idris*; and the attendants, finding only his dead body, brought it back with the same pomp to *Mequinez*, where he was magnificently interred, and his son caused a stately monument to be erected to him ^f.

In the mean time one of his brothers, named *Muley Abdalla*, who had some time before been obliged to retire to avoid his resentment, took the opportunity of the public discontent to get himself raised to the throne, by forcing himself into his father's apartment; but met with such a stout repulse from the guards, that he was forced to retire, but was soon after received into favour.

MULEY DEBY, being now in quiet possession of the crown, soon began to give evident tokens of a more rapacious temper than even his father, in whose treasury he found to the amount of 50 millions, besides jewels, and other riches, to an immense value. This prodigious treasure was still increased by ten millions more, which he had saved, or rather extorted in that government, which he had enjoyed during his father's life; yet was he so rapacious, as to strip his last 800 wives of all their gold and jewels immediately after his death. To avoid, however, the odium of such an unnatural conduct, which began to shew itself every where, he caused a declaration to be published, by which he promised to exact of his subjects no other tax than the tenth, allowed by the *Mohammedan* law, and confirmed all the ministers of the last reign in their respective offices. By this step having, as he imagined, secured himself from any rebellious attempts, and seeing himself possessed of such an immense treasury, he immediately plunged into all kinds and excesses of debauchery; inasmuch that the people began to curse his father for pitching upon the very worst of his sons for his successor. This discontent shewed itself still more in the kingdom, and more particularly in the city of *Fez*; where his deputies having been sent to exact the usual tithes of

^f D. DE TORRES, BRAITHWAIT, Revol. p. 6, & seq. & al.
MOD. HIST. VOL. XVIII. M allegiance,

Fez re-
volts.

A rebel-
lion at Te-
tuan.

allegiance, the inhabitants answered, that the news of the late king's death had afflicted them to such a degree, that it would require at least some days before they could be in a capacity to deliberate upon so important a matter. This excuse, which was only a pretence in order to gain time, joined to the general ferment, drove him upon a new expedient, which rendered him still more odious to his *Moorish* subjects; for, growing diffident of them, he began to secure to himself the affections of his Negroes, not only by large donatives, but by intrusting them with the management of his most important affairs; so that an open revolt broke out immediately after in the city of *Fez*, where they massacred his governor, with about 80 of his head officers, and drove all his Negro soldiers away, in revenge of the great exactions and cruelties they had suffered from him.

THIS was soon followed by another at *Tetuan*, where the governor, being forced by the inhabitants to abandon the place, caused the magazine of powder to be set on fire, by which above 60 houses were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and the rest greatly shattered and endangered. In revenge of which the *Tetuaners* sapped the foundations of the *Basha's* palace, one of the noblest structures in *Barbary*, and reduced both it and its magnificent gardens into heaps of ruins and rubbish.

ALL this while the *Tetuaners* did not pretend to take up arms against the emperor, but against his tyrannic *Basha* (W); and

* Idem ibid. auct. & BRAITHWAIT, Revol. ubi sup. p. 9, & seq.

(W) We must observe here, that the *Tetuaners* generally take their measures from the *Fezans*, by reason of their mutual intercourse; but the adjacent mountaineers were the first who took up arms against the rapacious *Basha*, under the command of the famed *Bellifa*, an old experienced officer, of an antient family in *Andalusia*, who held a private intelligence with *Tetuan*. He began with a powerful descent on the *Reefers*, who were all kindred, tenants, or friends, of the *Basha*; who, to revenge the bold attempt, first asked the

Tetuaners assistance against those rebels, but was refused, on pretence that it might give them a handle to come and plunder the city during their absence: Upon which he sent for the troops, which were employed in the blockade of *Ceuta*, and marched against the mountaineers.

But, before he took the field, he left his brother governor in *Tetuan*, with a guard of about 500 Negroes to keep the town in awe. But the *Tetuaners*, instead of paying any regard to him, ordered all the *Reefers* to depart the city by such a time,

on

and sent a deputation to court against him, where he was summoned to appear, and articles of reconciliation were drawn up; but he, refusing to sign them, took the direct road to *Tangier*, and they that to *Fez*. The *Fezans*, being informed by these of the success of their stratagem, resolved to follow their example, in hopes to gain time, being other wise fully resolved to declare for prince *Abdelmelech*, as soon as they were in a condition to do it. This prince was the king's uterine brother, and by much his most powerful competitor, not only as he was at the head of a powerful army, and had the hearts of all the people; but much more so, as he had just before routed the royal forces commanded by *Hali*, another brother, whom the king had sent against him; and who, upon his defeat, was disgraced and confined to his own house. *Abdelmelech* was, however, guilty upon this juncture of an indiscretion, which was likely to have been fatal to him, not only in the cruel treatment which he shewed towards his Negro prisoners, but in his solemn declaration, that he would not suffer any of them to come near his person, when he was once got master of the throne; for that not only made them all declare for the king, but likewise resolve to join with any other competitor against him.

THEY were not long before they made him feel some effects of their resentment. He had, soon after his victory over *Hali*, made himself master of the city of *Morocco*, and by that means fixed the affections of the *Fezans* more firmly in his interest; when these exasperated Negroes put themselves under the command of *Tariffa*, an old experienced officer, who immediately put a fatal stratagem in execution against him, which failed not to disconcert all his measures and hopeful prospects; and, under the appearance of coming to besiege him in that capital, drew him and his army into an ambuscade, from which he did not extricate himself till after the loss of a great part of his forces, and receiving three slight wounds. What was still worse, a report being studiously spread that he was killed in the action, the *Fezans*,

on pain of being treated as enemies. The new governor sent immediately to have the crier apprehended; a bloody fray immediately ensued, in which his men being repulsed with loss, he caused the place in which his powder was kept to be set on fire, to prevent the getting possession of it. The explosion of which shattered the whole town in so terrible a manner, that the governor, to avoid their resentment, was forced to shelter himself and family in a sanctuary belonging to it.

losing all further hopes of him, made their peace with the king by means of a magnificent present, and a numerous embassy; all which was the more readily accepted by that monarch, as he well knew, that his rival brother was still alive, tho' forced to retire out of *Morocco* into some of the neighbouring deserts. The *Tetuaners* were no less alarmed and disheartened at the pretended news of his death. We have already seen what a bold stand they made in his favour, tho' under pretence of acting against their rapacious *Basha*;

Busfra
sent Basha
of Tetuan.

to pacify whom the king had sent a new one, named *Abdelmalech Busfra*, who entered the town about the latter end of *July*, and was received with great joy by them (X). They soon after altered their note and behaviour, when, *Basha*-like, he condemned *Paiz*, their governor, to be seized and hanged, for obstructing his first orders about repairing the fortifications of the place, but which they all refused to obey; so that he, from that time, contented himself to go their pace, for which they allowed him an honourable maintenance^b. In the mean while it is supposed, that the old *Basha Hammed* had obtained a secret permission from the king, to take a proper opportunity for surprising the city, and seizing upon his old government; who appeared accordingly at the head of his *Reefeers*, and attacked the place on that side at which they least expected them; upon the surprise of which, the citizens all quitted the breastwork, without giving one fire, and made towards the town, which gave an opportunity to the enemy to enter it on all sides.

Basha Busfra was one of the first who rode off with his brother *Hammed* and servants. But, whilst the *Reefeers* were busied in plundering the town, the townsmen, now recovered from his attempt their fright, got up to the tops of the houses; and, with

upon it.

^b BRAITHWAIT, ubi sup. p. 25, & seq. & al. ubi sup.

(X) The *Tetuaners*, after the retreat of their old governor, had chosen one from among themselves, named *Paiz*, a blacksmith, but a bold intrepid fellow, and a great enemy to the *Basha*. I now add, that they had likewise appointed *Bellisa*, mentioned in the last note, to be their *Basha*. But we are assured, that this last never acted in that quality, tho' the former,

as we shall soon see, shewed himself very active in his. However, it plainly appears, that the townsmen had formed themselves into a small republic, the form and government of which they changed, as often as their fears and jealousies created new distrusts of one another; but were still waiting for news of *Abdelmalech* (23)

little danger to themselves, killed them as fast as they were making off with their spoil, and pursued the rest out of the walls.

THEY had no better success against the castle, which the Bascha ordered them to attack; at which he was so enraged, that he caused all the plunder that was brought out of the city to be burned; which occasioned such a general disorder among them, that instead of making use of the only means left of mastering the town, which was the 16 pieces of cannon, left upon the breast-work, which they might have turned against it, there being powder and ball left near it, they ran away without so much as nailing them up. Night coming on, the townsmen took courage again, and drew them into the town, and barricaded every avenue with them, which frustrated all farther attempts of the Bascha, and obliged him to retire with shame and disgrace, he never once appearing at the head of his dastardly troops during the whole time, but beheld their several repulses and defeats from a neighbouring eminence¹.

WHILST the Tetuaners were congratulating themselves upon their deliverance, fresh news came from court, which at once damped all their joys, viz. that the king had reinstated Bascha Hammed in his government of Tetuan, and all its other dependencies (Y). A council was immediately called, in which it was unanimously resolved, at all adventures, to obstruct his return; and, in case of the worst, to put their city under the protection of the Spaniards, rather than comply with the king's orders. However, as they were still in the dark about prince Abdelmelech, of whom they had heard nothing for several months, to avoid farther danger, they agreed, that Mr. Russel should accompany their governor Busfra, and ten of their deputies, to court, in order to obtain there, by their rich presents, a revocation of the order made in favour of Bascha Hammed. They set

¹ Idem ibid. DE TORRES, BOULET, & al. sup. citat.

(Y) One effectual method, which the politic Bascha made use of, besides a great profusion of presents, to get himself restored to his government, was his insinuating to the king, or rather his prime minister Empsael, that Bascha Busfra, and the Tetuaners, kept Mr. Russel, the British ambassador, and all the great presents which he brought

from his court, from hastening to Mequinez, until they saw what success would attend Abdelmelech's revolt. And it was indeed that single consideration that had detained Mr. Russel so long at Tetuan. This was therefore thought the most likely means to make him hasten his departure to court, as it actually did.

Fez besieged by the king's forces.

out accordingly; and, at their arrival at *Fez*, found it closely besieged by the king's forces, where the inhabitants of the old city had murdered several *Ludyres* (so they call the king's guards), who were the king's relations, and had been sent thither to keep the townsmen in awe; and heard, moreover, that both city and country were in a kind of war, and *Moors*, as well as *Arabs*, divided between the two contending brothers. During their stay there, they saw *Muley Amfledy*, the king's brother and chief favourite, and the grand *Mufti* of *Mequinez*, arrive, with new proposals for a reconciliation, which were, however, rejected; and, upon their dismissal, the flag of defiance was again hoisted up, and hostilities renewed. The besiegers plied their batteries against the town with fresh briskness, but with little success, thro' the badness of their artillery, whilst the besieged made frequent sallies upon them with no better fortune, they being still repulsed by the enemy's cavalry. Tired at length with the siege, the *Fezans* sent deputies to court to treat of peace on such terms as the emperor should please to grant; who, highly pleased with the proposal, sent his son thither again, with some old experienced ministers, who soon terminated that affair to the satisfaction of both sides, and was soon after invested with the title of governor of the place.

A peace is concluded.

Abdelmelech's message rejected.

WHILST these things were transacting, one of the sultanas and her sister were found guilty of holding a correspondence with *Abdelmelech*, (who still kept himself at a distance, at the head of some faithful troops), and were both condemned by the king, the former to be strangled, and the other to be imprisoned for life*. At length *Abdelmelech* ventured to send some offers of peace to his brother, promising to lay down his arms, on condition that he resigned to him one half of the empire, treasure, horses, arsenals, and magazines, which his father had left behind him at his death. His proposals were rejected by the whole court, tho' the emperor himself would have gladly accepted of them, that he might the more quietly pursue his drunken and other debauches, in which he had already so far drowned himself, that every day of his life was witness of some of the most flagrant instances of tyranny and cruelty, of lewdness and drunkenness (Z).

THIS

* *Iidem* *ibid*.

(Z) To give our reader a taste of some of his barbarities, he flung from the top of a terrace, for stopping his pipe too hard, and another to be tossed

in

THIS excess grew to such a height at length, that neither *Hammed* deputies, alcaýdes, nor even ambassadors, could get access to *give him* him, because he never was in a condition to be seen, which *fell up to* gave birth to the most enormous disorders in his capital. He *drunken-* was even so rash, as to go one morning to the mosk attended *ness and* by his court, so very drunk, that he fell down flat on the *crusely.* ground, and vomited up a large quantity of wine. His eunuchs quickly carried him out of the mosk to his palace, where some of his wives, and other sultanas of authority, took the liberty to represent to him the sad disasters which his debauches caused, both in his seraglio and in the whole empire; he only rewarded their zeal with a severe beating. This treatment so exasperated them, that they made no difficulty to apply to the Mufti, Cadi, and some of the most considerable ministers, and upbraid them with their pusillanimity, and servile observance of a prince so unfit and unworthy to reign. New complaints soon came from other *The people,* parts of the empire; even the Negroes, who had so much *murmur* reason to be dissatisfied with his brother *against* *Abdelmalech*, joined *him.* with the *Moors* and *Arabs* in a resolution to assist him to dethrone his unworthy brother.

AT length, a general assembly of the most considerable alcaýdes having been convened at *Mequinez* on the 22d of *A. D.* *March*, *Abdelmalech* was declared emperor, and letters were *1728.* dispatched to him to hasten him to come and take the reins of *Abdelme-* government upon him. In the interim they sent circular *lech is* orders to all the provinces, to send deputies to establish some *chosen in* *his stead.*

in a blanket till his limbs were dislocated, for not bringing his dogs to him so soon, as he expected. Neither did his wives and concubines fare better; one of whom, on some trifling displeasure, he condemned to have all her teeth drawn out; a few days after which, having forgot his barbarous order, he commanded her to come to him again; and, being told the misery she was in, ordered the tooth drawer to be served in the same manner, and sent his teeth to her in a box, to comfort her for the loss of her own. He caused two *Jewish* young women, newly married, to be

brought to him, and, having deflowered them, sent them away to their husbands; a few days after which finding that they had been registered as his concubines, and that they cohabited with their husbands, he caused both couples to be murdered. His misfortune was, that, being always affable, loving, and even generous, in his drunken fits, but brutish and cruel when sober, those who were obliged to approach him, had no other way to escape his fury, than by making him drunk as soon as possible, and keeping him so as long as they could (24).

form of government till the new king's arrival. But as this could not be done without exasperating all the partisans of the now deposed *Muley Dehaby*, they did not content themselves with a bare protest against the act of that grand assembly, but strove to disannul it by force of arms; and many bloody skirmishes were fought both in *Mequinez* and other cities, which obliged that grand council to cause *Abdelmelech* to be proclaimed emperor, and his son to be nominated his vicergerent till he appeared in person.

Public en-try into that city. 1728. THIS expedient effectually quelled all further tumults; and the young regent immediately ordered forty quintals of flat money to be distributed among the principals of the people, and especially among the Negroes; not long after which his father arrived, and made his public entrance, amidst the greatest acclamations of joy, on the 10th of April following. This revolution was, in a great measure, owing to the prime minister of the unfortunate *Muley Dehaby*, whose extensive power and influence had determined the great assembly to that resolution; and who, in consequence of it, expected no less than to become the new emperor's sole favourite. But finding himself disappointed from the beginning, had now laid a new plot to reinthroné his old master. Whether this accusation was true, or only raised as a handle for disgracing that treacherous minister, it is not certain; but *Abdelmelech* made it a pretence for ordering his deposed brother to be deprived of his eyes. This was, however, strenuously opposed by the *Talbs*, who plainly told him, that that unfortunate prince having no other crime but that of drunkenness, they thought the stripping him of his crown was punishment sufficient, without depriving him of his sight; upon which he contented himself with sending him close prisoner to his old palace of *Tappilet*.

Orders his brother's eyes to be put out. Opposed by the Talbs.

His character, and short reign.

ABDELMELECH, thinking now he had nothing to fear from that quarter, began to show his natural temper more than he had ever dared to do, in treating his ministers with haughtiness, his *Moors* with scorn and hard usage, his Negroes with hatred and cruelty, his people with tyranny and oppression, and his christian slaves with uncommon barbarity. For tho' he was a sober prince, with regard to drinking, wholly abstained from wine, and a strict observer of the *Mohammedan* law, yet he had a great share of fierceness and cruelty in his looks and temper. He even treated some fathers of the redemption, who had brought large sums, and some rich presents, and were come to treat about the release of christian slaves, to be seized and brought before him, whom having stripp'd of all their effects, he ordered to depart out of his dominions in three days, on pain of being burned alive for having entered them

them without his permission (A). He had been scarcely three months on the throne, before his cruel usage of the negroes exasperated their whole body against him. They soon formed themselves into an army of above 40,000, some say 80,000 men, horse and foot; out of which they detached a corps of 10,000 to his brother, then at *Taphilet*, to beg pardon for what they had done against him, and to invite him to resume the imperial dignity. *Muley Debaby*, who had by that time raised a small army of about 15,000 *Moors*, put himself at their head, and was soon after joined by the rest of the Negroes. *Abdelmelech*, greatly surprised to see such a vast army so quickly raised, and making such long marches towards his capital, made what hasty preparations he could for its defence; but being quickly besieged in it, was forced to retire with his garrison into the *Akassare*, or royal castle. The city was immediately entered, sword in hand, by the enemy, who had it betrayed to them by the treachery of about 4000 of his troops. The reader will easily imagine, from the fierceness and resentment of these Negroes, what horrid massacre they committed in that capital. As for *Hammed Debaby*, his chief employment was to cause as many as fell into his hands, of his brother's partizans, to be nailed alive to the gates of the city, and to expire in the most excruciating torments; and, after he had glutted his resentment, he gave

The negroes rain-
threw his
brother.

Mequines
cruelly
plundered,

(A) In order to understand the motive of this arbitrary and unjust proceeding, the reader must know, that the emperor *Muley Debaby* had, a little before his being dethroned, formed a generous project of releasing a great number of his christian slaves for a certain sum per head; and had actually sent two of every nation upon their parole into their respective countries to transact and forward it. The two *Frenchmen* accordingly arriving at *Fountainbleau*, where the court then was, met with such a ready compliance to their request, that they embarked soon after with the missionaries above mentioned, but had the misfortune to be detained by contrary winds; and, upon their

arrival at *Salles*, were surprised to find that their good friend *Muley Debaby* had been deposed, and his brother *Abdelmelech* raised to the throne. Being, however, unwilling to lose their labour in so chasteable a design, they resolved to try their fortunes with the new emperor, who being informed of their arrival and business, before they could make their way to the throne in the usual form, caused them to be seized and brought to court. We have already seen how he treated the old fathers; as for the two young *Frenchmen*, he ordered them to be immediately loaded with their usual shackles, and to be conveyed to their old metamorphosis prison (25):

Abdelmelech besieged in Fez.

Delivered up to his brother.

Sent prisoner to Mequinez.

Strangled. The emperor dies in the same week of a dropsy. 1729.

the city to be plundered by his negroes and *Moors*, which was executed with no less cruelty during the space of three days. *Abdelmalech*, who, through the treachery of his troops, had been forced to abandon that city to his fury, soon reached that of *Fez*, but was closely besieged in it by his victorious brother, who, flushed with his late success, and made sensible by his past misfortunes of the danger of his former conduct, had closely pursued him thither, at the head of a formidable army, before he, or the citizens, could have time to make the necessary preparations for a siege. He began with making some general assaults; but being as stoutly repulsed by the garrison, saw himself obliged to besiege it more closely on all sides, to prevent any provision being carried into it. This succeeded much better, inasmuch that, after three months, famine obliged them to capitulate; and the emperor insisting on no other terms than their submission, and the delivery of *Abdelmalech* to him, they readily complied, and brought his brother bound before him. Upon his appearing, every one present, considering the fierceness of the king's temper, expected that he would have immediately sacrificed him to his resentment; especially as he was found to have a pistol and dagger concealed under his garment, which carried a very treacherous appearance: 'but, to their great surprise, he had no sooner told him, that they were no other than he usually carried about him, than he delivered him up to a *Basha*, to be conducted to *Mequinez* under a strong guard, and to be kept closely confined in his house, without any further tokens of resentment. Which singular and unexpected mildness made so great an impression upon his people's minds, that all his former debaucheries and cruelties seemed to be quite obliterated by that generous act. Happy had it been for *Muley Dehaby*, if he could as easily have overcome his passion for wine; for this it was that ruined his constitution, and brought upon him such an obstinate dropsy, as all the efforts of his physicians could not overcome. So that having tried in vain a multiplicity of medicines, and finding his end approaching still nearer, he sent orders to have his brother strangled, which was accordingly done; two days, some say five days, after which he was carried off by his stubborn distemper, on the 29th of *March*, 1729, or, according to others, 1731^b, but without foundation. THE throne was no sooner vacant than a number of competitors appeared in arms, among whom was *Muley Bouffar*, the eldest son of *Muley Dehaby*, who seemed to have much the

* TORRES, BRAITHWAIT, Hist. of Barbary, p. 329. b BOULET, p. 297.

best pretensions. Notwithstanding which, one of the late *Muley Ishmael's* wives found means, by the great sway she bore with the grandees, and the vast sums she distributed among the blacks, to turn the election in favour of her son *Abdalla*, who, till then, had appeared to be a prince of a mild temper, which seldom fails of gaining the people's affections. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than *Muley Bouffar* retired into the kingdom of *Suz*, fully resolved to dispute the crown with him. On the other hand, *Abdalla* lost no time to march against him, at the head of a numerous army, and had the good fortune to defeat and take him prisoner, together with a *Santoon*, who was at the head of his council. *Abdalla* spared his nephew's life; and, as some add, gave him his liberty; but beheaded his counsellor with his own hand, with this reproof; *Let us see now whether thy sanctity can save thee from my hands.* After this important victory, he went and laid close siege to the city of *Fez*, which had refused to acknowledge him. It proved an obstinate and bloody one, and lasted full six months; at which he was so exasperated, that he made a full resolution totally to destroy it; and would surely have done so, if some of his better counsellors had not represented to him, that that city had celebrated *Santoon* for its founder, who was so revered and prayed to by the whole country, that he could not do it so signal an injury without incurring the hatred and abhorrence of the people, the resentment of the saint, and the curse of the almighty. Soon after this the inhabitants of *Suz* and *Talla* came to pay their homage to him, and with some difficulty escaped his resentment for having been so tardy in it. For he had now no measures to keep any longer with his subjects, and so began by degrees to discover that tyrannic and cruel disposition, which was so natural to him, and which he had hitherto concealed under the disguise of mildness, might prove no obstacle to his mounting the throne. But as he was now, in all appearance, so well fixed on it, he made no longer scruple to let them know what they must expect of him, in case their want of fidelity or obedience should render them obnoxious to his displeasure. The first remarkable instance he gave of what he and his partisans stiled justice, was one of the highest pieces of inhumanity on a considerable alcaide, who being accused of having refused to pay his yearly quota of tribute, the more effectually to deter others from following his example, he caused him to be brought before him; and, in the presence of his whole court, he condemned him to a punishment of his own devising, and such a one as hath been unpractised, and unheard, if not unthought of, in any part of *Barbary*, or, indeed, in any nation, antient, or

*Defeat,**and takes**Muley**Bouffar.**Besieges,**and takes**Fez.**Is prevent-**ed from de-**stroying it.**gives some**pregnant**tokens of**his cruelty.**A dreadful**instance of*

or modern, if we except the old *Perſian* one of boasting from which he probably took the hint, and which we have fully described in a former part of this work. How nearly this new one resembled it, the reader will see in the margin (B). But not to dwell any longer on such scenes of cruelty, which those inhuman tyrants imagine to be the only means of keeping an oppressed discontented people in subjection, and of which we shall have fresh occasion to speak in the course of this bloody reign, let us now pass on to the arrival of the famed duke of *Ripperda* into these dominions, after his banishment out of *Spain*.

*Duke Rip-
perda's
arrival at
Mequi-
nez.*

THE design of his coming to the court of *Mequinez* was to engage *Muley Abdalla* in the blocking up the two strong fortresses of *Ceuta* and *Mellita*, in ruining of the *Spanish* coasts, and in uniting in a league with the other piratical states of *Barbary*, to transport an army of *Moors* into *Spain*, sufficient to undertake the reconquering of that rich and fertile country. His proposal gained credit the more easily with that monarch, as admiral *Perez*, who in a late reign had been sent ambassador to the *British* court, and since then to the *Hague*, had given him and his court a high character of his abilities, and artfully insinuated into them the great apprehensions which the *European* powers were in on account of his attachment to him, upon which it was unanimously agreed, that his scheme should be put in execution, and that the whole conduct and preparations for the war should be entirely left to his care.

* See Ancient History, vol. v. p. 128.

(B) He caused an ox to be brought into the court yard, and to be beheaded close to the shoulders, and laid open from the breast downwards from end to end. Six men were then ordered to strip the alcaide of all his cloaths, and to lay him at full length in the carcase of the beast, and to be sewn in it, with only his head out to give him air to breathe, and more time to live in the most exquisite misery. The carcase was moreover closely shoooped with six iron hoops, made on purpose to

keep him in, and to prevent all possibility of his disentangling himself from his dreadful confinement. In this miserable plight they let him continue, till the worms, which bred in the carcase of the ox, had devoured the greatest part of his flesh and intestines, roaring and raging in the most exquisite torture, without any other comfort than a few handfuls of boiled rice, or cuscusu, which were put from time to time into his mouth, not so much to allay his hunger as to lengthen his misery (26).

(26) *Boulet, ub. sup. pag. 299, & seq.*

RIPPERDA now became a great favourite at court, and raised to the dignity of a *Basha*, having informed himself the best he could by a faithful spy of his, named *Martin*, of the state of the *Spanish* garrisons and fortresses on the *Barbary* coasts, immediately proposed the opening of the trenches before *Ceuta*; which, when it came to be debated in council, the most experienced officers among the *Moors* strenuously opposed, on account of the many fruitless attempts that had been already made against that place, as well as the vast expence of blood and treasure which the bare blockade of it had cost their monarchs, who must by this time be sufficiently convinced that it was absolutely impregnable. *Ripperda* heard them all out with abundance of pleasure, because he well knew that they had not raised any objection which he could not answer, nor any difficulty that he could not remove, as they chiefly sprung from their ignorance of the *European* ways of carrying on such difficult sieges with success; but when he came to open to them those various and new invented methods of acting offensively and defensively, of which himself was a thorough master, he easily brought them all over to his opinion; and the siege of that place was unanimously agreed to and resolved on without any further delay.

Made a Basha and great favourite. Proposes the siege of Ceuta.

Brings t' e whole council to his opinion.

THAT nothing might be wanting to the carrying on of this favourite project, *Abdalla* nominated that apostate duke to be commander in chief, and raised some other renegadoes to considerable commissions under him. He also assembled a choice body of infantry, consisting of about 10,000 men, at the head of whom *Ripperda* marched directly to *Ceuta*, where he directed every thing with such surprising judgment and unwearied industry, as failed not to inspire the rest of the troops with fresh vigour and courage, insomuch that they now no longer looked upon this blockade as an unsurmountable task, which could only end with their deaths, as their language formerly was, but looked upon the carrying of the place as a sure and easy one, under such an experienced commander, whom they looked upon as sent from heaven to free them from thralldom and misery, and to lead them to a plentiful harvest of laurels and wealth, especially as he took great care to shew himself at their head in every expedition.

Invigilates the Moors.

As soon as he thought he had sufficiently inspirited his troops, and given the engineers the best rules how to proceed in the siege, he returned to *Mequinez*, where he was received with the greatest marks of favour and esteem. His design was to solicit that court for a new supply of provisions, ammunition, and artillery. His motion was immediately seconded by admiral *Perez*, and agreed to by the council; and the

Returns to Mequinez.

the arrival of that fresh convoy to the camp so conciliated the hearts and confidence of his *Algerish* troops to him, that they cried him up as their common father, and the ablest general of the age.

The Spaniards be-
sieve and
take Au-
ran.

A. D.
1732.

RIPPERDA was now at the summit of credit and happiness, if any share of the latter can fall to the lot of a renegade to his God and country, when all was overcast again by the arrival of his faithful spy *Martin*, who brought him the unexpected news, that the *Spaniards* were preparing to transport an army into *Africa* to retake the city of *Auran*, or *Oran*, if not to extend their conquests still farther. The declaration was dated *June 6*, and contained the reasons which had induced the *Spanish* monarch to this expedition; for which a sufficient number of ships, men, and arms, was dispatched at the same time; all this *Martin* gave a full account of to the court of *Mequinez*.

Ripperda
resumes
the siege of
Ceuta.

ABDALLA, though not a little surpris'd at the news, was yet glad that he had so able a general as *Ripperda* to oppose against the famed marquis of *Montemar*, who commanded the *Spanish* forces; and as that place was then in the hands of the *Algerines*, his allies, he wholly committed the defence of it to him. We shall not here anticipate the success of that expedition, of which we are to give a full account in a subsequent chapter; and in which he was forced to yield to the superior valour of the *Spanish* forces, through the baseness and cowardliness of his own. This unavoidable disgrace, however, was so far from discouraging him from pursuing his old scheme, that the excessive heats of the country had scarcely obliged the *Spaniards* to quit the field, than he started a double project; the one for renewing the siege of *Ceuta*, and the other for the recovery of *Auran*; both which he represented to the king as practicable and easy, provided he could engage the free *Moors*; that is, the *Algerines*, *Tunisens*, and *Tripolitans*, to join heartily and unanimously in it. He found little or no difficulty to engage them all in it; and, in a few days after, his couriers returned with the agreeable news, that they were all in full march to reach the army before *Ceuta*. Upon which *Ripperda* immediately set out, and found them accordingly encamped about two leagues short of that place. But here he was likewise informed, that the garrison had received a considerable reinforcement, and was marched out to engage in the open field. This last piece of news would certainly have given him the greatest pleasure, as it did a most valuable opportunity of signalizing himself on so critical a juncture, had he not had too great a cause from their former behaviour to mistrust the firmness of his *Moorish* troops, on which the whole

whole success chiefly depended. To confirm them, there-
fore, the more in it, he made a long and most pathetic ha-
rangue, in which he displayed to them, with his usual rhe-
toric, the barbarity and tyranny of the *Spaniards*, all joining
together to reduce them to the lowest and most miserable state
of slavery, reminding them of what their noble ancestors had
suffered from them, and what a deal of blood and treasure it
had cost them to repel their ambition and cruelty, and how
much now depended upon their valour and firmness at this
juncture, desiring of them nothing more than that they would
follow his example, who was now going to lead them against
their and his own enemies. The *Moors*, who were no less
charmed with his eloquence than inspired by his conduct,
behaved on this occasion with unusual bravery and firmness;
and though the engagement was long and obstinate, yet, con-
trary to their wonted custom, they fought boldly hand to hand,
rallied several times, whilst their general was in some measure
present in every post of danger, not only distributing his
commands, but fighting, charging, rallying, and exposing
himself every moment to some fresh danger. At length,
after a long and bloody action, the *Spaniards* were totally de-
feated, and forced to retire to *Ceuta* in great confusion, after
a very great loss of their best forces and officers.

FLUSHED with this signal victory, the ambitious *Basha*
began to open the trenches in form before *Ceuta*; and at the
same time sent a reinforcement of 30,000 men, under the
command of *Hali*, to assist in the forming the siege of *Auran*.
But unfortunately for him, whilst his troops, elevated with
their success, lay carelessly straggling along the trenches, and
their advanced guard was at a good distance from the head
quarters, the governor thought fit to sally upon them in the
dead of night at the head of 6000 men, besides 500 pioneers,
and several officers of distinction. The design was so well
conducted, that the *Spaniards* quickly drew the *Moors* out of
their trenches, and filled them up, nailed their cannon, plun-
dered their head quarters, and forced *Ripperda* to flee in his
shirt to *Tetuan*, leaving the greatest part of his infantry to be
cut in pieces by the enemy. And a much greater slaughter
would have been made among them, had not the cavalry
come timely to their rescue, and by charging the enemy with
fresh vigour, given an opportunity to some corps of foot to
form in the plain behind them, who having repulsed them,
happily recovered their posts. However, the engagement
lasted near seven hours before the *Spaniards* retired; so that
the great number of the slain, the great booty they took, and
the standards and trophies of honour they carried into the
place,

place, joined to the great disgrace of the Spanish Basha, who had been the first projector of that siege, wholly quashed that enterprise, and made the Moors glad to lay quiet awhile, without attempting any new one, till towards the latter end of the year, when, having increased their army to above 50,000 men, they resolved upon resuming that of *Auran*, in which they proved more successful, as we shall shew in the subsequent history of *Algiers*.

Abdalla grows more tyrannic and cruel. In the mean-time *Abdalla*, disappointed and defeated in his favourite design against *Ceuta*, and other flattering prospects with which *Ripperda* had raised his ambition, grew more tyrannical and cruel than ever (C). His oppressions and excesses grew to such a height, that the *Alarbs*, no longer able to bear them, took up arms against him, and gave him a signal overthrow in a pitched battle near the city of *Fez*, which he only revenged by acts of the most barbarous nature against the inhabitants of that place. His mother, dreading the consequences of it, tried all ways and means in vain to reclaim him; sometimes by prayers and tears, at others by severe reproaches, and apprising him of his danger. He made

Base answer to his mother.

Attempt on her life.

no scruple at last to tell her, that his subjects had no other title to their lives than his will; and that it was one of his greatest pleasures to kill them with his own hands. Her frequent remonstrances made him at length so far forget what he owed to her, not only as a parent, but as it was by her intrigues and interest that he obtained the crown, that he resolved to rid himself of her at all adventures: of which having, by good fortune, got timely intelligence, she found

(C) He not only punished with death the officers of his army for the least offence, but for the least mistake, or even for no other fault than want of success, though irreproachable in all other respects. But what was still more tyrannic, he carried his inhuman resentments against things of the most innocent nature; of which the following is a most flagrant instance: There is a strange prevailing custom all over *Barbary* as well as here, that in their marriages, when the bride proves a virgin, the

bride-men and maids carry the insignia of it in triumph through the city; upon which the bridegroom, in a jocular manner, styles himself a king, and imposes some trifling taxes upon his friends, which he exacts under some penalty. But *Abdalla* was too jealous of the royal title and prerogative to admit of any such harmless imitation of it, and ordered eight of those bridegrooms to be tied to mules tails, and dragged through the streets of the city till they expired (26).

no better expedient to escape his unnatural fury, than by pretending a solemn pilgrimage to *Mecca*; yet he quickly after give a signal, though little expected, instance of his humanity, even to those *Alarbs* who had so lately defeated him; for those elated by that victory had ventured to return to the charge; but being totally routed, in their turn, were glad to come and prostrate themselves before him, to the number of 4000, stripped as they were of all their cloaths, which made, it seems, such an impression upon him, that he could not forbear expressing a great resentment, that men should use their enemies in so barbarous a manner, and ordered some comfortable cloaths to be distributed among them. But whether this was owing to the impressions which his mother's remonstrances had made on him, or whatever other cause, it was not long before he was guilty of a much more egregious instance of barbarity against them, at a juncture when he had the greatest cause to court their friendship.

THE general of his negroes had, upon some discontent, raised a revolt among his troops, on pretence, whether true or false, that *Abdalla* had formed a design against his life, and so pathetically expressed the ingratitude of that prince to him, from whom he had received the greatest services, that they all agreed to dethrone him, and to place *Muley Hali*, the brother of *Hammed Dehaby*, on the throne. *Abdalla* now became as timorous and cowardly as he was before arbitrary and cruel, not knowing which way to turn himself, quickly left the city, with a design to refuge himself among those *Alarbs*, whom he had used with so much clemency. He was then on his way towards them, when he was met with eight of their deputies, who were sent, as is probably conjectured, to offer their services to him; but taking the advantage of his present distress, began to make some seasonable remonstrances to him on his past conduct: but that prince, whom no misfortune could restrain from his sanguinary disposition, was so exasperated at the liberty they took with him, that he killed them all with his own hand, though at that time he was destitute of all safe refuge, and was going to put himself under their protection. All this while *Muley Hali*, at the head of his Negroes, was marching towards *Mequinez*, and entered that metropolis almost without opposition; but was not a little exasperated, when, instead of finding those treasures in it which he expected, he was told, that *Abdalla* had taken them away with him. He at first vented his resentment against his mother and the governors, and other officers of the seraglio and city.

ABDALLA, on the other hand, having carried off a vast treasure with him, made use of some part of it to corrupt a

A. D.
1736.
Abdalla
restored to
the crown.

great number of those blacks, who had but a little while before shewn no less a readiness to drive him from the throne, and whom *Hali* was not in a condition to bribe at the same high rate. *Abdalla* was by their means restored to the crown, by whom he had been deprived of it; and when the negro general upbraided them for their baseness and inconstancy, they only told him, that they did not think *Muley Hali* a prince worthy of it: and it must be owned, that he had so far besotted himself by the excessive use of an intoxicating drug, called by the *Orientalists* *Archich*, or *Archicha*, and not unlike the *Turkish* opium, which, taken moderately, hath an exhilarating, but when to excess, a lethargic quality, that he might justly be looked upon as quite unfit to reign.

Cruelties
at Mequinez.

ABDALLA had no sooner recovered the crown, than he ran into his old excesses of cruelty. The city of *Mequinez* was one of the first that felt the dreadful effects of his rage; every individual of whose garrison he caused to be beheaded, and the governor's youngest son to be strangled, whose father, foreseeing the storm, killed himself, after having first cut the throats of his wives and children, to avoid their falling into the brutish hands of that exasperated tyrant. After that dreadful execution, he ordered the city to be plundered, and the citadel to be rased, for having, perhaps much against their will, been forced to receive his competitor within their walls; and having, in all probability, felt the sad effects of his resentment, when he found it stripped of the royal treasure he expected to have found in it. But these are considerations of little weight, even with their best monarchs, in those arbitrary governments, and of still less to such an inhuman tyrant as *Abdalla*.

The negro
general
raises a
fresh re-
volt.

In the mean time the general of the negroes, far from being deterred by these butcheries, from his first design of absolutely stripping him of the regal power, revived his old complaint of his life being threatened, and of the necessity there was of setting up *Sidi*, another prince of the royal blood, on the throne, (seeing *Muley Hali* was unfit for it) in order to rid the empire of such a monster of ingratitude and cruelty. He was in hopes, that the present ferment it was then in would induce not only the Negroes, but the *Moors* likewise, to join with him in it: but to his great surprize found himself deceived; whilst *Abdalla*, at the first news of it, had recourse to his old stratagem, and found means, by his large donations, not only to reconcile the Negroes to him, but to engage them to deliver up their general alive into his hands: whereupon that unhappy officer, seeing himself thus basely betrayed by his own troops, betook himself to an artifice; which, considering the superstitious devotion of the *Moors*, he flattered himself

Betrayed
so *Abdalla*.

himself, could hardly fail of securing at least his life. With this view he took sanctuary in a much revered mosque, on account of some great saint, to whom it was dedicated; and, putting on the cloaths of the saint, suffered himself to be brought before the emperor in that venerable disguise. *him in a Abdalla*, though far from being such a strict devotee as his saint's father *Muley Ismael*, yet condescended to kiss the holy robes with a seeming respect; but ordering them immediately to be taken off, plunged his spear into his bosom, and called for a cup to receive some of his blood, with a design to drink it in token of revenge. But here his prime minister took the liberty of diverting him, by representing to him how much such an action was beneath his dignity; and offered to drink it himself, as being a more proper person for such a draught. *Abdalla* consented to it; and the prime minister, to express his staunch loyalty, condescended to an action, which, compared to that of *Atræus*, would make him appear the greater monster of inhumanity^f. His death, however, did not put an end to *Abdalla's* tears, much less to the ferment that still reigned through the whole empire by his oppressions and cruelties. The people had some hopes left that *Sidi*, who had still a strong party in *Fez*, might, by some unexpected turn of fortune, wrench the crown from him, especially as a general discontent had spread itself among the Blacks, upon account of their being disappointed of those vast sums which they were made to expect upon the delivery of their general, which were, indeed, so large, that the emperor was not then in a condition to pay, nor, indeed, it seems, even their usual expends, which yet is all they have to subsist upon. This soon induced them to enter upon a clandestine correspondence with *Sidi's* party at *Fez*; of which *Abdalla* being apprised, he lost no time to try to nip it, if possible, in the bud. So that having mustered up what forces he could get together, he resolved to lay close siege to the place. But this not succeeding to his wish, he plied his attacks more briskly and frequently, being determined, as it were, to venture the fate of the whole upon some decisive stroke: but even here he was also unsuccessful, the enemy getting ground of him, whilst his army grew less and less, both by losses and desertion, which obliged him at length to retire. The difficulty was how to do so without exposing himself to the storm that was gathering on all sides against him. In this pressing distress the most expeditious way appeared to him the safest; so that taking his son, mother, and most favourite wives, and what-

^f History of Barbary, ub. sup. p. 347. Hist. des Cherifs, Paris, 1733, & al.

ever treasure he could gather up together, he retired with them to the mountains to wait for more favourable times.

He was no sooner gone than the *Fezians* sent to invite the negroes to come over to *Muley Sidi*, assuring them, that he was much more worthy of the crown than his cruel and perfidious competitor; and, what proved a more powerful motive, engaging that he should pay them the 400,000 ducats of *Abdalla's* arrears. This failed not to bring them all to his side; and *Sidi* was now looked upon as firmly seated on the throne, having both *Moors* and negroes in his interest; and long might they have continued so, in all probability, had not his breach of promise, and other irregularities, altogether inconsistent with the character which the *Fezians* had given of him, occasioned soon after a general disgust, which displayed itself at length in as general a defection. *Abdalla* did not lose so fair an invitation to appear again in arms in defence of his imperial dignity. He engaged his rival accordingly, at the head of an army gathered up in haste, and had the good fortune to give him a total overthrow. *Sidi*, who received a dangerous wound in the action, narrowly escaped with his life, and left him master of the field, as well as full possessor once again of his tottering state &c.

* *Ibid* *ibid*

C H A P. III.

The History of Algiers, from its Foundation by Barbarossa; and from that down to the present Time.

S E C T. I.

A Geographical Description of Algiers.

THE *Algerine* kingdom made formerly a considerable part of the *Mauritania Tingitana*, described in the *Antient History*; and stiled also *Mauritania Casariensis*, from the city of *Cæsarea*, built there by king *Juba*, in honour of *Augustus*, who had restored him to his native kingdom^a. *Cluvius* is the only author who places this *Roman* province in *Darab*, in the *Biledu'gerid*, but without any foundation.

ALGIER, or *Argier*, hath its name from its metropolis, the only city of note in the whole kingdom; and called by the *Turks* *Algezair*, since then corrupted into *Algiers*, of which we shall treat farther in its proper place.

THIS kingdom was, soon after its conquest by the *Arabs*, divided into four principal provinces, viz. 1. *Tremecen*, al-*vided* by *Tienfan*, or *Telenfine*; 2. *Algiers Proper*; 3. *Bujeyah*, vulgarly *Bugia*; and 4. *Tennez*, or *Tenes*; to which some authors add a 5th; viz. *Constantina*; all which had their names from their respective capitals. But after *Algiers* became the metropolis of the kingdom, and *Tremecen* was become subject to it, the *Turks*, under whose protection the *Algerines* had put themselves, divided it into eighteen provinces; viz. 1. *Algiers Proper*; 2. *Tremecen*; 3. *Tennez*; 4. *Bujeyah*; 5. *Angad*, or *Angued*; 6. *Beni-Arazid*; 7. *Miliana*; 8. *Couco*; 9. *Labez*; 10. *Tebessa*; 11. *Human Bar*; 12. *Harefjel*; 13. *Oran*, or *Auran*, and *Horan*; 14. *Mostagan*; 15. *Bona*; 16. *Sargel*; 17. *Figeri*, or *Gigeri*; 18. *Constantina*. All these are so named from their respective capitals, besides which, some of them have only two or three inconsiderable towns, and others only one^b.

THE extent of this kingdom from east to west, that is, from the town of *Tabarca*, on the river *Zaine*, or ancient *Tusca*, in 0° 16 west long. from *London*, to that of *Tuunt*,

^a Antient Hist. vol xviii, p. 208, & seq. LEO Afric lib iii. & iv. MARMOL Afric. l. v, c. 33. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, MORGAN, SHAW'S Travels, p. 71, & seq. ^b Ibid. ibid. Vid. & CORNEIL. BAUDRAND, DE LISLE, &c.

*Length
from east
to west.*

*Breadth
various.*

*Bounda-
ries.*

*Climate,
soil, and
products.*

*Different
soils.*

and the mountains of *Trava*, $9^{\circ} 16'$ east, is variously computed by geographers. *Sanfon*, who bounds it between the *Zaine* and the *Mulyva*, or *Mullosa*, gives it 900 miles in length; *La Croix* 720; *Luytz* 630; but to name no others, according to the latest and best computation, the utmost length of it amounts to no more than 460 miles ^c. They agree somewhat better about its breadth; none of them giving it less than 150 miles where narrowest, and 240 where broadest: but even in this they exceed also the later and more accurate observations. Some parts of it, particularly from *Telsenin* to the sea coast, being hardly above forty miles wide; and near the springs of the *Sig Habra* and *Shellif* about 60, which, in the western part, may be taken at a mean for the extent of what the *Arabs* call the *Tel*, or *Tillage Land*. But from *Algiers*, eastward, it is considerably broader, particularly under the meridians of *Bujyah*, or *Bugia*, and *Bona*, where it mostly extends itself above 100 miles, especially under that of *Jigeri*, or *Gigeri*, in lat. $36^{\circ} 55'$, to *Luolajah*, situate among the mountains of *Atlas*, in lat. $44^{\circ} 50'$. As to the *Algerine* dominions beyond the *Tel*, or more advanced parts of *Atlas*, they are so uncertain and precarious, that the northern skirts of the *Sahara*, or desert, seem to be the properest boundaries on that side. They may, indeed, have still a good number of villages beyond this, in the country of *Zaab*, which pay some kind of tribute; but they are not worth further notice here. But in the general *Algiers* is bounded on the north by the *Mediterranean*, on the east by the river *Zaine*, which divides it from *Tunis*; on the west by the *Mulyva*, and the mountains of *Trava*, which part it from *Morocco*; and on the south by the *Sahara*, or *Numidian* desert ^d.

THE climate of *Algiers* is, in most parts of it, so moderate, that they enjoy a constant verdure; the leaves of the trees being neither parched by the summer's heat, nor nipped by the coldness of the winter. They begin to bud in *February*; in *April* the fruit appears in its full bigness; and is commonly full ripe in *May*. The grapes are fit to gather in *June*; and their peaches, nectarines, figs, olives, nuts, &c. in *August*, where-ever the soil is suited to them. But this last differs very much, some parts being excessively hot, dry, and barren; and, on that account, lie uncultivated, the inhabitants being generally very negligent of agriculture. Other countries, especially the mountainous parts of *Tennez*, *Bujyah*, and *Algiers Proper*, are fertile in corn, and other grain, and variety

^c Vid. SHAW's Travels, p. 1. & seq. ^d See the map of *Algiers*, SHAW, ub. sup. p. 2, & seq. TASSY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

of fruits; and others afford plenty of excellent pasturage, especially the northern coasts of *Tremecen*; whilst the southern side, and those parts at a distance from the sea coasts, are wild and barren, and harbour a great variety of wild creatures, as lions, tigers, buffaloes, wild boars, stags, porcupines, monkeys, ostriches, and other wild fowl, game, &c. on which account they have but very few towns, and those but thinly peopled, in comparison of the provinces nearer the sea; notwithstanding which, some are so advantageously situated for trading with *Biledulgerid*, and other parts of negro-land, as to drive a considerable traffick with them.

THE *Algerines*, inhabiting along the sea coasts, are a strange mixture of various nations; but for the most part *Mogars* and *Morescos*, driven thither from *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, and other parts of *Spain*. Here are also great numbers of *Turks*, besides those belonging to the militia, whom poverty sends hither from the *Levant* to seek their fortune; to say nothing of the *Jews*, who swarm along the coasts, and a great number of Christian prisoners taken at sea, and brought hither to be sold for slaves. Other Christians there are also who are free, and traffick with the rest of the inhabitants unmolested. The *Berebers* are some of the oldest inhabitants of these parts, and are supposed to be descended from the ancient *Sabaans*, who came hither from *Arabia Felix*, under the conduct of one of their princes; others believe them to be some of the *Canaanites*, whom *Jashua* drove out of *Palestine*. These are dispersed all over *Barbary*, and divided into a multitude of tribes, under their respective chiefs (A); most of them inhabit the mountainous parts, some of them

* LEO AFR. lib. iv. MARMOL, l. v. c. 39. & seq. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, l. i. c. 2. SHAW'S Travels, p. 46, 121, & alib. BAUDRAND, & al. † GRAMMAY, l. iii. c. 5. MARMOL, Afr. l. iii. c. 17. & seq. LEO AFR. lib. i. p. 5, 6. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, & al.

(A) The name of *Bereber* is supposed to have been given to them on account of their settling at first in some desert part. Upon their increasing in process of time, they divided themselves into five tribes, called the *Zanbagians*, *Musamedins*, *Zenneta*, *Hoares*, *Geomeres*; and these having produced 600 fa-

milies did also subdivide themselves into a great number of petty tribes; some of whom retained the names of their founders, others added that of the country they lived in; which not only occasioned a confusion among their tribes, but very frequently wars among them (1).

(1) Leo Afr. p. 5. Marmol Afr. l. iii. c. 17. & seq. Dapper, Davity, Borgan, Tassy, &c.

*Their way
of living,
traffic,
&c
The
Zwowa-
ahs, or
Azua-
gucs.*

range about from place to place, and live in tents, or portable huts, others in scattered villages, and have, nevertheless, kept themselves for the most part from intermixing with other nations. These are reckoned the richest of all, go better clothed, and carry on a much larger traffick of cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, and other commodities. They have likewise some artificers in that metal, and some manufacturers in the weaving branch. To these we may add the *Zwowaahs*, called by our *European* authors *Auagues*, or *Affagues*, dispersed likewise all over most parts of *Barbary* and *Numidia*, and great numbers of whom inhabit the mountainous parts of *Comuo*, *Labez*, and other *Algerine* provinces, and lead a kind of wandering pastoral life. These are very poor, yet stout and warlike, and are taken into the service of the government.

*The Moors
of the
towns.*

BUT the most numerous of all the inhabitants are the *Moors* and *Arabians*, of whom we shall now give a short account. The *Moors*, so called from their ancient country *Mauritania*, are of two sorts: those that inhabit the cities and towns, and carry on some commerce, either by land or sea, and under the commission of the Dey, Beys, or Agas of their respective abodes, bear offices relating to the concerns of their own nation, some follow trades and manufactures, others are farmers, gardeners, grazers, &c. They have houses and lands of their own, and may be stiled the citizens of the *Algerine* kingdom; many of whom grow rich enough to purchase estates, and have a considerable share in the ships that go cruising abroad.

*Of the
country.*

THE other sort are of the wandering kind, without lands, houses, or patrimony; and in all respects very poor. They are multiplied into a prodigious number of tribes, distinguished either by the names of the chiefs, or the places of their abode, or both. Each of them forms a kind of itinerant village, or adowar, as they term it, each family of which lives in its particular tent, or portable hut. Each adowar hath its Cheyk, or chief, who, in conjunction with his assistants, form a sort of petty autocracy, and govern the whole community with great equity and tenderness. They live entirely on the produce of such lands as they farm from those we called above the citizens, to whom they pay their rent in kind, whether fruits, herbs, corn, honey, wax, and the like; and the remainder they sell to the neighbouring towns, as opportunity offers. They are particularly skilful in the choice of the most advantageous soil for every season, and are less careful to avoid the neighbourhood of the *Turkish* troops. Each adowar pays a tax to the Dey, in proportion to the

*Pay tri-
bute to the
Dey.*

* *Idem*, *ibid*.

* *Idem*, *ibid*.

number of its families; for which their Cheyk is answerable to him, and the whole community for each individual. These wanderers being scattered all over this part of *Afric*, in *Mo- Scattered*
rocco, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. where we shall have occasion to *over A-*
 speak of them again under those heads, it will not be amiss *fric.*
 to give our readers a little further notion of their manners, religion, customs, &c. here once for all, especially as they are for the most part common to them, throughout all the vast tract of ground, and under every government they are tributary to.

THEIR adowars are a perfect emblem of misery and nasti- *Their ex-*
 ness; and so poorly furnished are their tents, that a hand- *treme mi-*
 mill to grind their corn, a few earthen pitchers, wherein they *tery, and*
 keep their oil, rice, flower, &c. and a few mats to sit and lie *nastiness.*
 upon, a pot or two to boil their rice, are all the household-
 goods they contain; and yet are big enough to contain two
 or three families, parents, children, servants, horses, cows,
 goats, poultry, cats, dogs, &c. only this last creature is
 obliged to lie out of the tent, to keep guard against the ap-
 proach of lions, foxes, and other beasts of prey; and to
 drive away rats, serpents, and other vermin, which are in
 some parts very numerous and hurtful. The Cheyk's tent is
 only distinguished from the rest by its height, and being
 pitched in the center of the rest. These huts being supported
 by two large posts, form a kind of pavilion; the door of
 which is made of the boughs of trees. The middle is a small
 square, which divides the apartments of the *Moors* from those
 of their beasts; in the center of which is the hearth, upon
 which they bake their cakes, boil their rice, and other food;
 and round the sides are spread mats of palm trees, which serve
 for tables to eat at, and beds to lie upon. The tents are co-
 vered with sheeps hides, black, white, speckled, as it happens;
 and every thing in them is mean, nasty, and loathsome.

THEIR diet is chiefly cakes baked on the hearth, rice, *Their*
 pulse, fruits dried and green, milk, &c. They eat little or *mean diet.*
 no flesh, except on some great holidays, because they can
 turn it into money; and their drink is commonly water; and
 a little oil and vinegar mixed, to sop their bread in, is reckoned
 a dainty sauce. The men perform all the husbandry work, *Employ-*
 and go about to sell their corn, fruits, poultry, and other *ment.*
 commodities, whilst their women and children take care to
 feed the cattle, to get in fuel and water, to provide victuals
 and other necessaries for their family: they likewise keep a
 vast number of bee-hives under their care, and breed great
 quantities of silk-worms.

! MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITT, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

THEIR

*Meangarb
of the men;*

THEIR dress is as mean as their food; that of the men consists only in a haik, or coarse piece of cloth, four or five ells long, which they wrap about their shoulders, and comes down to their ankles; to which they add a cap of the same cloth, or some rag which they twist about their head. The Cheyk's dress is a shirt, and a cloak all of one piece, which comes down to the calf of the leg, and a cowl upon his head (B) of a finer sort of cloth. As to the children, girls as well as boys, they let them go quite naked, till they are about seven or eight years of age, when they tie a rag or two about them, rather for ornament than decency. While they are sucking, their mothers carry them, often two, in a bag tied behind their backs, when they go to fetch water or wood; but they are generally so stout as to begin to walk by that time they are six months old.

*of the
women.*

THE dress of the *Moorish* women is only a piece of woollen stuff, which covers their bodies from the shoulders down to the knees. They wear their hair braided, and adorned with glass bugles, coral glass, fishes teeth, and other such baubles: the bracelets on their arms and legs are either of horn, wood, ivory, or other such mean stuff; whilst their cheeks, foreheads, arms, and legs, nay, their thighs and fingers ends, are embellished with black spots from their very infancy, which is done by pricking the place with a needle, and rubbing it with some sort of black powder. Their complexion in general is very swarthy; but their constitution robust and lively. They marry very young; the sons at fourteen or fifteen, and the daughters at nine or ten, or even at eight, years of age. And as these are commonly very fertile, it is no extraordinary thing to see them suckling of their children at ten or eleven, and sometimes even earlier.

*Their fer-
tility.*

*Mar-
riages.*

WHEN a young man hath got leave to court a man's daughter, he is to bring the number of horses, cows, sheep, or other cattle agreed upon, to her parent's hut, where she, without any reluctance, receives him for her spouse; upon

(B) There are here and there some wealthy *Moors* that wear such a cloak when they go abroad; and look upon it as so choice an ornament, that they commonly make it serve two or three generations; and so careful are they in preserving it, that if they are caught in a shower, they immediately pull

it off and fold it up, lay it upon some stone, or dry spot, and sit patiently naked upon it till the rain is over, and their skin dry enough to put it on without damaging it. But the generosity of them are so poor, that they can hardly afford themselves a haik long enough to cover their knees (2).

(2) *Marmel, Dapper, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.*

which

which some of the by-standers asking him what his bride hath cost him, he answers; *A virtuous and industrious woman cannot be too dearly bought.* After the mutual congratulations are over, the young women of the adowar are invited to the feast; and the bride being set upon a horse of the bridegroom's, is led to his tent, with the acclamations of the retinue; and being arrived at the door of it, is offered a mixture of milk and honey to drink, whilst the rest of the company sing her epithalamium, and conclude it with the usual good wishes to the new married couple. The bride then alighting, her companions put a stick into her hand, which she thrusts as far as she can into the ground, saying, that as the stick cannot be removed thence without force, so neither will she quit her husband, unless he forces her from him; upon which, before he admits her into his tent, he delivers up a flock to her, which she leads to some neighbouring pasture, by which she is given to understand, that he expects her to labour, and to take care of the family; and, upon her return, she and her retinue are admitted in: the feast begins and ends with singing, dancing, and other rejoicings till the evening, when the bride is presented to her husband, and the company take their leave. She is afterwards to wear over her face a veil during a whole month, and not to stir out of the tent till that be over; from which time she enters into that province of the family œconomy that is allotted to the rest of the married women, who are here excluded from intermeddling with any public matters; and are so well satisfied with it, that they would be highly displeased with their husbands, if they should offer to communicate any affairs relating to the state to them.

Women

excluded from public affairs.

THESE wandering *Moors* are generally very stout and warlike, skilful horsemen, and value themselves very highly, notwithstanding their poverty, for not being confined to towns, like the other sort, whom they look upon as tame slaves, always at the mercy of the *Turks*. So that upon any insult or ill usage received from a *Turkish* Aga, they immediately return it in a hostile way, till the town *Moors*, who cannot subsist without being supplied with provisions from them, nor upon a dislike secure themselves from their depredations, have mediated a peace between them. To keep up this martial temper among them, the chiefs of every adowar meet in a circle round their *Cheyk* every evening, to discuss the public affairs; after which they divert themselves with their usual exercises on horseback; in which they are so dextrous, both in the management of that creature and their graceful posture of sitting, that they can take up any thing from the ground

Men stout and warlike.

Dextrous horsemen.

* MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, TASSY, qb. sup.

with

Weapons. with their lance in full speed. In this exercise they continue till the time is come for retiring. Their usual weapons are a zagay, or short lance, which they always carry in their hand, and a broad cutlafs hanging below the left elbow.

Great robbery, and robbery. THEY are commonly so addicted to robbing, that one cannot safely travel across the country, or at a distance from the towns, without a guard, or at least a marabout, that is, one of their priests, or monks, for a safeguard. For, as they look upon themselves as the original proprietors of the country, and not only as dispossessed by the rest of the inhabitants, but reduced by them to the lowest state of poverty, they make no scruple to plunder all they meet with, by way of reprisal.

Differ from the Berbers.

However, notwithstanding their pretence of being the true descendants of the first inhabitants of this country, they differ from the *Berbers*, who lay a much juster claim to it, in that they have kept themselves from intermixing with any other nations; but the *Mosors* have mixed themselves not only with the descendants of the ancient *Africans*, but with the several other nations that have conquered it, down to the establishment of the *Turks* in those dominions¹. Thus much may suffice with respect to these wandering *Moors*, so far as they differ from those that are settled in towns. In other cases, such as their language, which is a corrupt *Arabic*, and their religion, which is a corrupt *Mohammedism*, they only differ from them, in having adopted a still greater number of superstitions in their faith, one of the most glaring the reader may see in the margin (C): the rest are scarce worth further notice.

¹ Ibid. *ibid.*

THE

(C) The *Moors*, in general, whether of a city or country, as well as the *Algierine Turks*, have, through the knavery of their marabouts, so dishonoured the *Mohammedan* religion, that a true *Mussulman* would hardly know it, as we shall have occasion to shew when we come to speak of the present *Algierines*. But among a vast number of gross and unnatural superstitions they have imbibed from them, the following one is well worth being taken notice of; *viz.* Their happiness in the next life will be greater or less, according to the number of Christians they have slaughtered

in this; so that those have but an indifferent title to any share of it, who have not had the good fortune to dispatch at least one or two before they die. They differ, however, in their opinion about the manner in which this ought to be done. Some of them maintaining, that it ought to be only in battle, duel, or in a fair assault; whilst others affirm, that it will avail let it be done by ever so unfair or unjust means, or on what account soever, so it be but done. This, however, is not so wide a comment on *Mohammed's* doctrine, as the *Gazie*, or religious war on all infidels, especially the

THE other considerable nation that is scattered through all the provinces, not only of the *Algerine* dominions, but thro' all the other parts of *Barbary*, is that of the *Arabians*. We have given a full description of these, of their origin, religion, customs, language, &c. both in our *Ancient* and *Modern History* *. These we are now speaking of are a mixture of a variety of tribes, descended from those *Mohammedan Arabians*, which over-ran this part of *Africa*; from which being afterwards driven by the *Turks*, they fled to the mountainous parts of it, to save themselves, their cattle, and effects, where they have enjoyed their liberty ever since; and by their labour and industry have improved those barren and desert lands into pleasant and fruitful territories. These are, like the *Moors*, divided into a multitude of tribes and little governments, under their respective chiefs, and value themselves highly upon their having preserved their blood untainted by mixture with other nations, and express the utmost contempt for those, who, preferring their ancient habitations in towns and cities, submitted to a foreign yoke, whom they call, therefore, in derision, citizens and courtiers; and as they have intermarried with strangers, they are reputed no better than *Moors*. The *Algerines*, indeed, who make no distinction between these two sorts of *Arabs* any more than they do between the wandering and city *Moors*, call them all four alike by the common name of *Moors*; in which inaccuracy they have been followed by many of our *Europeans*, who seem to make no manner of distinction between the *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Arabians* of this kingdom, for want of being better acquainted with it.

Erroneously founded with the *Moors*.

THE *Turks*, upon their first subduing of this country, knew so little of the mountainous and desert parts of it, that they gave the *Arabians* an opportunity of seizing upon the passes that lead to the kingdoms of *Fez* and *Tunis*; but upon taking a further survey of it, and raising of fortifications on the most advantageous posts, they soon obliged them either to retire or submit; which they could the more easily do, both by the help of their fire arms, and the increase of their forces by the arrival of thousands of *Moors* and *Jews* drawn thither from *Spain*. So that many of those *Arabs* agreed to

* See *Antient History*, vol. xviii. pag. 178, & seq. xv. pag. 196, & seq. & *Mod.* vol. xiv. pag. 39, & seq.

the Christians, is one of the most meritorious parts of his religion, as that which intitles his fol-

lowers to the highest degrees of sensual happiness in his promised *Paradise* (3).

(3) See before, p. 125, & seq. *Marmol*, *Depper*, *Tassy*, & al. ub. sup.

Others range at full liberty under their chryks.

become tributary to them, rather than abandon their old habitations; whilst others, scorning a foreign yoke^m, retired into the more inaccessible parts of the kingdom, and lived free from tribute; and a third part compromised matters with the new conquerors, by a mutual obligation of not molesting each other, as will be seen more fully in the sequel, when we come to speak of the southern government of *Algiers*, where the greatest part of them are seated. But these two last stand in little or no awe of the *Algerine* government, who, on account of their martial temper and happy situation, dare not give them any molestation; for, as often as any such attempts have been made, either upon their freedom, or their effects, either formerly by the *Turkish* *Bahsas*, or since by any of the *Deys*, they immediately concealed their corn, and other provisions, in some spacious caves in the rocks, and drew their cattle towards *Biledulgerid*, or some other inaccessible mountainous parts, where they could not only bid them defiance, but plague them likewise by their frequent incursions. There is still another sort of these *Arabians* that wander along the banks of the rivers *Ziz* and *Hued-Abra*, and some other parts of *Algiers*. These never give themselves the trouble of tilling their ground, but range from place to place for pasture, and live chiefly upon the plunder, not only of villages and adowars, but towns and cities. The province of *Oran* is one of the most infested by these plundering desperadoesⁿ.

A desperate and plundering race of them.

The Algerine government.

THE *Algerines* in general do chiefly live on piracy, and are justly looked upon as the most dangerous of all the *African* corsairs. They are very greedy of gain, which makes them bold and venturous, cruel to those that fall into their hands, especially to Christians, and make no scruple to violate the most sacred ties, whenever they stand in competition with their interest. The coasters are no less savage and inhuman, sparing neither wrecks nor sailors, whether friends or foes; only when the latter happen to be *Mohammedans*, they will bestow a small viaticum upon them to help them homewards: but as to the ship or cargo, though it belong to the *Turks*, or to the friends of the state, the *Dey* hath not authority enough among the greatest part of them to save any of it to the owners, except by composition.

The militia deposes the Turkish Bahsas.

ALGIERS hath still retained the title of a kingdom, though the government was once dwindled into a downright republic, as we may gather from the title of their ordinances, edicts, and other public acts, which ran in the following terms: "We the great and small members of the mighty and invincible

^m See Antient History, vol. xx p. 241, & seq.
MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

ⁿ LEO,

“ militia of *Algiers*, and of the whole kingdom.” This change was occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of the *Bashas*, or viceroys, set over them by the *Porte*, under whose protection they had been so long, that they were become in some measure subject to it: till at length the *Turkish Janissaries* and militia being become powerful enough to suppress the tyrannic sway of those *Bashas*, and the people almost exhausted by the heavy taxes they laid upon them, the former resolved to depose those petty tyrants, and set up some officers of their own at the head of the realm. The better to succeed in this attempt, the militia sent a deputation of some of their chief members to the *Porte*, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to complain of the avarice and oppression of those *Bashas*, who sunk both the revenue of the state, and the money remitted to it from *Constantinople*, into their own coffers, which should have been employed in keeping up and paying the soldiery; by which means it was become so weak, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the *Italians* and *Moors*, who, if ever so little assisted by any Christian power, would hardly fail of driving all the *Turks* out of the kingdom. To this they added a representation to the Grand Vizir, shewing how much more honourable, as well as easier and cheaper, it would be for the Grand Signor to permit them to chuse their own Dey from among themselves, whose interest it would then be to see that the revenue of the kingdom was rightly applied in keeping up its forces complete, and well paid, and in supplying all the other exigencies of the state, without any further charge or trouble to the *Porte*, than that of allowing them its protection, whilst they, on their part, engaged always to acknowledge the Grand Signors as their sovereigns, and to pay them the usual allegiance and tribute. This last proposal was highly relished by that prime minister, as it would save the some considerable annual sums, prove a means of establishing a better understanding between the two powers than ever, and of keeping the *Turkish* forces upon a better and more complete footing than their *Bashas* had done. Upon all which accounts the Sultan was easily persuaded by his minister to agree to it, rather than perhaps to run the risk of a total revolt, and lose the small remains of his authority in that kingdom. By this concession the *Janissaries* became still more powerful, because the choice of those Deys was wholly invested in them, and they were to chuse them from among themselves. This elective body, called the *Douwan*, vulgarly *Divan*, or *Common-council*, at first consisted of about 800 military officers, without whose advice or consent the Dey could do nothing; and, upon some urgent occasions, all

Sends a deputation to the Porte, and obtain leave to chuse their own Deys.

Confirmed by the Grand Signor.

The Dey hath now the sole power.

*Chosen out
of the mi-
litia.*

the officers that resided in *Algiers*, amounting to above 1500, were summoned to assist. But since those Deys, who may be compared to the *Dutch Stadtholders*, are become more powerful and independant, the Douwan is principally composed of thirty Yiah-Basbas, with now-and-then the Musti and Cadi, upon some emergencies; and, upon the election of a new Dey, the whole soldiery, who are is then allowed to come and give their votes. All affairs of state are to be determined by that assembly before they pass into a law, or the Dey hath power to put them in execution. But for the last thirty or forty years this assembly is become of so little account, that it is only convened out of formality, and to give an assent to what the Dey and his chief favourites have concerted before-hand; so that in reality the whole power is now lodged in one person, only with this small restriction, if it be any, that the Grand Signor still styles him his viceroy, or Basba, as he doth the people his subjects (D), and challenges to himself the power of approving or disallowing of his election, though it

(D) This plainly appears from the tenor of the letter, sent by the Grand Signor to the Dey *Mehammed*, in favour of the *Dutch*, an. 1719, and particularly from the pompous superscription of it, which ran thus:

“ To MEHEMMED, DEY and
“ BASHA of *Algiers*, a prince
“ chosen to enjoy the dignity he
“ is possessed of, who has been
“ preserved by the favour of
“ the Most High; and to the
“ LEARNED MUFTI, and to
“ you the Cadis and Judges
“ excelling in eloquence and
“ equity, and to all others a-
“ mongst you who abound in
“ knowledge, and to all the
“ Chiefs of the militia, who
“ fight for the faith; and also
“ to all our *Algerine* SUBJECTS,
“ greeting.”

In which letter he complains, that the Dey had not only declared an unjust war against the *Dutch*, then in amity with the

Porte, but likewise, that instead of complying with his former orders, by which he had been enjoined to negotiate a peace with them, he had forcibly taken 50,000 dollars from them, and obliged their ambassador to retire into *France*.

Wherefore he now charges him afresh to send forthwith two of his officers, with proper powers, to *Constantinople*, to answer their allegations, and to transact and conclude the said peace. And concludes, with reminding the Dey and his Divan, that such as refuse to obey their emperor's orders, are criminals before God and men, &c.—Which order the Dey, upon that juncture, chose to comply with, rather than fall out with the *Porte*; and a peace was soon after concluded accordingly between *Algiers* and the states of *Holland* (4).

(4) *Dutch Memoirs*, ap. *Morgan*, *Hist. Algiers*.

is seldom found that he ventured to disannul it for fear of losing that shadow of authority he claims over them.

THE *Algerine Deys* are, as we hinted above, chosen out of the militia; the most inferior of which hath an equal right and title to that dignity with the highest: every bold and aspiring soldier, though taken from the plough or cart, being there considered as heir apparent to the throne; neither need he wait till the present possessor be deprived of it by age or sickness, if he be but able to maintain himself upon it with the same scymitar which he ventured to sheath in his predecessor's bowels.* So that, as a reverend and learned traveller says, who resided several years in that kingdom, the supreme command lieth here, as it did in the declension of the Roman empire, open, and exposed to every bold pretender, who, if he hath but resolution to attempt, will hardly fail of carrying it. This evidently appears, by the quick succession which hath been observed to happen among the Deys ever since they have been permitted to be chosen by the militia, scarcely one in ten of them having had the good fortune to die in his bed; that is, without a musket ball, or a scymitar; even those few who have been blessed with a more peaceful exit, cannot be said to have been beholden for it either to any higher regard or esteem which the army had for them, but rather to their own good fortune or foresight, in nipping a new insurrection in the bud, by the death of the conspirators, before they could bring their designs into execution. Neither is it their male-administration, tyranny, or avarice, that hasten their ruin, any more than the contrary amiable qualities can preserve them from it. The very want of success in an enterprise, though ever so wisely concerted and carried on, is a sufficient crime with those superstitious and mutinous troops, to cause an insurrection, and cost the best and most sagacious Dey, or officer, his dignity and life; nay, they are often caused upon no other foundation than a desire of change, blown up by some bold aspirer to the supreme power (E). This, however,

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 311. Vid. & DE TASSY, lib. ii. c. 6. MORGAN; & al.

(E) Nor is this bloody method of rising to, and maintaining themselves in, that high dignity to be so much wondered at, if we consider, 1st, That the soldiery, by whom they are chosen, amounting to about 1200, are either *Turks* or *renegades*.
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gadoes, and both generally proud, rapacious, and untractable, and naturally expect to be very considerable gainers, if they prove but successful in these kinds of new elections, to which there seldom fails of being several candidates. adly, That

*Chosen by
the whole
militia.*

*The man-
ner of his
election.*

ever, helps to keep up in some measure the credit, or, at least, the shew of the Dowan, which might else have been quite abolished ere now; and a Dey is often obliged to assemble, and consult them on all important matters, merely to screen himself from popular discontents; though in reality the chief members of it being for the most part his creatures, he may be said to act with a despotic authority, there being no appeal from this supreme tribunal, but by way of insurrection, or open rebellion*. We have already observed, that the whole body of the militia is concerned in the election of a new Dey, and that the lowest person in it hath a right to vote as well as the highest; and as there are commonly several candidates to that dignity, the election can hardly be supposed to be carried on without some tumult, if not blows and blood-shed. But when once the choice is agreed on, the person elected is saluted with the words *ALLA BARIK*, that is, God bless, or prosper you; immediately after which he is invested with the kaffan, or insignia of sovereignty, whilst the Cady, or chief judge, addresses him with a congratulatory speech, which is generally closed with a pathetic exhortation, importing, that, as it hath now pleased the Almighty to raise him to the supreme dignity of the kingdom, it is now his

* TASSY, l. ii. c. 6. SHAW'S Travels, p. 311.

That military discipline is greatly wanting and neglected, or, to speak, perhaps, more truly, is so incompatible with the temper of those troops, that it might be dangerous to attempt the establishing, or restoring it among them: so that when one of them, who hath served some time under those colours, comes to think himself sufficiently qualified, either to make a bold push for the deyship, or promote some other to it, he is sure to find partisans enough to assist him in it, though with no other view than that of some gain accruing from it. It is true, indeed, that this ambitious humour hath of late years been very much allayed by the many severe, yet seasonable, execu-

tions that have been made of these turbulent and aspiring spirits, if we may believe some of our latest accounts from thence (5). Yet in such ungovernable constitutions, there will never be wanting those, who, upon the least favourable opportunity, will be ready to blow the flame of sedition and assassination afresh. We need not doubt but the former Deys were as little sparing of the lives of those bold attempters; and yet we do not find that of the first six that were chosen to that dignity, since the year 1700, above one of them has died in quiet possession of it; four of them having been massacred, and the fifth forced to save his life by a timely resignation (6).

(5) Dr. Shaw, *ib. sup.* p. 311, & *seq.*

(6) Tass & Morgan, *ib. sup.*
duty

duty to govern it with justice and equity, to preserve his new subjects in their rights and liberties, and to make it his chief care and concern to promote their safety and welfare, to the utmost of his power.

THE next officer in dignity and power to the Dey, is the *The Aga* Aga, or general of the *Janissaries*, who is one of the oldest of the Janissaries. officers of the army, and enjoys his post only two months; and is then succeeded by the Chiah, or next senior officer, or eldest Yiah-Basba. During those two months the keys of the metropolis are in his custody; all military orders are issued out in his name; and the sentence of the Dey upon any offending soldier, whether capital, or only corporal, is to be executed in the court of his palace. And as soon as he is gone through this short office, he is considered as mazoul, or superannuated, receives his pay regularly, like all the rest of the militia, every two moons, exempt from all farther duties, except when called by the Dey to give his advice at the grand council; to which he hath, however, a right to come at all times when he pleases, but hath no longer a vote in it. The next to him in dignity is the secretary of state, who registers all the public acts; and next to these are twenty-four, or, according to Dr. Shaw, thirty Chiah Basbas, or chief colonels, under the Aga, who sit next to him in the same gallery in the Dowan. Out of this class are commonly chosen those who are to be sent on embassies into foreign countries, or to convey the Dey's orders throughout the realm. Next to them are the 800 Bolluk Basbas, or eldest captains, who are next in rank to be promoted to that of Chiah Basbas, according to their seniority. The Oldak-Basbas, or lieutenants, are next, who amount to 400, and regularly raised to the rank of captains in their turn, and to other employments in the state, according to their abilities. These, by way of distinction, wear a leather strap hanging down behind to the middle of their back. One rule is strictly observed in the rotation of these troops from one deputy to a higher; viz. the right of seniority; one single infringement of which, upon whatever pretence, would cause a revolt in the soldiery, and endanger, if not cost the Dey's life ^{P (F)}.

Other

P TASSY, lib. ii. c. 7. SHAW'S Travels, p. 313.

(F) This seniority, not of age, which has nothing to do here, but of standing, may nevertheless be purchased, with the Dey's leave, by a junior from a senior; in which case the latter descends to the rank of the former. In

all other cases they must wait till their turn comes, either by death, degradation, by way of punishment, or by the removal of the Aga to the superannuated station, which, as was hinted a little before, happens every two months;

Other military officers. Other military officers of note are the Vekilards, or purveyors of the army; the Peys, who are the four oldest soldiers, and nearest to preferment; the Soulaks, who are the eight next in seniority to them, and are part of the Dey's body guard, and always march before him when he takes the field, being distinguished by their carbines and gilt scymitars, and a brass gun on their caps. The *Kayts*, or *Turkish* soldiers, each band of whom have the government of one or more *Moorish* adowais, and collect their taxes for the Dey; and the *Sagiards*, who are *Turkish* lancemen, 100 of which always attend the army, and watch over the water appointed for it. To these we might add the three Beys, or governors of the three great provinces of the realm; but we shall have a more proper occasion to speak of them when we come to the division of it.

The Dowan, or great council.

All those officers above mentioned compose the Dowan, or great council; and of them only the thirty Chiah Bashas have a right to sit in the gallery next after the Dey: the rest are obliged to stand on the floor of the hall, or council-chamber, with their arms across, and as much as possible without any motion: neither are they permitted to enter it with their swords on, or with any other offensive weapon, to prevent a tumult. As for those who have any suit, or other matters to transact with the Dowan, they must stand without at the gates, let the weather be ever so bad; and there they are commonly presented with coffee by some of the Chiahs, or inferior officers, till they are dispatched.

Strange method of gathering the votes. THE method of their gathering the votes in the Dowan is something singular. The Aga, or president, *pro tempore*, first proposes the question, which is immediately repeated with a loud voice by the Chiah Bashas, and from them echoed again by four officers, called *Bushuldalas*; and from them repeated from one member of the divan to another, with strange gestures and contortions; and with a most hideous noise and din, when the question is not to their liking. From all this the Aga easily concludes on which side the majority leans, and proclaims it accordingly. So that it is seldom seen that these assemblies end without some tumult, quarrel, or disorder; and no wonder, considering that the far greater part of the members are persons of mean extract, rude and illiterate, and are biased by their own private interest and passions,

Frequently attended with tumults.

months; at which time the whole militia is regularly paid, and the Aga resigns his place to

^a TASSY, ub. sup.

the Chiah, or the officer immediately next to him (7).
and the Aga resigns his place to

(7) TUFFY, l. i, c. 7. SHAW'S TRAVELS, p. 313; & seq.

rather

rather than by reason or the public good^r. And this seems to be one main reason why the Deys have of late years taken such pains to suppress those among them, as they knew to be ill affected to their measures, and to summon as few as they can into the council, besides his own creatures. It hath likewise been a custom with them of late, immediately upon their election, to cause all the officers^o of the divan, who had opposed it, to be strangled, and to fill up their vacancies with those who had been most zealous in the promoting of it: by which means the far greater part of that supreme court becomes wholly devoted to his will.

In this, and all other public courts and assemblies, as well as state records, the *Turkish* is the only language that is allowed to be used, which obliges the *Moors* and *Arabians*, as well as the Christians, to make use of interpreters, whenever they have any complaint, suit, or other matters to come before any such courts. But the language of the present natives is a kind of compound of *Arabic*, *Moreisco*, and of their antient one; which, as we have formerly observed^s, was most probably the old *Phanician*. However, in their public commerce with other nations, they chiefly make use of the *Lingua Make use Franca*, which is no other than a rude ungrammatical jargon, of the or mixture of *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *Ita'ian*, and *French*, which *Lingua* hath been long since in vogue, not only along all these *Bar-Franca in bary* coasts, but likewise through most parts of the *Levant*; *their traf-* and this is also of great use to them in their piratic trade, *sick*. which is above all others that which suits best with their *Chi fly fol-* temper, and brings them in the greatest advantage; on which *low the pi-* account they are become the most formidable of all the *Barbary* corsairs. Nevertheless, they suffer free Christians, *Jews*, either *trade*, natives or foreigners, *Araléans* and *Moors*, to exercise a fair commerce both by sea and land; together with other trades and manufactures in silk, cotton, wool, leather, and other commodities. But these are mostly carried on by *Andalusian*, *Granadan*, and other *Spaniards* settled in that kingdom, especially about the metropolis of it. Carpets are another manufacture of this country, though much inferior to those of *Turkey*, both in beauty and fineness; but being both cheaper and softer, are preferred by the people to lie upon. There are also at *Algiers* looms for velvet, taffaties, and other wrought silks; and a coarse sort of linen is likewise made in most parts of the kingdom; of which *Susa* produces the finest. Most of those manufactures are consumed at home; and some of them, especially those of silk and linen, are so incon-

^r TASSY, CORNEILLE, BALDRAND.
vol. xviii. p. 175.

^o See Antient Hist.

Few commodities exported out of Algiers. fiderable, that they are obliged to supply the deficiency of them from the *Levant* and *Europe*. These parts of *Barbary* send very few of their commodities, or even product, into foreign markets; oil, wax, hide, pulse, and corn, being but barely sufficient to supply the country; though before the loss of *Oran*, the merchants have been known to ship off from one or other of the *Barbary* ports to the amount of seven or 8000 ton of corn. The consumption of oil, though here in great abundance, is likewise so considerable in this kingdom, that it is seldom permitted to be shipped off for *Europe* *. The other exports consist chiefly in ostriches feathers, wax, hides, wool, copper, rugs, silk sashes, embroidered handkerchiefs, dates, and christian slaves.

Imports chiefly brought in by the corsairs. THE imports, whether by way of merchandize or prizes, consist chiefly in gold and silver stuffs, damasks, cloths, spices, tin, iron, platted brass, lead, quick-silver, cordage, sail cloths, bullets, linen, cochineal, tartar, alum, rice, sugar, soap, cotton raw and spun, copperas, aloes, brazil and logwood, vermillion, arsenic, gum lack, sulphur, opium, anise and cummin seed, mastik, sarsaparilla, aspic, frankincense, galls, honey, paper, combs, cards old and new, dried fruits, and variety of woollen stuffs. But though there is a constant demand of all these commodities, yet only a small quantity of them is imported by the merchants, on account of heavy duties, frequent exactions, precariousness of payments, and the uncertainty of the returns; so that those who are in want of any of them will wait to the very last, in hopes to meet with them on board some prize, for it is chiefly by their corsairs that they are supplied with them. The misfortune is, that both the manufacturers and shop keepers, which last are chiefly *Moors* or *Jews*, are very severely used by the government; and often heavily fined for slight, or even pretended faults, which keeps them so poor, that it frequently puts them upon cheating their customers, either in weight or measure; though they are sure, if caught, to be treated with the utmost severity in their purse, or by corporal punishment, and often with death †.

Each corsair is a small republic. THE corsairs of *Algiers* form every one a separate kind of republic; of which the Rais, or captain, is the supreme *Basha*, who, and the officers under him, compose a kind of *Dowan*, in which every matter relating to the vessel is decided in an arbitrary way.

THE coin in vogue here is mostly foreign, their own being only of three kinds ‡; viz. the barba of copper, six of

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 295. † Ibid. TASSY, l. ii. c. 17.
‡ GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 9. DAVITY, Afric. p. 194. DIEGO DE HOEDO, CORNEIL, BAUDRAND, DAPPER, p. 178.

which were formerly worth an asper, but now only half an one. This coin hath the arms of the viceroy stamped on both sides. The asper is a small square piece of silver with *Arabic* characters stamped likewise on each side, 15 of which make a *Spanish* ryal, and 24 a dupta, worth about a crown. They have likewise three sorts of gold coin, but *Gold* these are coined only at *Tremecen*; viz. the rupee worth 35 *ney* coined aspers, the median 50, and the zian, or dian, 100, which *only* at last was the antient coin of the kings of *Tremecen*, or *Te-Tremecen* *lenfin*, upon which account that province hath alone the privilege of coining these golden pieces, which are stamped with the viceroy's name, and are also current in the kingdoms of *Couco* and *Labez*, tho' these have likewise their own particular coin. Besides these, the *Turkish* sultanius of gold *Foreign* worth about a ducat, the moticales of *Fex* about 22 pence, *coin* the *Spanish* ryals, *French* crowns, *Hungarian* ducats, and *current* other *European* money, is likewise current among them. Only it must be observed, that there is no fixed standard for these foreign coins; because strangers only compute their value, by what they go for in their respective nations. The only fixed species here is the patacachica, or pataca of aspers (an ideal sum like our *English* pound, or the *French* livre), worth always 232 aspers, and is the third part of a pataca gorda, commonly of the weight of two pistoles and an half; but that weight is frequently raised or lowered at the Dey's pleasure, or the exigence of the government. But, according to the latest writers *,

	piasters.	ryals.
The sultanius of <i>Algier</i> and <i>Morocco</i> is worth — — — —	2	4
The sequin of <i>Venice</i> — — — —	2	6
The crusado of <i>Portugal</i> — — — —	7	0

	patacachicas.	temins.
The <i>Sevil</i> and <i>Mexican</i> piafter, of which 20, if full weight, ought to make a pound, is worth — —	3	7
The piafter of <i>Leghorn</i> — — — —	3	6
That of <i>Tunis</i> — — — —	3	4
The pataca gorda, or current piafter of <i>Algiers</i> — — — —	3	0

* *TASSY*, l. ii. c. 11. p. 250, & seq.

				aspers.
The temin, or ryal chica, is the eighth of a				
pataca chica, and worth	—	—	—	29
The carout, or half temin	—	—	—	14
The pataca chica	—	—	—	232
The pataca gorda	—	—	—	696

The Jews have the superintendency of the silver mint at Algiers (if not also that of the gold coin at Tremecen), for which they pay a good round sum yearly to the Dey &c.

We have already given some account of the rivers of this kingdom in the antient history of *Mauritania Tingitana*^b. But, as the limits of this differed, we shall here subjoin a short description of the principal ones belonging to this kingdom. 1. The first is the *Zha*, or *Ziz*, which runs across the province of Tremecen, and the desert of Angued, and falls into the Mediterranean near the town of Taberita, where it has the name of *Sirut*ⁱ. 2. *Haregol*, supposed the *Sign* of Ptolemy, comes down from the great Atlas, crosses the desert of Angued, and falls into the sea about five leagues from Oran. 3. *Mina*, supposed the *Chylematis* of Ptolemy, a large river which runs thro' the plains of Bathala, waters the city of its name, and falls into the sea near the town of Arzew^k (A). 4. The *Shellif*, *Zilef*, or *Zilif*, a large one, which, descending from mount Canaxeris, runs thro' some great deserts, the lake of Titteri, and the frontiers of Tremecen and Tenex, and falls into the sea a little above the town of Mostagan. This is supposed to be the *Crinatoph* of the antients, and is inhabited on both sides by *Arabs*, who are rich and warlike, and can bring two or three thousand horse into the fieldⁱ. 5. The *Celif*, supposed to be the antient *Carthena*, falls into the sea about three leagues west of Algier, after a short course of 18 or 20 leagues. 6. The *Hued al quivir*, supposed to be the *Nazabata*, or *Nafaba*, of the antients, and called by the Europeans *Zinganoi*^m, runs down, with a swift course, thro' some high mountains of Cuco and Abez, and falls into the sea near Bujeyah. It

ⁱ Vid. DE TASSY, *ibid.* BAUDRAND, CORNEILLE, & al. *sup. citat.* ^b Vol. xviii. p. 183. ⁱ MARMOL, Africa, t. 2. lib. v. c. 159. ^k *Ibidem*, *ibid.* ^m MARMOL, *ibid.* DAPPER, Africa, p. 159. SHAW's Travels, p. 34. ⁿ DAPPER, *ibid.* p. 160. DAVITY, Barbary, p. 167.

(A) This river, we are told town of Bathalab on the banks of it, which had been destroyed by the Moors, from a Marabout of that name, who had rebuilt the

abounds with variety of fish, which is nevertheless neglected, on account of the great plenty that is caught on those coasts (B). 7. *Suf-Gemmar*, or *Suf-Gimmar al Rumniel*, *Suf Ge-* which is supposed the *Ampsaga* of *Ptolemy**, hath its spring mar. on mount *Auras* on the confines of the *Atlas*, thence runs thro' some barren plains, and the fruitful ones of *Constantina*, where it receives some other rivers, which greatly increase its streams; thence, sliding northward along the ridges of some high mountains, it falls into the sea a little east of *Gigeri*. 8. The *Ladeg**, or *Ladeg*, runs down from mount *Ladog*. *Atlas* thro' part of *Constantina*, and falls into the sea a little eastward of *Bona*°. 9. *Guadi*, or *Guadil-Barbar*, springs *Guadil-* near the head of *Orbus*, or *Urbs*, in *Tripoli*, runs through *Barbar*. • *Bujeyah*, and falls into the sea near *Tabarea*. It is supposed by some to be the *Tusia*, or *Rubricatus*, of the antients°. We omit sundry others of less note; and as to the *Malva*, or *Maluja*, which divides *Algier* from the kingdom of *Fez*, we shall give an account of it when we come to speak of the latter. We do not find, however, that the *Algerines* are very solicitous to make the best advantage they might of those that belong to them, tho' many of them are large *them im-* enough, and of a sufficient extent, to be made serviceable *proved for* in carrying on a communication between the inlands and *commerce* the sea coasts. But their genius leads them too much to the piratic trade, to mind any such real advantage; and it is not unlikely, that their tyrannic government may deter the *Arabs*, and other nations seated along their banks, from trying to reap any other benefit from them, than that of *with the* ~~navigation~~ *sea coasts.* • *navigation*, and of conveying some of their commodities in flat vessels from one canton to another.

THE *Algerine* religion at present differs only from the *The reli-* *Turkish*, in cherishing a greater variety of superstitions. *gion of the* These *African* states had been converted from their antient *Algerines.*

* See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 123. SHAW's travels, p. 92, & seq. ° DAPPER, ubi sup. p. 160. P SAMSON, & DE LILLE, *Atlas geogr.* DAPPER, DAVITY, p. 167. SHAW, & al.

(B) We are told, that whilst that it carried off all the sand and mud; so that galleys and other vessels have, ever since, entered it with ease, where they lie safe from storms, and all winds, but that which blows from the north (2). • this river was in the hands of the Christians, the mouth of it, which is very narrow, was so choaked up with sands, that no vessel could come up to it; but that, in the year 1555, the great rains swelled it to such a height,

(2) *Marmol*, ubi sup. lib. v. c. 49.

idolatry & to the Christian faith, ever since the fourth century, when some *Sicilian* and *Puglian* lords, who had seized on some parts of *Barbary*, first introduced it there. And what a quick progress it made soon after, may be guessed from the number of *African* bishops, that met at the council of *Carthage*, ann. 411. amounting to 286, besides about 120 more that did not assise. But the church was soon after infected with arianism, and other heresies, by the *Vandals*, and other northern nations that passed thither from *Spain*. At length the *Arabs* brought in *Mohammedism*, which they propagated by the sword, about the beginning of the seventh century, and which hath taken such deep root ever since, that it hath reigned paramount to this day, and hath multiplied the old superstitions to a monstrous degree.

THE *Algerines* acknowledge the Koran as the rule of their faith and practice, but are generally remiss in their observance of it. They have three principal officers, that preside over all religious matters; viz. the Musti, or high priest; the Cadi, or chief judge in ecclesiastical causes, and such other matters as the civil and military power turns over to him; and the grand Marabout, or head of the Maraboutic order, which are a kind of eremitical monks, in such high veneration among them, that they bear an extraordinary sway not only in most private families, but even in the government. These three officers have their seats in the great Dowan next under the Dey, and on his right hand. There they are allowed to give their opinion in all difficult and important matters of the state, but without the liberty of voting with the rest of the members. As for those which relate purely to religion, they are usually referred to them; and their decisions, if unanimous, are looked upon as binding, and to admit of no farther dispute.

*Strange
supersti-
tions.*

A great deal of that superstition, which reigns throughout this kingdom, is, not without great reason, imputed to the pride, avarice, and knavery, of these Marabouts, whom they imagine to be inspired by some demons, and hold in such esteem, that they think it an honour to their women to be debauched by them. Those that travel are glad to provide themselves with one or more of them, as a sure guard against the most desperate banditti; so that they can cross the most dangerous woods and desarts, without fear of any insult from them. These Marabouts are known by

¹ See *Anc. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 195, & seq. ² *Ibidem*, *ibid.* Vid. & TASSY, *Algiers*, p. 88, & seq. & SHAW, *ubi sup.* p. 305, & seq.

their dress; they neither shave their heads or beards, and wear a plain long robe, with a short cloak thrown over it. Much the same regard they pay to their madmen, idiots, and lunatics, whom they esteem as inspired saints, and great favourites of God. They place great merit in frequent washings of their whole bodies, in the length of their fastings (their lents stretching between seven and eight months), in the care and feeding of beasts, and other such kind offices to them, as the most effectual means to wash away their sins. On the other hand, they deem it a sin and defilement to carry the Koran below their girdle, to let some of their water drop upon their cloaths, to write with a pen instead of a pencil, to have any printed books by them, or any pictures and statues either of men or beasts, to use bells, to let Christians, especially women, set foot into their mosks, to exchange a *Turk* for a Christian; to touch any money, or enter into any common business, or even to staunch blood, or dress a wound, before the morning prayers are ended; to strike the ground with their foot when they play at foot-ball, to eat snails, which they esteem sacred (C), to chastise their children in any other part than the soles of their feet, to sleep with their chamber door shut, and many more of the like ridiculous sort, not worth any farther notice. Some of a grosser kind they are charged with; as of ranking sodomy, and other unnatural vices, among their virtues; which, whether strictly true or not, their practice is a plain proof that they do not look upon it as a breach of their law, seeing it is a reigning vice amongst them, from which neither priests nor laymen of any rank are exempt. *Unnatural vices.*

THEIR dress is very plain and light, especially among those of the common sort. But the *Turkish* persons of distinction affect a more sumptuous apparel, not unlike that which is worn in *Turkey*, being mostly of fine cloth or silk; their vests richly flowered, their turbants rich, and curiously done up, their legs are covered with boots of fine shining leather. The women's garments differ only from those of *men and women.*

* LEQ, MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, TASSY, p. 89, & seq.

(C) Or rather, perhaps, as mischievous creatures, or malicious devils; for such, we are told, they are looked upon in the province of *Constantina*, by the superstitious vulgar, especially the women, who imagine that they create violent fevers, hæmorrhages, and other bodily disorders; in which notion they are encouraged by their knavish *Marabouts*, who undertake to cure them by counter charms, and make a gain of their superstitious follies.

The Sharifs distinguished by their green turbants.

the men in their lightness and length, their shifts and gowns reaching quite down to their feet; their hair is commonly tied behind, and adorned either with jewels, or common trinkets, according to their rank or circumstances, over which they wear a cap of silk or linen, more or less rich, as they can afford. They are likewise fond of adorning their necks, arms, and wrists, with collars and jewels, and their ears with large pendants. The Christians that are free, are allowed here to wear their own country dress; but the slaves, who are in much greater number, have nothing but a coarse grey suit, and a seaman's cap. The Sharifs, who are descended from *Mohammed*, have the privilege of distinguishing themselves by their turbants, which are of green silk; and the pilgrims, who have performed their voyage to *Mecca*, and are esteemed *Agi*, or saints, among them, do likewise wear some mark of distinction in their dress. As for that of the common people, it consists of a linen pair of drawers over their shirt, and an open white woollen jacket, with a kind of cape or hood behind, like that of our women's capuchins. Some wrap themselves up in a black mantle, especially when they go abroad, which reaches down to their knees ^a.

Way of travelling.

That of the women.

NONE but the viceroy, and some of his head officers, (and we may probably enough add, the chief members of the Dowan), are allowed to ride on horseback, at least in the metropolis, and other places of concourse. The rest must either ride on asses, or trudge on foot. As for the women, when they go abroad, they usually throw a thin linen veil over their faces, which they fasten to their girdle, and wrap an upper garment over their usual dress; so that they are only known by the slaves that attend them. Those that are of a higher rank are conveyed about in litters made of olive twigs, and covered with painted cloth; but so low, that they must sit cross-legged in them, yet wide enough to contain two persons in that posture. This way of travelling is much used in longer voyages, especially in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*; so that they can see without being seen, and travel free from wind, dust, and rain, as well as from the too great heat of the sun's beams ^b.

The Revenue of the Dey, &c.

THE Dey of *Algiers* pays no other revenue to the *Porte*, than that of a certain number of fine boys, or youths, and some other presents, which are sent thither yearly. His own income is variously computed; and, in all likelihood,

^a *Iidem*, *ibid.* vid. TASSY, p. 101. ^b Vid. GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 10. DAVITY, p. 194. DAPPER, p. 178. TASSY, p. 298.

rises and falls according to the opportunities he hath of fleeing and oppressing both natives and strangers; and this may be the reason why some made it heretofore amount to no more than 40,000 ducats, whilst others raise it to 400,000,* and others to 600,000. Doctor *Shaw* hath since computed the taxes of the whole kingdom to bring no more into the treasury than 300, 00 dollars; but supposes, that the eighth part of the prizes, the effects of those persons who die without children, joined to the yearly contributions raised by the government, presents from foreigners, fines and oppressions, may bring about as much more^c. *Tass*y hath endeavoured to give us a more express estimate of it, from its several branches, exclusive of casual presents, and a few other duties; the whole amount of which, according to him, arises to little more than 650,000 current piasters, which he ascribes to the avarice of the provincial governors, who remit to the public treasury but a very small part of what they raise on the subjects, and sink the rest into their own pockets^d. Thus both the Dey, and the officers who act under him, enrich themselves by the same laudable methods of rapine and fraud^e; so that it is no wonder if the rest of the people are so shamefully impoverished by heavy taxes, and the injustice and bribery which reign among those in authority; much less to find the same infection spread itself down to those of the very lowest rank, under such excessive indigence and oppression.

JUSTICE is no less venally administered here, with respect *Reigning* to the punishment of offenders, than it is with regard to *corruption* property; and is more partially so towards the *Mohammedan* and *op-* foldiery. These are seldom put to death for any crimes, *prelson*. except those of rebellion and revolt; in which cases they are *Punish-* either strangled with the bow-string, or hanged to an iron *ments*. hook. In lesser offences they either fine them, or stop their pay; and, if officers, reduce them to the rank of common soldiers, whence they may gradually raise themselves again to their former stations. Women guilty of adultery have a halter tied about their necks, with the other end fastened to a pole, by which they are held under water till they are suffocated. The bastinado is likewise used upon small offenders; and is given either upon the belly, back, or soles of the feet, according to the nature of the crime, or oftener to the pleasure of the Cadi or judge, who likewise appoints the number of strokes to be given, which amount sometimes to two or three hundred, according to the indulgence

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 314.

^d TASSY, p. 298, & seq.

^e Idem, ibid.

he can obtain from him, either by bribery or friends ^r. And tho', in many cases, the offender dies under them, for want of one of those powerful advocates, yet this punishment is neither reckoned capital, nor the judge called to an account for inflicting it in that inhuman degree. But the most dreadful of all punishments are those which they inflict on the Christians and *Jews* for certain offences; such as speaking against *Mohammed*, and his religion; for which they must either turn *Mohammedans*, or be impaled alive. Those who afterwards apostatize are still more severely tortured, being either burned or roasted alive, or thrown down from the top of the city walls, where they are caught hold of by iron hooks, some by the ears, others by the ribs, arms, or other parts of the body, and hang several days in the most exquisite torture; but this last, we are told, hath been set aside some considerable time. Killing a *Turk* in a scuffle, fomenting a rebellion against the state, and such like, are likewise punished with impaling or burning; and those slaves, who attempt to make their escape, are tortured to death in the most cruel manner, at the discretion of their masters (D). *Moors* found guilty of robbery, or burglary, have their right hand cut off, and hung about their necks, and are made to ride thro' the city on an ass, with their faces towards the tail. These retain among them the inhuman punishment of sawing in sunder, which is done by tying the condemned person between two broad boards of the same length and breadth, and beginning at the head.

^r *Iidem* *ibid.* Vid. & SHAW, ubi supra, p. 315, & seq.

(D) These, and other the like punishments, being inflicted according to the arbitrary will of the Dey, for offences against the state; by the Musti and his two colleagues, for those against religion; and by the masters on their run-away slaves; and not by virtue of any settled law, is, in all probability, the true cause of their having such a barbarous variety of them. For, besides those already mentioned, we read of their hanging those kind of offenders naked to a high gallows by two hooks, the one fastened quite thro' the palm of one hand, and the other thro' the sole of the opposite foot; in which miserable position they live in the utmost torture three or four days, and sometimes longer. They have likewise condemned some to be nailed hands and feet to a cross, a tree, or a wall, probably out of hatred to Christianity, tho' the pretence has been, that some Christians, in their neighbourhood, had inflicted that punishment on some *Mohammedans* whom they had taken prisoners.

A person "

A person of distinction, who had been ambassador at our British court, and well known to the officers of the navy, and garrison of *Gibraltar*, was, it seems, put to that cruel death not many years ago. Besides the Dey and great Dowan, in whom the supreme power was lodged, every province had a Basba, or Bey, who acted under the former; and a Dowan, with an Aga at the head of it, who acted under the latter; and by these all matters concerning their respective districts were regulated and decreed; but from them an appeal might be made to the viceroy Basba, and his council; and from these to the chief Aga, and the great Dowan. But since the Dey is become so despotic of late, we cannot be sure whether these inferior Dowans subsist still; we only learn, that he keeps three Basbas, or lieutenants, under him; one in the east, the second in the south, and the third in the west; who take a circuit every year thro' their respective governments, about the latter end of the summer, at the head of a small army, to gather in such taxes as the Dey thinks fit to impose upon them; and to punish them with military execution, if they refuse to pay; and this commonly takes up about four months time. All the formality that is used in the Dowan, and other courts, is hearing the complaint and witnesses; immediately after which they proceed to give sentence, there being neither lawyers nor attorneys to retard the administration of justice. When the women have any suit to them, they come veiled, and stand before the gates of the Dowan, crying aloud, and often, *Clar Allah*, that is, justice in God's name; and these come generally accompanied with a croud of their own sex, sometimes to the number of 100, or more, to back their petition with their joint cries. As for strangers, they have their own laws and judges among themselves; the Christians have their consuls, the Jews their presidents, and the Arabs, Moors, and others, their own chiefs; but the Dowan is still supreme judge, to which they appeal in all disputes that arise amongst them. As for those that arise between them and the government, they must apply to the proper officers of it for justice, or in dernier resort. There is a considerable number of merchants, of various nations, in the maritime towns; that of *Algier* is computed to have above 3000 families of them, who keep about 2000 open shops in the two chief markets; and the Jews quarter, which consists of about 250 houses, contains at least 8000

* SHAW, ubi sup. p. 316. ^h DIEG. DE HOEDO, topogr. Algier. MARMOL, GRAMMAY, lib. vii. c. 7. & 29. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSI, &c.

*Christian
slaves very
numerous.*

persons. Christian slaves are very numerous, not only in the metropolis, but in most parts of the kingdom, the corsairs continually bringing fresh supplies of them; insomuch that, in the year 1659, that city having equipped 22 or 23 vessels, they put between three and four hundred of those poor wretches in each of them, and yet had a sufficient number of them left to perform all their servile drudgery. The method the corsairs take with them, as soon as they are made prisoners, is to make a strict inquiry into their country, condition, and quality, which is often done by bastinadoing them, and their fellow prisoners, to extort a true confession, after which, having stript them almost naked, he orders them to be brought to the Dey's house, whither the *European* consuls repair, to examine whether any of them belong to their respective nations; and, if they were only passengers, to reclaim them. But, if they prove to have served for pay to any nation at war with that republic, they cannot be released without paying their full ransom. Of these the Dey hath the choice of every eighth man, and chuses those who have some useful trades, as surgeons mates, carpenters, &c.; because these sell for a greater price; and if of quality for a still greater. The rest, who are left to the owners and captors, are carried to the *Besistan*, or slave market, where a price is set upon them according to their profession, age, strength, and ability. From thence they are led to the court before the Dey's palace, and there sold by auction; and whatever is bid above the price set upon them belongs to the government. They have then an iron ring put round one of their ancles, and a short or long chain fastened to it, according as they suspect them more or less likely to attempt their escape. Among these, if any of them can procure a little money from their friends, or by way of charity, they are allowed to keep taverns, or rather wine cellars, paying a certain tribute to the Dey, according to the quantity they vend; for the *Algerines* allow themselves the use of wine; and these, and *Turks*, *Moors*, and Christians, will repair to, and dispense with, the meanness of the place, and its accommodations, for the sake of the liquor; so that many of these slaves become rich enough in time to purchase their liberty, tho' they are obliged, besides their tribute to the Dey, to contribute towards the maintenance of their poor diseased brethren, and of the Christian chapels that are allowed for their use. As for the rest, who have neither trades, nor can put themselves in some way of living, they are used with great severity, fare and work very hard all day, and at night are shut up in their baths, and other public prisons, where

*Every 8th
slave be-
long to the
Dey.*

*Some keep
wine cel-
lars, and
make good
gain.*

*Slaves
who have
no trades
cruelly
used.*

where they lie on the bare ground, without any other covering than the sky; so that they are sometimes almost stifled in water and mud. In the cities and towns they are put to the hardest and lowest kinds of labour; and in the country are made to draw the plough, instead of oxen or horses, and put to other such hard branches of agriculture; and are in this, and all other respects, treated with such uncommon inhumanity, as would be severely punished even among them, if exercised on the lowest rank of brutes. The women slaves are treated with less severity; and, if handsome and witty, are commonly made concubines, and sometimes gain a perfect ascendancy over their masters. But if any of them refuse to comply with their brutish lust, they spare no threats or cruelties to force them to it. And if application be made to the government in their behalf, as there have been signal instances of it, the common answer is, that they are their master's property; and that he is at liberty to put them to what use he thinks fit. Those that have neither youth, shape, or beauty, are usually consigned to some of the lower offices of the kitchen or family, according to their capacity; and are liable to be severely chastised for every slight miscarriage, especially in point of cleanliness, which they affect, in common with the *Turks*, to a very high degree, both with regard to their cloaths, table, furniture, utensils, &c. Popish priests and monks, that are slaves, are commonly used with more gentleness, because better supplied with money, by which they are exempted from labour and other hardships. But, whenever any Christian prince declares war against that government, they are the first who fall the unhappy victims of their resentment and cruelty.

THE *Algerine* women, especially those of the richer sort, *The women* lead an easy indolent kind of life, having little else to *men had* employ their time in, than in dressing, sitting and chatting *an idle* upon their sofas, or going to the baths, and visiting the *life* tombs of their near relations, or those of their famed saints, or, lastly, to take pleasure in their gardens and summer-houses, which, tho' not elegant, yet are adorned with variety of verdure, flowers, fruits, shady walks, and other delightful accommodations. And here their husbands spend most of their spare time with them in smoking, drinking of coffee, and other recreations¹. Altho' the Koran permits the men to have as many wives as they can maintain, yet the *Algerines* are contented with two, or at most three. They are seldom allowed to see them before marriage, but

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* vii GRAMMAR, ubi sup. c. 7.

*Their
weddings.*

have them described to them by some female relation, or go-between, who are intrusted to transact the conjugal bargain; which, when concluded on both sides, the bridegroom sends some presents of fruits, and other refreshments, to his future bride, invites and feasts her relations in the best manner, according to his rank; and with dancing and music after the *Moorish* taste. On the nuptial day she appears in all her richest ornaments; her hands, arms, and face, deeply laid on with red and white, seated on a sofa, surrounded by a number of other women, all likewise richly dressed. At night she is conveyed under a veil, canopy, or sedan, according to her rank, and attended with the same female retinue to the bridegroom's house, with drums and pipes, dancing, and other such rejoicings. Here he receives and conducts her to a private apartment, whilst the rest of the company stand without, waiting till the usual tokens of her virginity be brought out to them; which are no sooner received, than the same company carries them in triumph thro' the whole city or town, attended with the same music and dances; whilst her parents and relations congratulate themselves upon her being come off her trial with honour ^k.

Burials.

In their sickness each patient is always attended by persons of his, or her own sex; the physicians are commonly of the quackish kind, who cure chiefly by simples or charms; most of them are ignorant and indigent. When the sick person draws near to his end, they turn him towards the east, and cease not to pray to *Mohammed* for them till they expire. Immediately after they wash the dead body with warm water and soap, which done they deck it with a white shirt, a pair of white drawers and socks, and a silken robe and turbant. In that dress it is carried on a bier to the burying place, attended by the relations and friends, but without any particular mourning dress, except that the women cover their faces with a veil some few days, and the men wear their beards a whole month. They are three days in their houses without lighting any fire, during which time the near relations of the deceased make frequent visits to his tomb, and distribute bread and other alms to the poor. They likewise carry thither a kind of flint stones, commonly found along the sea shore, and throw them upon the grave, crying out *Celem Allah*, that is, light of God; which they accompany with loud outcries, and other tokens of grief; and if the deceased be of the richer sort, or a person of distinction, they commonly cause some encomium

^k *Iidem, ubi sup.*

to be engraven on his tomb stone, intermixed with some apostrophe texts of the *Koran*; otherwise the ceremony is much the same with that of the middle rank, excepting only that the bier is followed with a greater retinue of his domesticks, one of whom carries his sword, another his lance; the bearers are richly dressed: the procession, which is commonly preceded by one or more marabouts, or monks, is closed by a great number of horses and camels, and his tomb more sumptuously decorated ^d (C).

THE strength of this kingdom chiefly consists in their land and sea forces; but especially in the latter. They have but few cities of either note or strength, except the metropolis (of which more in the sequel) and still fewer garrisons, if any-deserve that name; these being mostly some inconsiderable forts either on their coasts, or some old castles in the inland parts, poorly fortified, and worse guarded, to keep the Moors and other nations in awe. We have already spoken of the *Janissaries*, or militia, who have engrossed all the power into their own hands, as being the only persons who have the privilege of chusing the Deys; and they must, therefore, be very cautious of disobliging so powerful and mutinous a body of troops. Besides these, the government entertains a number of others, mostly Moors, who attend the three grand Basbas, or lieutenants, under the Dey in their respective provinces, and assist them in gathering the taxes from the people, by which all the soldiery and officers, civil and military, are chiefly maintained. These taxes are, on account of the scarcity of coin, mostly received in kind, as grain, cattle,

^d GRAMMAY, ubi sup. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.

(C) These tombs, which are most commonly out of the cities or towns, are very neat and decent; and some of them are adorned with rich carvings, statues, and other ornaments: most of them have chapels, or oratories, to which both men and women repair, especially on *Fridays*, which is their sabbath. Near them are the cells of the marabouts, or monks, who are always there ready to assist their devotions, and receive their charitable alms for the dead.

Among those numerous monuments that are to be seen without the walls of the city of *Algiers*, is that of the famed lady *Cave*, daughter of count *Julian*, of *Bætica*, a woman of singular beauty, who being ravished by *Rothevic*, the last king of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, in revenge of which injury she invited the *Saracens* thither; who, with an army of 600,000 men, soon subdued the whole country, and held it in subjection during several centuries (3).

(3) See *Antient Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 523. V.d. Corneille, *feb Algiers.*

*The high
privileges
of the
Turkish
soldiers.*

*Their
mean ex-
tract.*

*Cologlies
instilled in
the ser-
vice.*

fruits, &c. But these troops, which some have computed to amount to 12,000, but, according to the latest and most accurate writers, only 2000^a, are neither allowed to vote in the Dey's election, nor any of those other privileges belonging to the *Fanissaries*, who have engrossed to themselves the whole power and management of the kingdom; and, on that account, stile themselves *Effendi*, or lords or nobles, and must be addressed by that title by all their inferiors, tho' most of them are originally men of the lowest and ignoblest rank and character: for as their deficiency is supplied by new recruits, which the Dey sends for every five or six years from the *Levant* by his corsairs, the greatest part of them are either men of broken fortunes, poor shepherds, and even out-laws. These no sooner have got caps on their heads, and shoes on their feet, and a pair of knives to their girdle (D), and been instructed by their fellow soldiers, than they begin to assume an air of grandeur, expect to be saluted by the title of *Effendi*, or your grace, and look upon the most considerable citizens as their slaves, and the consuls of other nations as their footmen*. The Dey hath, indeed, power, on any emergency, instead of these *Levant Turks*, to enroll the *Cologlies*, or *Coulolies*, who are the sons of such soldiers as have been permitted to marry at *Algiers*; but since these made once an unsuccessful attempt on the government, they have not been so much encouraged; and when they are, the state excludes them from the honour of being chosen Dey, Aga of the *Fanissaries*, or in any other considerable post†.

BESIDES the privileges already mentioned peculiar to the *Fanissaries*, they are allowed to have their quarters in some of the finest squares of their capital; and are maintained and served by slaves at the government's expence. Their stipends

^a SHAW'S Travels, p. 312, TASSY, MARMOI, DAPPER, & al. ub. sup. * SHAW'S Travels, p. 313. † Ibid. ibid.

(D) This is the original of a great part of those *Turkish* troops; from which, nevertheless, many of them have, by their valour and conduct, raised themselves to the highest posts in the government, and some of them even to the Deyship. Neither are they at all ashamed of their mean extract when raised ever so much above it, as we

may conclude from the noble reply which *Mahomed*, Dey, gave to the deputy consul of a neighbouring nation "My mother," said he, "sold sheep's feet, and my father neat's tongues; but would have been ashamed to have exposed to sale so worthless a tongue as yours" (4).

(4) Shaw's Travels, p. 313.

are duly paid every two moons; and they are allowed to buy their provisions one third cheaper than any other inhabitants. They not only treat the *Jews* and *Christians* with haughtiness and insolence, but the *Moors* also, though of the same religion with them; so that the wealthiest of these is forced to give the way to the meanest *Turkish* soldier (E). However, it is plain that they have not yet been able with all their forces to subdue them all, there being a much greater number of them, as well as of the *Arabs* (F), and other nations, who, either

(F) It is not a little surprising that these have descendants of the antient *Mauritanians*, who had so long signalized themselves by their bravery, both in their own country and out of it, should be so far degenerated as to suffer themselves to be tyrannized over by these *Turks*, considering they are almost an hundred to one more numerous than they. But it must be remembered, that they are mostly the offspring of those who had been driven out of *Spain* (5), *Italy*, *France*, &c. and had by that time exchanged their martial genius for the mercantile one, which they brought hither with them, and exercised in most maritime towns of the kingdom, where they chiefly reside; and provided they may become rich by traffick, can easily comply with the haughty humours of the *Turks*. And it is not unlikely that the hardships and cruelties they endured under their first tyrant *Barbarossa*, and some of his successors, (of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel) helped to complete their degeneracy; so that from that time they have lived in the greatest awe and dread of these lordly tyrants; who, looking upon all the rest of mankind as their

slaves, are every way qualified to the most hazardous and desperate exploits, both by sea and land, and have made themselves formidable by them to all the countries round about them. But we must observe here, that these *Moors* are hated and despised for it by those who live in the country villages, and retain their old martial spirit, as being the more genuine offspring of the antient *Mauritanians*. For these preferring a poor life, with some sort of freedom in their homely huts, to any advantages they might enjoy under a *Turkish* yoke, have ever been ready to embrace every opportunity that offered to shake it off; and tho' hitherto without success, yet not without full proofs, that it was more for want of means than bravery, that they suffered them to reign in their antient patrimony (6).

(F) These free *Arabs* being frequently confounded by our writers with the *Moors* before-mentioned, and no wonder, seeing the *Turks* call them both by the same name, it will not be amiss to give a short account of them here. We have already observed, that some of them are of the wandering kind, live in tents, and often shift their habi-

(5) See antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 225, & seq. (6) Laug. de Taffy's Hist. of Algiers, cl. 2. *Murmol*, ubi sup. vol. ii. *Dapper*, & al.

either by reason of their advantageous situation among inaccessible mountains and deserts, or their vicinity to other kingdoms,

tations for the convenience of their numerous flocks. Others follow their pasturage along the rivers and low grounds, and live in villages, build very neat houses, and carry on a gainful commerce. Both have their Cheyks, or chiefs, over them, by whom every adowar, or community, is distinguished. When the *Turks* made themselves masters of this kingdom, they reduced some of them under tribute, and others they obliged to live peaceably with them. But the former found means, whenever the *Algerine* armies came to levy their taxes, to bury their grain, and other effects, as were not portable, in caves, and other safe places, whilst themselves wandered about with their flocks till their departure; which obliges the troops to carry their own provisions with them, instead of those which they expected from their vassals: but if they have the good fortune to surprize them, they make them pay their tribute double.

Those that live in villages are mostly seated about *Mount Atlas*; and the wandering ones in the deserts, near the kingdom of *Tunis* and *Fes*, with which they carry likewise a large and gainful commerce, particularly in their fine horses, which they tame, breed, and manage with exquisite dexterity (7): these likewise live in handsome tents, go finely clad, especially their women; who, besides their other finery of collars, bracelets, &c. paint their faces, necks,

arms and legs, and their fingers ends.

All of them boast themselves to be the untainted offspring of the antient *Arabs*, and to have preserved their mother tongue in the greatest purity. They, generally, are great astronomers, poets, songsters, and pastoral writers; their Cheyks, themselves encouraging with honours and rewards those that excell in any of those arts, and many of them value themselves in being great proficient in them, and in their own writings, in praise of agriculture and the pastoral life, as well as of their victories, amours, and other the like favourite subjects; all which they cause to be collected into volumes, and taught in their schools.

They profess the *Mohammedan* religion, but with a strange mixture of superstition introduced into it by the marabouts. They take much delight in hunting of wild creatures, their country abounding with lions, leopards, bears, vipers, bears, porcupines, ostriches, elks, stags, wild asses, and cows, of a different kind from the common tame ones. These two last they esteem a delicious food; but their most usual diet is the milk of their flocks, honey, fruits, pulse, and now and then a lamb, or kid (8). They are warlike; but have no arms, like the *Algerine Turks*; their most common ones are the bow, short lance, and cutlass. Whenever they go to engage an enemy, they common-

(7) See *Leo Afric. lib. ix. Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Taffy, & al. See also Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 400, & seq.*

(8) *Ibid. ibid.*

doms, have not only bid a constant defiance to the *Turkish* yoke, but dare even venture to make frequent incursions into several territories that are wholly subject to it: and it is to suppress these, as well as to extort the taxes from the rest, that they keep such a number of second-hand forces in the three districts above-named; which are, however, mostly under the command of *Turkish* officers.

ALL these military officers, as well as the civil ones, from *Of the Al-* the Dey himself, down to those of the lowest rank, have no *gerine* other settled salary than the soldiers' closed pay, so called, *be-forces; and* cause it admits of no further augmentation, and amounts to *how paid* eighty *saims* for every two moons: they come and receive it duly at the hall of the Dowan: but every office hath some perquisites annexed to it besides, which rise and fall; such as arise from imports, exports, anchorage, the sales and ransoms of slaves, and other commercial duties. To these we may add certain donations, begun at first to gain some private ends, but since become into a settled custom; presents made to the Dey, or the Dowan, by foreign courts, or private persons to obtain a post, or favour, or mitigate a punishment. The person who pays the former salary is the only person that is excepted; his pay amounting to 2000 patacas for officiating in that post, which lasts but two months; after which he returns to his closed pay. Those *Turks* that have been raised to the rank of *Mazoul Aga*, or to such employments as exempt them from farther services, as well as those who have been wounded or maimed in the service, have their full pay continued as long as they live, and may settle in what part of the kingdom they please; but if they quit the service without any real cause, before they have attained to that rank, they forfeit half of theirs without recovery, which seldom happens, it being reckoned dishonourable to do so, as well as for a soldier to have his pay lessened for a misdemeanor. Every soldier, besides his pay (which is at first but eight *saims* every two moons, but augments regularly every year by one *saim*, or more, according to his merit, or

* MARMOL, vol. ii.

DAPPER, L. TASSY, c. 2 and 3.

ly carry with them their wives, children, and family, that the fear of their being made slaves may make them fight more courageously. Most of these tribes, of adowards, live independant from any but their own chiefs;

and are still a standing proof of that prediction made to *Ismael*, the son of *Abraham* (9), both with regard to his numerous posterity, and to their continuing free from any foreign yoke to the end of the world (10).

(9) *Genes.* xvi. 7, 12.

(10) See *Antient Hist.* vol. xx, p. 196. 259.

*their war-
like disci-
pline;*

*marching,
and en-
gaging.*

services, and must be paid in good current coin) is allowed to follow some handicraft, merchandize, or other calling he likes, or to live quietly at his own home; but must be ever in readiness to attend the service of the state when called to it^b. The discipline of the *Turkish* soldiery in time of war is generally strict and severe; and there is one thing in it that is highly commendable, that expressly forbids all kind of plundering during the whole time of engagement; which law is so strictly observed, that they leave that advantage to the *Moors* and slaves, as being not only below the dignity of a *Turkish* soldiery, but as an action that brands them with the utmost infamy. They have their cavalry, infantry, and artillery as we have in *Europe*. Their army is commanded by an *Aga*, who hath a *Chaya* and two *Chiaous* under him; all of them appointed by the *Dey*. The infantry all march on foot, officers and soldiers, except the *Bey*, *Aga*, and *Chaya*, each soldier carrying only his sabre and musket, without any other incumbrance; the state furnishing horses to every tent, which holds twenty fighting men, to carry their provisions and other conveniences. The cavalry is also distributed into tents of twenty men each, but is provided with a greater number of horses and *Moors*, for foraging and other services. The rout, or order of marching, is regulated by the commanding officers, till they come into an enemy's country; when the *Bey*, having ordered the horse and foot to unite, forms them into squadrons and battalions, each under their proper officers and standards. The van is composed of a body of infantry; the wings of two squadrons a little towards the rear; the rest of the infantry in two files, with the baggage in the middle; and two squadrons, forming two wings behind, together with a small battalion of foot behind them, make up the rear. When they engage, the baggage being left under a strong guard, a large body of infantry leads the van, with two wings of cavalry, supported by others at some distance. The main body makes the center, behind which both horse and foot retreat to rally; and out of which fresh men are draughted to reinforce the van. The post of the auxiliary *Moors* is near the wings, to attack as opportunity offers, or the *Bey* commands^c. One thing that makes them fight more desperately against the Christians than any other enemy is, that those that are taken by them are never exchanged, or redeemed, but are looked upon as dead to the state; and their effects accordingly seized by it, if they have neither children nor brothers to claim them^d. The *Algerines* are still more

^b TASSY, ub. sup. ch. 12 Hist. of Algiers, p. 205, & seq.
^c Ibid. ch. 13. ^d Ibid. ch. 21.

formidable at sea; and are, indeed, more so than any other power along the coasts of *Barbary*: and, though they are not allowed any concern in the affairs of state, nor in the election of the Dey, yet they are held in great esteem, on account of the cruises they continually bring, which are one main source of the public revenue, and a means of procuring them respect from the Christian powers for the security of their trade. Their navy consists commonly of at least twenty ships (G); *Number of* one only of which belongs to the government, and is assigned *ships*; to the admiral. She is styled the *Deylik* or royal ship, hath her particular store-houses, and is fitted out in the same manner as other ships. All the rest belong to private persons, and have likewise their store-houses well provided, the captains never failing of stripping their prizes of all the conveniencies they find in them. And it is no wonder that a people, who look upon all the rest of the world as their tributaries or slaves, should be so addicted to the piratical trade, and treat their captives with such arrogance and inhumanity as they do. It *bow e-* must, however, be considered, that, as their country affords *quipped,* them but little timber, except what is fetched as far as from *and kept* the wilds of *Biledulgerid*, or the province of *Bujeyah*, they content themselves with making their keels and bottoms with it, and supply the insides and upper-works with the fragments of the prizes they make, which they carefully break up to save both timber, nails, and every thing that is of use; by which means they can build a very swift vessel at a small charge.

It may, indeed, appear surprising, that in a country where *bow sup-* there is so little timber, no masts, sails, cordage, anchors, *plied with* pitch, and other necessaries, so great a number of ships can *naval* be maintained at so little trouble or cost; but besides these *stores.* supplies from their captures, our *English* consul, who is, it seems,

(G) The fathers of the trinity, who go thither to redeem Christian captives, make them amount to twenty-five, from eighteen to sixty guns, besides a great number of smaller vessels, or row-gallies, which they equip for cruizing in the summer. But these being commonly manned with *Moors*, made desperate by their misery, and quite unskilled in the working of them, either founder, or are stranded, if they escape being taken; so that

scarcely one half have the good luck to come back (11).

As for the twenty large ones, though their number may be increased as occasion serves, it is not suffered to be lessened; but as soon as any one is taken, or sunk, the owners are indispensibly obliged to fit out another with all convenient speed, of equal bulk and strength, that their navy may suffer no diminution (12).

(11) *Tassy, Hist. of Algiers, ch. 14.*

(12) *Ibid. ibid. & c. ult.*

the only merchant of our nation here, and carries on a more considerable trade than any other person, furnishes them with powder, balls, bombs, fire-arms, anckors, cordage, and all other naval stores; and takes in return corn and oil for the service of the garrison of *Gibraltar*, as it did of that of *Port Mahon*, when in our possession: no nation being allowed to carry corn out of *Algiers* but our own^c; neither need one wonder they should pay so singular a regard to us, considering the constant supply we send among them of what is most wanted (H); and which is still a more cogent motive, thinking, that if they should give cause for a rupture with us, our cruizers would easily stop all their piratical trade from stirring out. So that we need not fear their paying us a superior regard, as long as we are in possession of either of those important places. However, as it often happens, that reason and argument fail in this politic and tumultuous court, the only remedy is, at such junctures, to ply it well with money, castans, gold watches, and such like presents: for it is an old tried observation, that give a *Turk* money with one hand, and you may pluck out his eyes with the other^d.

THE captains of those cruizers, who are generally settled officers, though excluded, as we have observed, from matters of state, have commonly a share in their ships, if they be not the sole owners of them, and are accordingly allowed to fit

^c TASSY'S Hist. of Algiers, ch. 14, &c.
Travels, pag. 318.

^d SHAW'S

(H) The goods imported into *Algiers* by us, and other *Europeans*, are wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, linen and woollen cloths, spices, brasse, copper, and tin wares, quicksilver, ammunition, and sea-stores of all sorts; cochineal, copperas, sugar, brasil and redwood, alum, galls, vermillion, sugar, brandy, and other spirits, opium, gums, dried fruits, paper, and other less considerable articles.

In return for which we receive fine wool, ostrich feathers, skins of wild and other beasts, dates, and christian slaves.

The duties paid for goods imported by *Turks*, *Moors*, *Jews*,

&c. are $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and those for exportation $2\frac{1}{2}$. But our nation, according to the treaty concluded with them, *an.* 1703, pay but 5 per cent. on goods imported, and 2 per cent. on those exported; which favour is likewise extended, we are told, to the *French* nation. Even money imported pays 5 per cent. except that for the redemption of slaves, which pays but 3 per cent. Wine, and other spirits imported pays four piasers per piece; and the company of the *Bastion de France*, a little island the *French* are possessed of on the coast of *Algiers*, is, we are told, allowed to send two vessels thither every year duty free (13).

(13) Hist. of Algiers, ch. 18, & seq.

out when they please, cruize where they will ; but with this *Cruizing* restriction, that they shall attend the service of the state when *captains* called to it, either to transport men or provisions, follow the *under some* Dey's orders, when commanded to any particular cruize, or *restrict-* even to serve the Grand Signor ; and all this at the owner's *ians.* charges. Another restraint they are under is, that they have an *Aga Bachi*, or some old experienced officer appointed by the Dey to act as Aga, without whose consent they can neither give chase, nor return, nor even punish sailors. At their arrival home, this Aga makes his report how the captain hath behaved ; who, if found guilty of any misdemeanor, is sure to be punished for it ; witness *Mesmorto*, who, though afterwards Dey, received 500 bastinadoes ; and was immediately dispatched upon a new cruize to retrieve his character. In other respects they are allowed to sail whither they will, far and near ; and we are told that some have gone as far as *Newfoundland*, and that others have ventured to take prizes in the *Texel* ^f (I).

WHEN these cruizers are returned, they must give an ac- *Prizes* count of their success to the government, which claims an *how dis-* eighth part of all the prizes, slaves, cargo, and vessel ; the *posed of.* rest being divided amongst the proprietors and ship's company in such proportions as are agreed between them : whatever is found on board these prizes that can fit their purpose they make use of, without troubling themselves whether it be proportionable or no. They do the same by the artillery they take, and range their guns without regard to their bigness, or strength of their vessel. They are no less careless about the proportion of their yards, anchors, cables, and other rigging, &c. still more so in their other accommodations and provisions, having neither hammocks or chests on board, nor any other food but biscuit, water, a little rice, and such like *Algerine* hard fare ; all which is slovenly dressed and eat. They even *cruizers* value themselves upon despising the nicety of the Christians, *nafty and* and on their being able to carry on their piratical trade with- *slovenly.*

^f *Iid. ibid.*

(I) Their usual cruizes on the *Mediterranean* are in the freights of *Gibraltar*, the capes of *Molinos*, *Gat Palos*, *Corfa* and *Cassa*, *St. Martin*, and *St. Sebastian* ; the islands of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica*, and *St. Peter* ; *Genoa* river, the coasts of *Naples*, *Ecclsiastical State*, *Sicily*, *Trapan*, and the *Adriatic*. *Guilp.*

On the ocean to *Cadis*, *La-gos*, *Capes St. Vincent*, *la Roche*, and *Finisterra* ; the *Canarie*, *Madairas*, and *Azores*. But when any of the enemies ships are cruizing in the *Mediterranean*, they commonly confine themselves to the coasts of *Portugal* and the *Canaries* (14).

(14) *Id. ibid.*

out those conveniencies *. If a captain is renowned for bravery, or, which is the same with them, for being fortunate, his ship is so crouded with sailors, that he is obliged sometimes to turn a good number of them on shore : but if he bears a different character, either for courage or fortune, he labours under a scarcity of hands, and is frequently forced to resign. One thing is remarkably singular in these *Algerine* cruizers, viz. that whatever passengers are in the ship at the taking of a prize, they are entitled to a share, let them be of what country or religion they will, upon a notion, that probably, by some secret direction of Providence, their success might be owing to some of them. We shall close this article of their sea forces with an account of their navy, as it was taken by the author above quoted, A. D. 1724 (K). 'I he reader

g Ibid. ibid.

(K) Ships Name	Captains.	Guns	W eight of Metal	Where built	when built
1 The Fountain, or Devlik Ship -	{ Rekar Rais, ad miral - - - }	52	12 8 6	Algiers	1722
2 The Orange Tree	Mehemed Rais - -	50	12 8 6	Algiers	1722
3 The Great Antelope - - -	{ Haga Hali Rais Ben Must Cheya }	40	12 8 6	Algiers	1721
4 The Golden Sun	{ Mehem Rais, cal- led Black Beard }	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1717
5 The Sun Flower	Mustapha Rais - -	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1713
6 The White Horse	Soliman Rais - -	44	12 8 6	Algiers	1717
7 The Red Rose -	Beki Rais Hoger - -	38	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
8 The White Lion	Mustapha Rais Maegri	38	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
9 The Pearl - -	Assan Rais - - -	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1715
10 The Fortune -	Hamet Rais - - -	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1719
11 The Half Moon	{ Soliman Rais de la Pantolera - }	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1706
12 The Little Antelope - - -	{ Mahomet Rais, called Cazas }	32	8 6 4	Algiers	1706
13 The Hare -	- - -	-	-	-	-
14 The Genoese Carrack - -	{ Hali Rais, call'd Sevillana - }	26	0 6 4	Italy	-
15 The Galley - -	Mahmout Rais -	22	0 6 4	Holland	-
16 The Oporto Galley, or Deylik Pink }	Malimet Gayatou -	16	0 6 4	Holland	-
17 The Neptune -	Mu'tapha Rais Cherif	22	0 6 4	Engl.	-
18 The English Carrack - - -	{ Seraf Rais, cal- led Caid - }	16	0 6 4	Engl	-
19 The Marv - -	Aboul Kader Rais -	14	0 6 4	Holland	-
20 The Golden Rose }	{ Mustapha Rais, called Caratero }	10	0 6 4	Italy	-
21 The Town of Matiron - }	Noorouli Rais -	14	0 0 4	{ Cita- lonia	-
22 The Little English Carrack - }	Nems Rais - -	12	0 0 4	Engl.	-
23 The Polack - -	Hogri Me'ri Rais -	14	0 6 4	Italy	-
24 The Cabira - -	Osman Rais - - -	10	0 6 4	Portug.	(15)

reader will find it in the margin; only it will be proper to apprise him, that though several of those ships ordnance are said to carry twelve, eight, and six pounders, it doth not mean that all their main battery are twelve pounders. The *Deylik's* ship only having her lower tier of twelve pounders, the second of eight, and six pounders on her quarter deck and fore castle: whilst the lower tier of most of the others hath or y twelve pounders, and some more or less under that size, because they take the greater part of them from their prizes, and commonly range them without regard to their proportion. All the ships officers from the *Rais*, or captain, down to the gunners and quarter-masters, must be either *Turks*, or at least *Officers Couloulis*; the *Moors* not being admitted to come upon the *must be* quarter-deck, or into the gun room, unless sent for by the *Turks*. *Rais*, or some inferior officer. But the Christian slaves are allowed to act as seamen, or under officers, and to have a share or more according to their behaviour and abilities ^b.

^b *Ibid. ibid. ch. 14.*

* This account, however, if right, greatly exceeds that which another author gives of the state of it but eight years after, that is, in 1732, which is a plain proof of its vast decay since 1724. We shall give it in his own words. •

2. The naval force of *Algiers* hath been for some years in a declining condition. If we except their row boats and brigantines, they had, *an* 1732, only six capital ships of the line, from 36 to 50 guns; and, at the same time, had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable discipline, where every private soldier disputes authority with his officer,

are some of the principal reasons why so small a number of vessels are fitted out, and why so few persons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want, likewise, of experience, with the few engagements they have lately been concerned in at sea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if, by proper discipline and encouragement, they should once more assume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readiness such a quantity of naval stores, as will put them in a capacity of making considerable augmentations to their fleet; though at present we find them troublesome enough to the trade of *Europe* (16).

(16) *Shaw's Travels*, c. v, pag. 7.

S E C T. II.

The Division of the Kingdom of Algiers.

The division of the Algerine kingdom,

into three districts, or governments.

WE have already taken notice that this country hath undergone a great variety of divisions, according to the different lords that have ruled over it, such as *Romans, Christians, Arians, Saracens, and Turks*, which hath occasioned that great difference we meet with in those authors that have written at different times upon that subject. The largest of which was into the eighteen provinces we have lately given the names of, and which was made soon after that of *Algiers Proper* became the chief province of that kingdom; or, perhaps, rather after its putting itself under the protection of the *Turks*. But after the Deys of it became powerful enough to be in some measure independant from them, they contracted it into three districts, or governments, formerly mentioned; *viz* eastern, western, and southern. As, therefore, those eighteen provinces have very few towns, except their capitals, and most of these very inconsiderable, we shall content ourselves with giving our readers what is most remarkable in each of them, as we proceed with our description of those three governments; and of the province of *Algiers Proper*, as being in all respects the most considerable now of the whole kingdom, referring them to the map of the kingdom for their respective boundaries and situation, with respect to each other.

THE eastern, called also the *Levantine government*, or *Beylük*, contains the towns of 1. *Bona*; 2. *Constantina*; 3. *Gigeri*; 4. *Bujeyah*; 5. *Steffa*; 6. *Tebef*; 7. *Zamoura*; 8. *Biscara*; and 9. *Necanz*; in all which the *Turks* have their garrisons: besides, it includes the two antient kingdoms of *Couco* and *Labez*, though independant from the *Algerine* government; to whose forces their country is inaccessible, and living under that of their own *Cheyks*, or chiefs, chosen by each of their adowars, or hords. To these we may add a *French* factory at *Calio*, under the direction of the company of the *French* bastion.

THE western government hath the towns of 1. *Oran*, now the residence of the Bey; 2. *Tremecen*, which enjoyed the advantage, whilst *Oran* was held by the *Spaniards*; 3. *Mastogan*; 4. *Tenez*; and 5. *Secrelly*, with its castle and garrison.

As for the southern, or third government, it hath not so much as a town, village, or even house; all the inhabitants

* See before, p. 181, & alib. pass. See also MORGAN, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

living in tents, which obliges the Bey and his forces to be always encamped. Besides the towns mentioned under the two former articles, there are some others we omit, as poor and inconsiderable, without any fort or garrison, and a great number of others that now lie in ruins ^b.

THE eastern, or *Levantine* government, is by far the most considerable of the three, not only in wealth, strength, and extent, but in the number and goodness of its cities; of which we shall now give some account, reserving the description of the metropolis for another section. The first is that of *Bona*, once the capital of the province under the kingdom of *Constantina* of its name, and supposed to be the ancient *Hippo*, once the seat of the great *St. Austin*, and a sea port, built by the *Romans* (A). It was formerly rich and populous, but is now poorly built, and thinly inhabited, and hath scarcely any traces of its former grandeur, except the ruins of a cathedral, or, as others guess, of a monastery, built by that prelate, about three miles distance from it; among which is a marble statue, said to be his; but so mutilated and effaced, that no traces of either features or dress are remaining. Near these ruins is a famed spring, called by his name, much resorted to by *French* and *Italian* sailors, who come to drink of its water, and pay their devotion to the maimed statue, which becomes daily more so by their striving to break off some splinter, or scrape some part of it by way of relick. *Bona* was taken by the pirate *Barbarossa*, and joined to his new kingdom of *Algiers*, but was soon after recovered by its

^b MARMOL *Afric* lib. vi. TASSY, lib. i. c. 9 SHAW'S *Travels*, c. i. p. 6. * See *Antient Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 236.

(A) The inhabitants, however, deny it to be the ancient *Hippo*, which had been so often taken, retaken, and destroyed by the wars; and pretend it to have been since built at the distance of two or three miles from it with the old ruins, and called *Baleed el Uged*, from a sort of trees of that name, that grow in great numbers in its neighbourhood; which is, indeed, the most probable of the two (1).

The remains of the ancient *Hippo*, we are told, by an accurate examiner of them (2), spread themselves over a neck of land between the rivers *Boo-jemab*, over which is a bridge of *Roman* workmanship, and the *Ses-bonse* on a flat land, often overflowed, but gradually raiseth itself to a considerable elevation. The ruins are about half a league in circuit, and consist only of broken walls, cisterns, and the fragments of the convent above-mentioned.

(1) *Marmol Afric* lib. vi. c. 6. *Tassy, Alg* et. lib. i. c. 9. *Shaw's Travels*, c. vii. p. 96, & seq.

(2) *Dr.*

former owners the *Tunisens*, and as soon lost again by them. It is commanded by a little fort, in which is a garrison of about 300 *Turks*, under the command of an Aga, who is also governor of the town. The road for the ships is good for nothing before the town (B), but a little farther west, towards the *Genoese* fort, it is very deep and safe. The country about it, and in great part of the province, abounds in corn, fruit, and bread, great quantities of small and large cattle, but are much exposed to the incursions of the plundering *Arabs* ^c.

Constantina described.

2. *Constantina*. the *Cirta Julia*, and *Cirta Numidæ* of the *Romans* ^d, and since called *Constantina*, in honour of a daughter of *Constantine* the great, who rebuilt it with great magnificence ^e, and now by the *Moors* *Cusuntin*, or *Cucutin*, is the capital of the province of its name, and the only one remaining of it. It is commodiously situated about forty-eight miles from the sea, upon a kind of peninsular promontory, inaccessible on all sides, except on the south-west. 'Tis computed about a mile in circumference, inclining a little to the southward, but ending to the northward in a precipice of at least 100 fathom perpendicular, but yielding a most beautiful prospect from a great variety of mountains, vales, and rivers, which lie before, and at some distance from it ^f. The town is well fortified, and abounds with noble relics of antiquity, which give one an idea of its pristine grandeur, when it was the capital of *Alauntania Cæsariensis*, such as a great variety of cisterns, aqueducts, porticos, gates, triumphal arches, &c. of curious stone and workmanship, we have no room to dwell upon. The bridge over the river *Rumel* is likewise a noble piece of art; a little below which is a natural curiosity no less worth admiring; viz. that river running through a subterraneous passage made in the solid rock, designedly laid open in several places for the convenience of drawing water, and cleansing the channel; and, after running about a quarter of a mile in a northern direction, falls from

Situation.

Antiquities.

Subterranean channel.

^c MARMOL, TASSY, & SHAW, ubi sup. ch. viii. p. 961, & seq.

^d See Ancient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 117.

^e PROCOPIUS in Vit.

Constant.

^f SHAW'S Travels, ch. viii. p. 126.

(B) Doctor *Shaw* tells us, so unsafe and incommodious, that the continual discharging of though it might, with proper ballast into the road, and the care and encouragement, be so neglect of cleansing the port, far remedied, as to make the which came to the very walls, is town one of the most flourishing the cause of both being become in all *Barbary* (3).

its subterraneous course into a large cascade. The highest *Large cascade* part of the city being just over that place, they continue still *cade*. to throw their great criminals thence into it. Near this cascade is likewise a fine transparent spring of hot waters, which *A hot* swarms with tortoises, which the ignorant women fancy to be *spring* devils, and to be the authors of all their diseases ^g. In this city the Bey of the eastern government hath his residence, *Bey's residence* and maintains a guard of 300 *Spahis*, or *Turkish* horse, and *dence and* 1500 *Moors*, at his own charge; these troops not being on *garrison*. the *Algerine* establishment ^h. The inhabitants are wealthy *Inhabitants on* and proud yet brave. The adjacent mountains, which traverse this district, are inhabited by a warlike, yet civilized *the mountains* people, who follow several sorts of trades, besides furnishing *a* this and other towns with variety of fruits and provisions. *brave people* They are so numerous as to be able to raise a body of 30 or *ple*. 40,000 men upon any dislike taken at the Bey of *Constantina*, or any other occasion. One misfortune is, that they have no fire arms, but only lances and arrows; and another, that they are often at war with each other, and chiefly on account of their wives; who, when they are weary of their husbands, or ill used by them, commonly flee from one ridge to another in quest of a new one, and carry off with them what jewels, coin, and other valuable effects they can lay their hands on ⁱ.

Near the city, towards the sea coast, are the ruins of *Colo*, a *Roman* colony, with a castle on a very high rock, and a garrison under an *Agri's* command; adjacent to which is a small *French* factory, protected by the Dey; the factor of *French* which deals with the *Moors* for hides, wax, and wool. The *factory*. mountains of *Colo* abound with a large and fierce kind of monkies, which the *Moors* have the art to catch at any time, but never do it, unless they are sure of getting a good price for them. On the same coast are seen the ruins of the ancient city of *Stora*, which hath a convenient bay, where the *Stora*. *Genoese*, and after them the *French*, began their *African* trade, which hath been since improved by the company of the *French* bastion.

Constantina continued the residence of kings ever since the *Arabian* conquest of *Africa*, till an. 1520, when *Barbarossa* being become master of *Algiers* and *Colo*, the inhabitants, in order to recover their commerce, which had been ruined by it, submitted to him, and have continued to be an *Algerine* province ever since ^l.

^g LEO AFRIC lib. v. p. 209. SHAW, ub. sup. ^h TASSY'S Alg lib. 1 c. 9. ⁱ DAPPER Afric. p. 187. TASSY, ub. sup. ^k lid. ibid.

3. *Gigeri* described. 3. *Gigeri*, *al. Jigel*, the *Igilili* of the antients*, but now only a poor village, consisting of about 1500 mean houses, and commanded by an old small fort, with a garrison, which lies on the sea coast between *Bona* and *Bujeyah*, about fifteen miles from each, and a little beyond the cape that formeth the eastern boundary of the gulph of *Bujeyah*, or *Bujeiah*, to whose kingdom it formerly belonged. The fort is situate on a high steep rock, projecting into the sea, and by its position forming a two-fold harbour, one on the east, and the other on the west. The inhabitants being mostly of the wandering kind, this territory hath neither town nor any other village.

Territory. WITHIN this precinct, which borders on the *Numidian* deserts, stands the famed *Mount Araz*, stretching itself between twenty-five and thirty leagues in length from north to south, and every where very difficult of access. The inhabitants of it are a race of *Arabs*, called *Cabylezen*, a warlike people, who made this ridge the last refuge of their liberty, and have preserved it ever since by the natural strength of their precipices. Before the year 1664 they used to traffick with the *French* factory at *Gigeri*, and brought thither hides, corn, and wax. But a war breaking out at that time between *France* and *Algiers*, the duke of *Bedford* being admiral, he was ordered to build a fort on the sea coast, to be a check upon those *Arabs*. The work was no sooner begun than they came down, with a design to attack him, and obliged him to put to sea; which he had no sooner done, than they beat the *French* out of *Gigeri*, demolished their fort, and made 400 of them prisoners, besides those that were slain in the fight; since which time they have plundered all strangers that are wrecked upon those coasts, and make slaves of them without distinction, even though they belong to nations in friendship with *Algiers* and the *Porte*. The *Mohammedans* are the only ones that are discharged, and sent home with a small *viaticum*: neither can the *Dey* save any of the wreck to the owners by his authority, or by any other way than a friendly composition¹. We may have occasion to give some instances of these depredations when we come to the historical part. But this coast is almost the only one in the kingdom where they cannot be suppressed, by reason of the inaccessible situation of the inhabitants; in other parts the government takes particular care of those nations that are in friendship with it; and, if any of their ships chance to be treated in the same hostile way, a complaint of it is no sooner brought before the *Dey*, but the strictest enquiry is made after the offenders;

Arabs
who inhabit the high mountains;

drive the French out of Gigeri; since which time they have plundered all strangers that are wrecked upon those coasts.

* See *Ancient History*, vol. xviii. p. 126.

¹ *MARMOL*, lib. v. ch. 12. *DAPPER* *Afric*. p. 185, *TASSY*, ub. sup.

who,

who, if caught, are not only made to refund the ill-gotten plunder, but severely punished according to the nature of the crime.

4. *Bugia*, or, as the *Africans* write it, *Boojeiah*, the supposed *Saldæ* of *Strabo* (C), built by the *Romans*^m, and once the capital of a kingdom of its name, hath a handsome sea port, formed by a narrow neck of land running into the sea: a great part of whose promontory was formerly faced with a wall of hewn stone; where was likewise an aqueduct, which supplied the port with water, by discharging it into a capacious basin; all which lie now in ruins; and the tomb of *Seedy Busgree*, one of the tutelar saints of the place, is the only thing remaining that is remarkable in it.

As to the city itself, it is built upon the ruins of a large one, at the foot of a high mountain that looks towards the north-east; a great part of whose walls run up quite to the top of it; where there is also a castle that commands the whole town, besides two others at the bottom, built for a security to the port. The inhabitants drive a considerable trade in plough-shares, mattocks, and other such iron tools, which they manufacture from the adjacent mines. The town is watered by a large river, which *Marmol* and *Dapper* call *Huet el Quibir*, or the great river; and which is supposed to be the *Nasava* of *Ptolomy*ⁿ, as it empties itself into the sea a little to the eastward, after it hath received a great number of rivulets into its stream (D). The place is populous, and hath a considerable

^m Ibid. *ibid.* SHAW, ub. sup. ch. vii. p. 89, & seq. See also Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 126. ⁿ DAPPER, *ibid.* SHAW *ibid.* p. 90, & seq.

(C) This supposition we have formerly ventured to dissent from (4), on account of the distance which the *Itinerarium* computes to be between *Saldæ* and *Igilgili*; viz. 93 miles: whereas *Boojeiah* is but thirteen leagues from *Fijel*, the supposed *Igilgili* of the *Romans*. Nothing is more uncertain than these kind of conjectures at the best; yet, as so many authors seem to concur in them, it cannot be taken amiss of us, if we acquaint our readers with them, as well

as with the difficulties that may be raised against them, and leave it to every one's judgment to determine on either side.

(D) *Marmol*, who likewise calls it *Zinganor* (5), adds, that whilst it belonged to the Christians, the mouth of it was so choaked up with mud and sand that no vessel could come into it. But that after *Salbarres* had made himself master of it, the rains that fell in great abundance in that year did so thoroughly clear it up, that some of their

(4) *Conf. Antient Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 126, and *Shaw's Travels*, p. 89, & seq.
(5) *Marmol Afric. lib. v. ch. 9.*

market. a considerable market for iron work, oil, and wax, which is carried on with great tranquillity; but is no sooner over than the whole place is in an uproar; so that the day seldom concludes without some flagrant instance of rapine and barbarity^o.

5. *Steffa*; 5. STEFFA, called by *Marmol Testelza*, and by *Grammay Distefa*, is situated on the south of *Bujeyah*, about twenty leagues from it, and fifteen from the sea, on the road from *Fez* to *Tunis*^p, in a fruitful valley, which extends itself as far as the mountain of *Labez*. It was destroyed by the *Arabs*; so that it retains nothing now of its pristine grandeur, but the sad remains of its once spacious and stately walls of square stone of a prodigious size; and the inhabitants, amounting to about 300 families, are as miserable and poor as any under the *Turkish* dominions.

6. *Tebef*. 6. TEBER hath been likewise a large and flourishing city under the *Romans*, but lies now in as poor a condition as *Steffa*^q.

7. *Zarora*. 7. ZAMORA, the supposed *Azama* of *Ptolomy*, is sunk as low as any of the two former, through the *Turkish* tyranny, and is commanded by a fort built by the *Algerine* government: it is, nevertheless, reckoned one of the most fertile places in all *Barbary* for corn and pasturage. It hath a market every *Monday*, to which the *Arabs*, &c. resort in great numbers to sell their commodities^r.

8. *Biscara taken by the Algerines*, 8. BISCARA belonged to the province of *Zib* in *Numidia*, which lies south of the kingdom of *Luluz*, but the *Algerines*, in their annual inroads to carry off slaves, made themselves masters of it, to open a more easy passage into the southern provinces. It retains still some remains of the ancient city that gave name to this territory, and hath a garrison to keep the inhabitants in awe, who lead a wandering life in tents, and are they who usually bring lions, tigers, and other wild beasts, which they have the art of taming, for sale to strangers. The city of *Algiers* is never without a great number of *Biscarans*, who are employed in the hardest and lowest offices, as cleansing of streets, emptying of vaults, sweeping of chimnies, and carrying of burdens; and when they have got about ten or twelve crowns by this drudgery, they return to their country, where they are respected as worthy men, on account of the scarcity of coin among them, they being

its inhabitants miserable slaves.

^o SHAW, *ibid.* ^p MARMOL, *ibid.* ch. 52, DAPPER, TASSY, &c. ^q MARMOL, *ibid.* ch. 53. ^r *Ibid.* ch. 54.

largest vessels have been able to safe in it from storms, and from enter it ever since, and ride every wind but the north.

reckoned

reckoned the most miserable of all the *Arabian* tribes in this kingdom.

THE last place in this eastern government worth notice is *Necaux*, reckoned one of the pleasantest towns in *Barbary*, ^{cauz a de-} situate about twenty leagues south of *Steffa*, near a pleasant ^{ligbtful} river, whose banks are adorned with a great variety of trees, ^{town, but} and other delightful verdure. The figs here are esteemed the finest in all *Afric*; and when dried are bought up far and near at a good price. The territory on each side is fertile in corn, and other conveniencies of life. In the town stands a most stately mosque; and not far from it a large college, well endowed, for the instruction of the *Turkish* youth. The inhabitants are civil and sociable; and the women very beautiful, the houses neat, though but one story high; and the gardens adorned with all sorts of fruits and odoriferous verdure. It had hospitals, and a variety of baths, and other conveniencies; all which dwindle gradually through the tyranny of the *Turkish* government.[†] ^{running into decay.}

THE territory of *Bujyah*, like that of *Gigeri*, is encompassed with high mountains, whose cantons are distinguished by the names of *Beni jubar*, *Auraz*, and *Labez*, and are inhabited by some of the most antient tribes of *Arabians*, *Moors*, and *Saracens*. The greatest part of them have been used, from time immemorial, to distinguish themselves by a cross marked on one of their hands; and some, out of a greater regard to that custom, will have one stamped on each cheek; but can give no other reason for it than a constant tradition from their ancestors (E).

The mountains of *Beni-jubar* lie about twenty miles south of *Bujyah*, and extend themselves along the coast a considerable way, both in length and breadth, and are part of the

* TASSY, *ibid.*

† MARMOL, *ub. sup* ch 55 DAPPER'S

Algiers.

(E) It is probable, however, that this custom began when the *Vandals* became masters of this country, who treating the Christians every where with particular lenity, induced them either to become Christians, or at least to endeavour to pass for such, by assuming that symbol of their religion, shewing of which might be a kind of safe-

guard against the insults of the ravaging soldiers; so that the signature is still preserved among them, though the occasion of it is quite forgot (6), unless we will suppose, that they really became Christians under the *Vandal* government, and retained the cross as a kind of superstitious relic or charm, after they turned *Mohammedans*.

(6) Dapper's *Algiers*, Tassy, *h' i. c. 9.*

little *Atlas*. They are very steep and rugged, and from them flow a great number of springs. They abound with fruit-trees, especially walnuts and figs; produce plenty of barley, with which the inhabitants feed their numerous herds. The people are warlike, and live under a chief of their own: some of them are excellent archers: and the whole ridge hath here and there villages, inhabited by the tribe or people whose name it bears ^u.

LABEZ is another ridge belonging to the little *Atlas*, and extends itself from that of *Beni jubar* to the eastern kingdom of *Couco*, and is inhabited by a stout sort of people, who much resemble them in their manners and way of life; but are, however, subject to a tribute to the Dey of *Algiers*, consisting chiefly in horses, which those of *Couco* are not. *Labez* is neither fertile in corn nor fruits; its chief produce is a sort of reed or rush, of which they manufacture the beautiful *Arabian* mats, called in the language *Labez*; from which this kingdom or canton hath its name ^w.

THE ridge or canton of *Auraz*, or *Eures*, as the *Turks* pronounce it, is another part of the *Atlas*, extends itself southward of *Constantina* quite to *Biledulgerid*, and consists of a large group or knot of hills, running into one another, and intersected by small plains and vallies; the length about 30 leagues ^x, or, as a modern traveller computes it, about 120 miles in circuit. Both tops and bottoms are very fertile, and still continue to be the garden of the kingdom. Some springs there are which, coming down from the hills, form a kind of salt marshes, which the sun dries up in summer, and converts into salt. The inhabitants are fierce and warlike, and live chiefly by robbing and murdering of travellers; and so fond were they once of their liberty, that they would suffer no stranger to be among them, lest they should learn the passes and avenue leading to their abodes; and so impatient are they now, since the *Algerines* have deprived them so far of it as to bring them under tribute, that it requires no less than forty of their military stations to oblige them to pay it; every year the Bey comes at the head of his flying camp to extort it from them ^z.

Inhabitants
fierce, and
numerous.
Impatient
under the
Turkish
yoke.

Couco,
kingdom
and city.

THE last canton worth notice under this eastern government is called *Couco*, or *Cuco*, and by the *Marseillians* *Couque*; and hath its name from the mountain at the foot of which the metropolis stood, or perhaps from the city it-

^u MARMOL, *ibid.* cap. 5. TASSY, *lib. i. c. 9.*

ibid.

^x MARMOL, *lib. v. c. ult.*

ch. vii. p. 117.

^z *Ibid. ibid.*

^w *Iid.*

^y SHAW'S *Travels*,

self (F), once the seat of a kingdom, adorned with noble buildings, particularly with the palace of its princes, who had greatly signalized themselves by their exploits in *Spain*. It was situated in a triangular position, southward of *Algier* and *Bujyah*, about 36 miles from the former, and 20 from the latter, at the foot of the mountain, surrounded at the bottom with steep rocks, which served it as a strong defence, and on the top with a great number of farms and villages, very populous and rich; one of which, called *Gemabaxaharix*, *its flow-* at the foot of the same mountain, contained 500 houses, *rising* and had a large market every *Friday*, resorted to by a vast *state* concourse of the neighbouring people. The princes held likewise a port on the sea coast called *Tamagus*, between *Bujyah* and *Algier*, from which the city, consisting of above 1500 houses, drove a considerable commerce of hides, wax, and honey, with that of *Marseilles*. The access to it was very difficult and dangerous, there being but one way to come at it, thro' such narrow and rugged defiles, that a handful of men could have overwhelmed an enemy's army with stones; besides which the city was fortified with strong high walls, on that side where it is less guarded by the rocks^a. In this flourishing condition it continued under *Since* its princes, till the beginning of the 17th century, when *ruined by* the king of *Couco*, then in alliance with that of *Spain*, ceded *the* the port of *Tamagus* to him, which the *Algerines*, however, *ruined* made themselves masters of not long after; and, in order to

^a MARMOL *Afric. lib. v. c. 47.* DAPPER'S *Algier.* DAVITY, p. 167. TASSY, *ubi sup.* p. 126.

(F) *Marmol* tells us accordingly, that the true name of this mountain, or knot of mountains, was *Egulandus*, and *Dapper*, *Eguilu Andalus*; and both of them describe it as very steep and craggy. The lower parts of it are fertile in wheat, and the upper in barley; both abound with good pasturage, and breed vast quantities of cattle and bees, of which they drive a good commerce with *Marseilles*. Their mountains have some iron mines, which they fabricate into swords, daggers, lances, &c.

and have an excellent way of hardening it, so as to be but little inferior to steel (2). They have likewise, in some parts, mines of salt petre, of which they make gunpowder, being supplied with brimstone by the *French* merchants. Their country abounds likewise with olives, raisins, and figs, in the latter of which their king's revenue chiefly consisted; and was affirmed by the *Marseillians*, who traded thither, to have amounted to 700,000 crowns (3).

(2) *Marmol Afric. l. v. c. 47.* *Dapper's Algiers*, p. 164. *Davity, ibid.* p. 167. (3) *Ibid.* *und Giammay, Dapper, & al.*

Couco a
refuge to
the enemies
of Algiers.

The inha-
bitants
were still
independ-
ent from
it, but in
extreme
poverty.

put an effectual end to the clandestine intrigues between that prince and Spain, destroyed his metropolis, ravaged the plains about it, and obliged him and his subjects to flee to the mountains. However, both the city and kingdom of Couco had, by reason of its vicinity to Algiers, and the inaccessibility of its mountains, been looked upon by the Turks as a thorn in their sides, because it was a kind of sure refuge to their enemies, criminals of state, &c. ; and even some of their Deys, when they apprehend any danger either from the *Porte* or other quarter, or when wearied with the load of government, do usually flee thither; and, if any of them can be so fortunate as to reach those recesses, they are sure to live in safety and ease, or may wait for an opportunity to remove to some other asylum. Hence it is, that the Algerine government made so many vain attempts against the kingdom; and even after they had destroyed its capital, and driven its prince farther off among the mountains, yet they never could bring the brave inhabitants under any tribute, tho' the Deys have left no means or stratagem untried to do it (G). The inhabitants are distinguished by the names of *Arabians*, *Bereberes*, and *Azagues*, and value themselves chiefly on preserving themselves from the Turkish yoke, tho' they are obliged to buy their independency with the loss of their wealth; so that from being once some of the richest people of all the inland countries, in horses, cattle, grain, and fruits, to say nothing of their iron manufacture, mentioned in the last note, nor of that of their linen and cotton stuffs, &c. they are sunk into the extremest indigence and poverty, avoiding all commerce with their neighbours, lest that should give a handle to the Algerines to bring them into the same slavish state to which they have reduced the rest of the *Arabs* and *Moors* of Bar-

(G) It will not be amiss to apprise our readers here of a strange mistake of the late French writer of the history of the African Sharifs, who, having taken his account of this city, and kingdom of Couco (as he hath done that of several others), verbatim almost from Marmol's history of *Afric*, hath described both of them in the flourishing

state they were then in, when that author wrote, without considering how low the various changes and catastrophes above-mentioned must have, since that time, reduced them from their pristine state; so little dependence there is to be had on those copiers, rather than historians (1).

(1) *Bou'et, l'empire des Cherifs, an. 1733, c. iii, p. 154, compared with Marmol's Afric, lib. v, c. 47.*

bary b. And thus much may suffice for their eastern government.

THE second *Algerine* government is stiled the western, The and bath now the city of *Oran* (H) for its capital, or residence of its Bey, a place formerly of great repute, containing 6000 houses, mostly inhabited by weavers and clothiers, and much resorted to by *Catalonian*, *Genoese*, and *Venetian* merchants. It had several stately mosks, besides hospitals, baths, caravanferas, and other public buildings; but is now much reduced from its grandeur and extent, and about a mile in circuit, but is the best fortified on all sides in the kingdom, *Algiers* excepted. It is situate on the sea coast upon the declivity, and pretty near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it, upon the ridge of which are built two castles that command the town. About a furlong west of the mountain stands a third castle, on a higher situation than the two former, with a large valley between them; so that their respective ridges are so remarkably disunited, that they not only form a most convenient landmark, but render all the approaches from the latter to the former impracticable. To the south and south-east of the town are two other castles erected, on the level with the lower part of it, but severed from it by a deep winding valley, which serves as a natural trench to the south side of the place. A little rivulet, formed by a small spring of excellent water, at about three furlongs distance from the town, and conforming its course to the windings of the valley, furnishes the city with plenty of that element; near the spring stands another castle, which forbids all approaches of an enemy; and, at the same time that it guards the *matamors*, or subterranean depositories of corn, digged under it, is an important defence to the city ^d.

It is most likely, however, that most of these fortifications were built since the *Algerines* retook this important

^b Conf. MARMOL, DAPPER, GRAMMAY, lib. vii. & al sup. cit & TASSY, lib. i. p. 146, & seq. ^c Idem, ibid SHAW's travels, c. iii. p. 24, & seq. ^d SHAW, ibid.

(H) *Oran* is called by the *Africans* *Gubaran*, by other writers *Maduran*, *Auran*, *Aeran*, and *Horan* by *Marmol* and *Lauger Tassy* (4); the former of whom believes it to be the *Unia Colonia* of the *Romans*. Dr. Shaw, who writes it *War-ran*, derives it from the *Arabic* *Vab-ar*, importing a place of steep or difficult access (5), answerable to its situation.

(4) Marmol, ubi sup. c. xix. vid. & Dapper, *Afric.* p. 183, & Dapper & Shaw's travels, c. iii. p. 24, & seq.

taken from, place from the *Spaniards*, an. 1708, after it had continued in their hands above 200 years (H); during which time the residence of the Bey was at *Tremecen*. For they no sooner made themselves masters of it, than they applied their utmost care to secure it from future attacks, and ordered the Bey to come and reside in it; where, besides a strong garrison, he is obliged to maintain in pay 2000 *Coolies*, and 1500 *Moors*, at his own charge, and to have them always in his retinue. About two leagues south of *Oran* are the ruins of an antient city called *Batha*, which was destroyed by the wars that raged between the *African*

The ruins
of antient
Batha.

(H) The *Spaniards* in the year 1505, when the, famed cardinal *Ximenes* was prime minister to *Ferdinand V.* did by his advice, and under his direction, get possession of this important place, as it was then the staple of a very considerable commerce for slaves, corn, oil, wax, honey, hide, and other *African* commodities; and as it had likewise the village and road of *Marfalquibir*, or great harbour, the *Portus Magnus* of the antients, at a small league distance west from it, under its jurisdiction, which is reckoned one of the most capacious havens in the world.

The reason or pretence for the *Spaniards* seizing on *Oran*, was, that they were become opulent and powerful enough to venture to cruise upon their coasts. They had long before that time inured themselves to the piratic trade, by the constant war they sustained against the kings of *Tremecen*, or *Tlem-fan*, who wanted to set a governor of their own over them; whereas they pleaded their antient privilege against it, and the right of chusing their annual

judges and magistrates, both civil and criminal, from among themselves, and to admit only of a receiver of the customs from the *Tremecen* court. This was the state of the *Oraners*, when the *Spanish* fleet came and made themselves masters of the port of *Marfalquibir*, and after that of their capital. In which expedition they brought away, among other booty, about 20,000 Christian captives. However, from that time, *Oran* decayed sensibly every way, and hath done so much more, since it fell under the tyranny of the *Algerines* (6); so that the only improvement it hath received from these is its fortifications; for though some of them appear still to be of the old fashion, especially the castle that stands on the uppermost ridge, and the easternmost of those that lie before the town, yet the other three are regular polygons of the modern kind (7), and so are some other fortifications added on the sea side; which shews of what importance they esteem this place to be to them, and what a loss the *Spaniards* had in its being taken from them (8).

(6) *Marmol*, ubi sup. *Gomez* in vit. *Xim n. Dapper*, *Tally*, &c. (7) *Shaw's travels*, cap. iii. p. 24, & seq.

(8) *Tally*, p. 149, & seq.

powers about the beginning of the seventh century, and is now remarkable only for a little chapel, built in memory of a Marabout, who lived among these ruins, and by his singular beneficence and hospitality to poor travellers of all sorts, got at length rich enough, by the presents sent him by the wealthy, to maintain 500 disciples, whose employment was to go through a long litany of all the divine attributes by the help of their beads, at certain hours of the day alternately; but whose sect is now upon the decline, as many others are, since their commerce with *Europe* hath brought all such superstitious fooleries into contempt among them. But the *Arabs* still call the place by his name, *Cena's Plain* ^d.

TREMECEN, formerly *Telenfin*, *Telemicen*, and by the *Treme-
Arabs Tlem-Son*, once the metropolis of one of the greatest kingdoms in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, is situate about 10 leagues from the sea, and 30 south west of *Oran*, and five south-south-east of the mouth of the *Tafna*, upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, upon which runs a slip of level ground, that bursts out with a great number of springs, which, uniting into one small stream, form a variety of cascades in its descent towards the city. The town is surrounded by a strong wall, 40 cubits high, flanked with towers, and made of mortar composed of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which being cast in a frame, and afterwards well tempered and dried, have acquired a solidity and strength equal to that of stone. The several stages and removes of these frames being still observable: some of them appear to have been 100 yards long, and two in height and thickness ^e. The gates of the city, which are five in number, have drawn bridges before them, with other fortifications, to defend them. It hath besides a strong spacious castle built in the modern way, with courts, halls, and handsome barracks, for the *Fanizaries*.

Its stately wall.

Castle, and other public buildings.

WHILST it was the capital of the kingdom, it was divided into several wards, two of which were still distinguishable in *Edriss's* time, and might be considered as two cities, of an oblong square figure, inclosed each within its own walls ^f; the two containing, in the year 1562, no less than 25,000 houses well built, with large streets, and a vast number of public buildings of noble structure, particularly five large square colleges built after the *Italian* manner,

^d TASSER, ubi sup. p. 150, & seq.
ch. iv. p. 46, & seq.

^e SHAW, ubi sup.

^f Idem ibid. p. 49.

besides baths, hospitals, &c. in great number 8, of all which little is now left but its fortifications, and some noble ruins (I), the place having been almost destroyed by *Hassan*, *Destroyed by the Al-Dey of Algiers, an. 1670*, as a punishment for the disaffection of its then inhabitants; so that there is now scarcely a sixth part remaining of this so famed metropolis, and nursery of arts and sciences, which is computed to have been about four miles in circuit ^h. It hath suffered no less in the destruction of its public structures; in so much, that out of 150 mosks there remain no more than eight, each with a tower of the doric order adorned with marble columns; of 160 public baths there are but four now left. The *Jews* had there ten synagogues, and those hardly sufficient for them, all which are gone to decay ⁱ, the city being now inhabited by none but *Arabs*, *Moors*, and *Jews*, most of them very poor, except the garrison of *Turks*; and running still into greater decay ever since the removal of the Bey and his court to *Oran*, of which we gave an account in the last article.

Mostagan. ABOUT 20 leagues east of *Oran* is the town of *Mostagan*, *al. Mostaganin, Musty-Gannim*, the *Cartenna* of *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* (K). It is built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect

8 LEO Afric lib. iv. p. 193. MARMOL, lib v. ch. 11. DAPPER's Algier. GRAMMAY, Afric. illustr. & al. ^h SHAW, ubi sup. p. 49. ⁱ DAPPER, Tremecen, ASSY, & d. sup. citat.

(I) Among those curiosities that are still to be seen here, one of the most remarkable is a large basin, of *Moors* workmanship, two hundred yards long, and about 50 in breadth. The inhabitants have a tradition, that the kings of *Tremecen* were used to take the diversion of the water, and the subjects taught the art of navigation upon it. But our curious traveller thinks it rather to have been designed for a large reservoir, either in case of a siege, or at all other times very useful to refresh the great number of gardens and fine plantations below it; which

is no improbable conjecture, considering that the course of the water of the river, which supplies the city from the adjacent mountains, might be easily cut off, or turned, by a besieging enemy, as had been observed long before by another judicious author (9).

(K) Or rather *Cartenæ* in the plural, for so *Ptolemy* writes it, tho' *Pliny* gives it in the singular; and it is not unlikely that this, and *Masagran*, which lies a small league from it, and in the same direction with the antient *Cartenna* and *Ajenaria*, now *Asfent*, and the same dis-

(9) Leo Afric. lib. iv. p. 164. SHAW, ubi sup. c. liv. p. 48. See also before, p. 45, & seq.

prospect of the sea; and, in every other direction, surrounded with hills which hang over it. In one of the vacant spaces, about the middle of it, are the remains of an old Moorish castle, which, by its fashion, appears to have been built before the invention of fire arms. The north-west corner of the city, which overlooks the port, is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone, and hath another castle built in a more regular manner, and defended by a Turkish garrison. But all these being overlooked by the adjacent hills above-mentioned, the chief security of the place lies in the citadel, which is built upon one of those eminences, and commands both the city and country. The town is well supplied with water, and its haven is commodious and safe. Behind it runs mount *Magaraba*, so called from the *Magarabas* who inhabit it, and are descended from the *Bereberes*. This mount extends itself about ten leagues from east to west along the *Mediterranean* coast. These *Magarabas* live in tents, feed a great quantity of flocks, and pay 12,000 crowns yearly to the Dey of *Algiers*.¹

Citadel.

Tenez.

SEVEN leagues east of *Mostagan*, and about the mid-way between *Orian* and *Algiers*, stands the city of *Tenez*, upon the foot of a hill, and about a league from the sea, where it hath a convenient port. *Tenez* and its territory were once subject to the kings of *Tremecen*; but, taking advantage of its intestine broils, set up a kingdom of their own, independent of that; which proved only a short lived one, and became soon after a prey to the *Algerines*, who have kept a strong garrison in it ever since; the governor of it resides in the castle, which was once the royal palace. The territory about it is very fertile in corn, fruits, and pasturage, and produces honey, wax, &c. *Marmol* supposes this place to be the *Lagunum*, and *Sanut* the *Tipasa*, of *Ptolemy*; but we have already shewn in the antient history, that the obscure village of *Tefessad* is the antient *Tipasa*.^m

Seized on by the Algerines.

¹ SHAW, ubi sup. ch. iii. p. 32. ch. 23. DAPPER, TASSY, &c.

^m MARMOL, lib. v. Vol. xviii. p. 127.

tance which the *Itinerarium* gives them, may have been formerly but one colony or community; and hence the first of these authors might give it a singular, and the other a plural

name (10). *Marmol*, indeed, takes *Masagran* to be the *Portus Deorum* of the latter, but brings no proof for it (11); and the former opinion seems to us the best founded of the two.

(10) See Shaw's travels, cap. iii. p. 33. See also Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 128.

(11) Ubi sup. lib. v. c. 22.

Sargel or Sarcelly.

THE last *Algerine* garrison in this western government is *Sherfbel al Sargel*, *Sarcelly*, or, as *Tassy* calls it, *Sercalles*, a poor ruined town, on the sea coast, about eight leagues west of *Algiers*, remarkable only for its harbour for small vessels, and its *Turkish* garrison (L).

The southern, or third *Algerine* go-

THE southern district, or third government of the *Algerine* kingdom, is altogether without any walled cities, tho' there are to be seen here and there the ruins of some noble

^a TASSY, ubi sup. p. 153.

(L) We cannot omit the antient and famed city of *Tessure*, or, as it was called by the *Romans*, *Cæsarea*, which, tho' at present reduced to a heap of ruins, and consequently no *Turkish* garrison, yet, being situate within this western government, well deserves our notice, as well on account of its having given birth to several eminent philosophers and poets, and of its having been formerly one of the most populous and opulent cities of *Afric*, as for some curious relics of its former grandeur. The *Africans* call it *Tiguident*, or *Deggdent*, that is, the antient city. It was situate on a bay a mile eastward of *Sargel*, between it and *Algiers*, and appears from its ruins to have been three leagues in circuit.

It was built by the antient *Africans*, and embellished by the *Romans*, and afterwards by the princes of the *Idrisian* line. It was at length totally destroyed by *Abdalla* the son of *Mohadin*, and its inhabitants most inhumanly butchered, *an.* 959. (6) We are told, that a famed *Marabout* rebuilt it afterwards, so as to contain 13,000 houses (7);

but at present nothing is left of it, but the ruins of its walls, and two antient heathen temples, the dome of one of which is of such a height, that a ship may be seen from it 20 leagues off, and on the land side, over the plains of *Meticha*, above 16 leagues.

The *Moors* call this temple *Coborurnia*, or *Roman* sepulchre; it is built of large square stones, and is inclosed all around. Our author adds, that an attempt was made to destroy it in 1555, in hopes of finding some hidden treasure. But the *Christian* slaves, who were ordered to demolish it, had scarce loosed some of the stones, than they were stung to death by a swarm of black venomous wasps, that came out of the holes, which put an end to that design (8).

East of this place is a vast forest, called by the inhabitants the bad wife, or woman, full of cedar, cork, poplar, laurel, box, and other trees; it supplies the city with all the timber they want for building their ships, houses, and for other uses, but is not allowed to be cut down without leave from the government (9).

(6) *Marmol*, *Afise*, l. v. c. 34. *Dapper's Afric*, p. 163.

(b) *Marmol*, *ibid.*

(9) *Idem*, *ibid.*

(7) *Dapper*,

ones; among which some few troops take their quarters, ^{wherein} and form a small kind of garrison to keep the inhabitants of ^{these} ~~these~~ wild tracts in awe. These live altogether in tents, ^{cities, but} and are divided into *Hords*, or *Adouars*, each of which forms ^{only itin-} a kind of itinerant village under their respective chiefs, ^{erant vil-} chosen from among themselves, and change their habitations ^{lages;} according to the season, or as the convenience of pasture and agriculture requires. They commonly feed great numbers of cattle small and great, besides their horses, and other beasts of burden, which carry their portable hamlets from place to place. We have already given some account of their religion, way of living, &c. at the beginning of this chapter °; and of their antiquity, origin, and various tribes, &c. in our antient history P; and to pretend to describe their respective countries, and settle their various limits, would be as endless as superfluous in a work of this nature. It will be sufficient to say, that the greatest part of these districts or cantons, being so many branches of mount *Atlas*, are bespangled with high hills, intersected by vallies, and some of them by wide sandy desarts, all of them more or less fertile according to the nature of the soil, and plenty or scarcity of water that is found in them; some of them, especially in the more southern parts, along the confines of the *Sabara*, or great desert, and in the countries of *Zab* and *Mezzab*, being destitute of that element, except what they get out of wells, which they are forced to dig wherever they pitch their tents; and of these some are so salt and brackish, and others impregnated with such distasteful minerals, that nothing but necessity can reconcile men to the use of them q. All these nations in general are obliged ^{who pay a} to pay a kind of tribute to *Algiers*, but not without being ^{tribute to} forced to it by the Bey's troops, which many of them are *Algiers*. careful to avoid, when the time of his visiting them draws near, by removing their stations to some inaccessible parts, where he cannot come near them without danger. But, whenever any of these fugitives are afterwards caught, as they often are by surprize, he never fails making them pay double all their arrears, or making an equivalent number of them slaves, whom he sends to *Algiers*. In that metropolis, we are told, are great numbers of *Beni-Mezzab*, (a tribe which, by their situation and swarthy complexion, are supposed to be the descendants of the *Melano Gætulians* or *Nigritiæ*, described in our antient history) r, who are exempt

° See before, p. 183, & seq. P Vol. xviii. p. 213. q MARMOL, DAPPER, TASSY, & al. ubi sup. r Vol. xviii. p. 220, & seq.

from paying any tribute to that government; but have been from time immemorial the only persons employed in the slaughter-houses of that city^a.

The forces
of this
govern-
ment.

THE standing forces which the Bey, or governor of this southern province, keeps on foot at his own charge are inconsiderable; consisting only of 100 *Spahis*, or *Turkish* horse, and 500 *Moors*. With these he and his court are always incamped in some canton or other, after the manner of the inhabitants. But, when the return of the year comes for them to go and levy the usual tribute, he generally receives a considerable reinforcement from the Dey, and may raise contributions in *Biledulgerid*, whenever he can, either by force or stratagem, open himself a way thro' the narrow passes that lead into that country^c.

S E C T. III.

A Description of the City of Algiers, the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

The city of
Algiers
described;

HAVING gone thro' the description of the three provinces or governments, into which the kingdom of Algiers is divided, we come now to give an account of its famed metropolis; a city which for several ages hath braved the greatest powers in *Christendom*, and hath been the constant residence of the Dey and court, the post of the main body of the *Turkish* soldiery, the station of the navy, and the center of government, and of the military force of the state. We have, at the beginning of this chapter, given the etymology of its present name *Algezair*, or rather, (as it should be pronounced), *Al Jezeir*, or *Al-Jezirah*^a; that is, as the *Arabic* word imports, the island, because there was an island before the city, to which it hath been since joined by a mole. In their public letters and records they stile it *Al Jezeire Melibic*, or the western *Al Jezeir*, to distinguish it from another of the same name near the *Daraane's*. And the *Arabians* call it to this day *Gazeira-Al-Bene-Mofgana*, from an *Arabian* prince called *Mofgana*, who had formerly subdued it, or, as *Marmol* will have it, was the founder of it^b. But we may safely affirm it to be of a much antienter date; and tho' authors differ much about its origin, some supposing it the antient *Ruseurum*, or *Ruseurum*, others the *Salda*, others the *Jol*, or *Julia Cæsariensis*,

whence so
called.

Other
names.

The an-
tient
Jeosium.

^a SHAW, ubi sup. ch. vi. p. 86
ch. ult.

^b TASSY, ubi sup. lib. i.
SHAW'S TRAVELS, ch. v. p. 71 See before, p. 181.

^c Lib. v. c. 51. D'APPEL, & al. SHAW, ubi sup.

built in honour of *Augustus*. We hope we have sufficiently proved it in our antient history ^c to have been no other than the antient *Jessum*, placed in the itinerary at 47 miles from *Tipaza*, which is farther confirmed by the reverend traveller often quoted in this chapter ^d.

ALGIERS is situate between *Bujayah* on the east, and *Tenez* *its fine* on the west, in 36° 30' north latitude, and 34° 15' east *prospect*. longitude; and is washed on the north and north-east side by the *Mediterranean*, over which it hath a full prospect, being built on the declivity of a hill, upon which the houses rise so gradually above one another, that there is hardly one in the whole city, but enjoys a full view of it in one or other of those directions; whilst, by the advantage of that declivity, and the whiteness of the terrasses, the city yields a beautiful prospect towards the sea, and at a distance appears like a whetster's ground covered over with linen, in the form of an amphitheatre. Its bigness is variously computed, even *Circuit*, by the two most recent authors who have been there, the one gives it a league, and the other but half of that circumference ^e. Others give its walls a still larger circuit ^f; their height 30 feet on the upper, and 40 at the lower end towards the sea, that it may the better resist the violence of its waves. They are 12 feet thick, and flanked with square towers, but all so decayed as to be of small defence, unless where they are secured by some additional outwork. They are surrounded with a ditch twenty feet wide, and seven deep, but now almost filled up with mud, except in some parts where they are of little consequence. The walls have some *The walls much decayed, and the ditches filled with mud.* jettings out, with port holes, but few or no cannon belonging to them; so that its strength chiefly depends on its outward fortifications.

THE city hath six gates open, each of them guarded by *its six* some outwork, and some others are now walled up. The *gates* open ones are, 1. *Alcassava*, or rather *Bab Cassaubah*, built upon the highest part of the city, and forming the western angle of it. It is of an octogonal figure, and hath proper embrasures on every side. 2. The *Babjiddeed*, or new gate, fronting the south. 3. *Bab Azoone* in the same direction (A). 4. The fisher's gate, vulgarly called *Babezeira*

^c Vol. xviii. p. 127. ^d SHAW, ubi sup. p. 71. ^e Conf. ^f TASSI, lib. ii. c. 1. p. 155, & SHAW, ubi sup. p. 70. ^{of} DAVITY & DAPPER.

(A) So called from *Aazen* a which name it hath retained *Mauritanian* prince, who be- ever since (1).
sieged the city at that gate, On the walls of this gate are

(1) *Memoirs du cheval. Arvieux, ap. Shaw. p. 68. note 1.*

zeira and *Piscaderia*, or fishery gate, which forms the opposite or eastern angle of the city, by the water side on the south-east; as 5. the mole, or Dowan gate, doth towards the north. 6. The *Babel-wed*, or river's gate, facing the *Elved* river towards the north ^z. The whole city is overlooked by a ridge of hills on the western side, which run almost on a level with the *Bab-Cassaubah*, or uppermost gate; and upon it are built two strong forts, one of which, from its five acute angles, is called the Star Castle, and stands about a small furlong from the gate above-mentioned, and commands the sandy bay, and mouth of the river *Eived*; the other, called the emperor's castle, stands at half a mile distance south from the *Cassaubah* gate, hath the command both of the Star Fort, and of the whole ridge, as well as of the sandy bay, and mouth of the river *Rebat*, on the south side of the city (B). Thus much for the situation and strength of *Algiers* to the landward ^h. But it is much better fortified, and capable of making a much better defence towards the sea side, where, in describing its various fortifications, we shall begin with an account of its mole.

Two forts
on the
ridge
above the
town.

The mole,
and other
fortifica-
tions at
sea.

THIS mole was the work of the famed *Cheredin*, the son of *Barbareffa*. Until his time the port of *Algiers* lay quite open, and looked more like a road than a harbour; but as soon as he was become master of the place, he set himself a building and fortifying it in that strong and commodious form we behold it in; in doing which he employed all the Christian slaves with such strictness, that he saw it completed in three years time, without any expence to him. It

^z MARMOL, lib. v. c. 41. DAPPER, & al. ubi sup. SHAW, ubi sup. c. v. p. 68, & seq. ^h Ibidem, ibid.

the hooks fixed, which catch those criminals that are thrown down from the battlements (2).

(B) It was at this last place, that the emperor *Charles V.* landed his army in that unfortunate expedition, which he made against *Algiers*, an. 1541; and there is still a fragment of the pier, which he is supposed to have erected for that purpose.

The same monarch, the better to secure a communication between his army and fleet, and to succour his troops in their intended approach to the town, possessed himself of the ridge above-mentioned, where he laid the foundation, and built the round or inner part of the castle; that, hath continued to be called after his name ever since (3).

(2) *Dapper, Davity, & al. Shaw, & al. sup. citat.*

(3) *Marmol, lib. v. c. 41. Grammay, Dapper,*

is built on the small island that faces the townⁱ, in form of a large semicircle, extending itself from the Dowan, or mole gate, to one of the extremities of the island, and from the other extremity of it towards the walls of the town, leaving an handsome opening into the haven, where the largest vessels may ride in safety from the violence of the waves. The mole is about 100 paces in length from the castle that defends it to the mole gate above-mentioned, and about six or seven wide, having on one side a stone key, and on the other a sandy rocky bank from end to end. The whole is defended at one angle by an old round castle, formerly built by the *Spaniards*, when they were masters of the place. It is called the fanal castle, or light house fort. It stands upon the solid rock, and the fire is carefully maintained in it for the security of the ships. It hath three batteries of fine cannon. At the south end of the island is another fort, consisting of three batteries, to defend the entrance of the harbour, which is capacious enough to contain a good number of large ships (C), and is seldom or never without merchantmen, corsairs, and other vessels, riding in it. The misfortune is, that when the wind sets in from the northward, which is quite across the road, it causes such a swell in the harbour, that they commonly fall foul on one another, which obliges them to lash the ships close to each other. Besides which, the slaves of the Deylik are employed the whole year in bringing large blocks of stone from a neighbouring quarry, and laying them on the sand, to secure the mole from the impetuosity of the waves; which labour must be continually repeated, because the sea gradually washes those stones away, and makes such a constant supply necessary^k.

*Outworks
and batteries.*

Haven.

ⁱ See before, p. 281.
sup. TASSY, p. 163.

^k MARMOL, DAPPER, &c. ubi

(C) It is of an oblong figure, 130 fathom in length, and about 80 in breadth, and 15 in depth at the highest, and the effect of art and labour. The two batteries that guard the entrance into it, and have been built within this century, are said to be bomb proof. They have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with thirty-six pounders; but the middle one between them is old, and

of the least defence; and as none of them are fenced with mines, or advanced works, and the soldiers who are to guard them, not being kept under any regular course of duty and attendance, our judicious author thinks, that a few resolute battalions, supported by a small squadron of ships, would find no great difficulty to make themselves masters of the strongest of them (4).

(4) *Shaw's travels*, c. v. p. 70.

Other

*forts along
the coast.*

THE embrasures of the castle and batteries here are all employed; the cannon is of brass, and their carriages, and other utensils, kept in good order. The battery of the mole gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance; one of which, our author thinks, hath seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter¹: half a furlong to the W. S. W. stands the battery of the fishers gate, called also the sea gate, which consists of a double row of cannon, and commands both the entrance into the port and the road. There stand besides two or three forts more along the sea coast; the one on the south side of the city, called the castle of the renegadoes; the other two on the north side; viz. *Setteet Ako-leet*, a regular pentagon, and able to annoy an enemy either in their landing, or lodging themselves on the *Bakiras*, or adjacent plain; the other, called the *English* castle, inferior in extent and strength, which commands the high road to rivers gate, on the same direction^m. Thus much may serve for the fortifications of *Algiers*.

*Inhabit-
ants.*

THE town is computed to contain 100,000 *Mohammedans*, among which are some few renegadoes, not above 30 in Dr. Shaw's timeⁿ, 15,000 *Jews*, and 2,000 Christian slaves, besides *European* and other strangers. There is but one handsome street in it, which reaches from the east to the west end, and is wider in some parts than in others, but in all much broader than any of the rest. It hath on the widest part handsome shops, and the chief merchants' houses, and the market for corn and all provisions is kept in it. All the other streets are so narrow, that two persons can hardly walk a-breadth; and the middle being so much lower than the sides, which form a kind of parapet, or passage for the water that runs through it, added to their usual nativeness, makes it very disagreeable to walk through them^o; especially as camels, horses, mules, and asses are continually passing and repassing, to which one must give way at the first warning, by squeezing one's self against the houses. It is still more dangerous to meet with a *Turkish* soldier in the streets; for the wealthiest Christian must take care to give him the way, and stand close till he is passed, or be in danger of feeling some shocking effect of his brutal resentment. The narrowness of those streets is commonly thought to be designed as a shelter from the heat. But there may be another reason given for it; viz. the frequent

*Streets
narrow
and nasty.*

¹ SHAW, ubi sup. ch. v. p. 69.

ⁿ Idem, ibid.

^m Idem, ibid. p. 68 &

^o TASSER, ubi sup.

earthquakes it is subject to, seeing the fronts of almost all the houses are propped up by pieces of timber from one to the other across the streets (D). *Town sub- ject to earth- quakes.*

THE houses, which are computed to amount to about 15,000, are built of brick or stone, and mostly square, with a large paved court in the middle, not unlike our common inns. The galleries round the court are supported by columns, and over them runs a second range supported in the same manner. The folding doors to the apartments are commonly of the height of the ceilings; and over the uppermost gallery are the terrasses, which serve them either for walking or drying of linen. Some will have pleasant gardens in them, and generally a neat summer-house on a corner of it, to shelter them from the weather whilst at their work, or gazing towards the sea, whether their corsairs bring them any prizes. Their very chimnies contribute to adorn the houses, being always kept clean and white-washed, and rising in form of a cupola on the four corners of the terrass. The apartments have no windows towards the streets, except some small grated ones, to admit a little light and air into their pantries, and the servants chambers, which are built along the great stair-case, but do not open to it; so that all the light the rest of the rooms have is only from the folding doors, and small windows, that open to the inner court. They are all obliged to white-wash their houses inside and outside at least once a year, but commonly do it against the approach of their grand festivals; and this is all the elegance you find in them; for as to their furniture it is plain and mean, consisting only of a few utensils, mostly of earth or wood, and a mat and two quilts, laid over two or three sticks, to serve them for a bed *p.* As there are no squares or gardens in the town, but the houses are contiguous together, one may walk from one end of it to the other over those terrasses, there being ladders raised on purpose, where the houses are of an unequal height; *Terrasses. No win- dows to- wards the streets. Obligated to white- wash their houses. Mean fur- niture.*

P GRAMMAY, l. vii. c. 3. MARMOL, DARFER, TASSY, & al. *sup. citat.*

(D) *Langer de Tassy* mentions a remarkable one, which happened there *an.* 1717, when the town felt several violent shocks for nine months successively; insomuch that all the inhabitants, except the Dowa and state officers, who kept

within the Dey's palace, left the city, and incamped in tents in the country about it, many of whom perished through mere want. In some places whole villas were overthrown, and the ground was rent and torn up (5).

(5) *Tassy, ubi sup. lib. ii. cb. i. ad fin.*

and it is common for them to visit their neighbours, and spend their evenings in fresco with each other upon them; notwithstanding thefts are never heard of, because any stranger that is caught in any house, without having first sent in his name, is sure to be severely punished. But tho' the houses of private people are so mean within, there are many belonging to persons^o in high and public stations, which are quite elegant, and paved all over with marble, the pillars of the same, and the cieling finely carved, painted, and gilt &c.

*The Dey's
noble pa-
lacc.*

THE most magnificent of all is the Dey's palace, which stands in the heart of the city. It is a spacious stately edifice, surrounded with two noble galleries, one over the other, supported with marble pillars, and hath two spacious halls, in one of which the Dowan meets every *Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday*. The barracks for the *Turkish* soldiery, five new structures of which were added to the old ones, *an.* 1650, are likewise very grand structures, and kept very clean by the slaves that attend them, at the charge of the government. Every barrack contains six hundred *Turkish* soldiers (E), each of which hath a fine spacious apartment allotted to him; and

^a *Iidem, ibid.*

(E) It is to be observed that married men, who are mostly renegadoes, are excluded the benefit of these barracks, and obliged to provide themselves lodgings at their own expence in some other parts of the town; and so are likewise the single men that will not conform to the regulations of these public buildings. In either case they may hire private houses, or, which is more usual, take up their quarters in one of the four *fondacas* or *albergas* of the town.

These are large commodious edifices belonging to private persons, consisting of several large courts, in which are large warehouses, and variety of apartments to let; and, on account of their conveniences for

men and goods, are also much frequented, by the *Levantine* merchants; for neither *cloiers*, nor any other town in the kingdom, hath either inns, taverns, or other public places, like the *caravanseras* in *Turkey*, for the entertainment of strangers. Those few Christians, who resort thither upon any business or accident, either take up with some persons to whom they are recommended, or with the consul of their nation, who is always ready to accommodate them with an apartment in his house, or his table, if they are persons of distinction,

As to the *Greeks*, and other mean travellers, there are plenty of cookshops, and public wine houses, kept by the slaves of the Deylik, for their accommodation,

and all the courts of these barracks have fountains to wash in before they go to their prayers.

THEIR mosques are very numerous, about 107 in all, and some of them very grand; and, as these are mostly situate along the sea side, they make a very fine shew, and add much to the beautiful prospect of the city. The baths are also in great number, it being customary for the *Turks* to resort to them, not only before the time of their five daily prayers, which their religion obliges them to, but at all other times of the day, when their affairs will permit it. Some of them are very large and sumptuous, finely paved with marble, and elegantly furnished with all other conveniencies; others are small and mean, suited to the lower rank; but all of them are built much after the same manner. The women have likewise their particular baths, attended by persons of their own sex, into which no men are allowed to set foot upon any pretence whatever. And yet it often happens, that these pretended inviolable sanctuaries of female chastity are turned into nurseries of intrigue and lewdness, notwithstanding the dreadful fate that infallibly attends the offenders, if discovered, and the frequent instances of such discoveries (F); the women being permitted

tion (7). The *Jews* likewise keep such houses and apartments to let, for the use of those of their own nation (8).

(F) Our author closes his account of these female baths with a dreadful instance of *Turkish* revenge upon an intrigue of this kind, which happened *an. 1680*; of which we shall give our reader a short abstract. *Seremeth Effendi*, an old wealthy *Turk*, settled in *Algiers*, after having married four wives there, fell in love with and married a fifth, just turn'd of 12 years of age, but so beautiful and witty as to ingross his whole affection, tho' of tender age, and his extraordinary corpulence, had rendered it impossible to consummate his marriage, as it could not be done without imminent danger of her life. His sin-

gular affection for her did however raise the jealousy of the other four to such a height, that they resolv'd at any rate to ruin this new favourite; which they easily compassed during his attendance on the Dey at some neighbouring war. The first step they took, after having gained her confidence, was to inspire the young damsel with a violent passion for a handsome young slave, a *Spaniard* by nation, and a concealed *Jew*, but a great favourite of *Seremeth*. After which they assisted her in introducing him in a female dress, among her other attendants, into one of these baths, where they had all the opportunity they could wish to indulge their mutual affection; but, upon their lord's return from the war, betrayed the

(7) See before, p. 202.

(8) *Taffy, ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 2. ad fin.*

mitted to be attended only by female slaves, young men are frequently introduced in their habits, than which nothing is easier ;

whole intrigue to him. *Seremeth*, upon the first hearing of this fatal secret, fell into the most violent transports of fury and resentment ; but, upon further inquiry, quickly discovered that the accusers had been no less faulty than the accused ; so that his resentment against his new bride gradually cooled into pity, whilst it flamed more furiously against his other faithless wives, on whom alone he resolved to wreak his whole revenge. He looked upon himself the less injured by the former, as he had not yet consummated his marriage with her ; and therefore thought, that divorcing her, and marrying her to his *Spanish* slave, would in a great measure save his honour. The misfortune was, that the Dowry, by some means or other, became acquainted with the whole affair ; and, what was still a greater aggravation, that the *Spaniard* was a *Jew* : For they thought it equally execrable that a *Jewish* slave should dare to mix his blood with that of a *Musulman* woman, or that she should consent to it. Upon which they condemned him to be burned alive in the *Jewish* burying ground, and her to be drowned, as usual (9), which was accordingly done, in spite of all the intreaties of *Seremeth*, and the efforts of the Dey himself to prevent it, who had now conceived a great passion for her.

Seremeth now more exasperated than ever, by this sad ca-

tastrophe, against his four wives, resolved to glut his revenge by inflicting a much more inhuman one upon them, but, assuming a milder aspect, first decoyed them to his country seat, and having secured his most valuable and portable effects, in order to go and end his days in the deserts of *Conco* ; he acquainted some deputies from that kingdom, then at *Algiers*, with his design, who gladly engaged to assist him in it. Accordingly, on the day before their departure, he takes them with him to his country seat, where he caused his four wives to be stripped of all their ornaments, which he distributed among those strangers. He next caused them to be led into a dungeon, where he had the night before confined a *Negro* slave, who had been privy to their intrigues, and there ordered them all to be impaled alive upon four stakes prepared for that purpose, after having first scared the offending part with a hot iron. The *Negro* slave was next quartered alive, and one of his quarters hung about the neck of each of them ; which done he locked up the dungeon, and left them to expire in the most dreadful torments, whilst he and his new associates took horse, and, by a speedy march, quickly reached the mountains of *Conco*, where he was out of all danger from the *Algerine* government, who did not receive the news of this dreadful tragedy, till he was got far enough out of their reach.

(9) See before, p. 206, & seq.

easier; the very dress of the women already described contributing to conceal the cheat. As for those that belong to the men, they are commonly attended with such robust waiters, and the ceremony of sweating and rubbing is performed by them with such excessive roughness, that unless a stranger takes care to have an interpreter with him to bespeak a more gentle usage, they are sure to undergo a very fatiguing and irksome, instead of a delightful and wholesome exercise.

BESIDES those public baths, of which there are about *Baths* sixty, they have six others, which they likewise call *Bassos*; which but are no better than large stinking prisons, in which they ^{seize} ~~lock~~ up their slaves at night: in each of these they have a chapel for the free exercise of their religion; and every slave ^{their} ~~is~~ allowed three small loaves, and a little mattrafs and rug ^{slaves} ~~for~~ for their bed; to these bagnios they must all repair at some stated hour in the evening; and, on the next morning, they are again let out to go to their respective labours. There are likewise some handsome edifices without the walls of the town, which are no small addition to its beautiful prospect; such as the hall where the officers of the marine hold their assemblies, at the foot of the mole; the habitation of a marabout is in high veneration among them, and situate on the declivity of the hill; a handsome square building, with a cupola, after the *Turkish* manner; and, above all, a great number and variety of tombs belonging to their great men; some of which are very fine (G), and most of them adorned with chapels

† See before, p. 203. • See TASSY, lib. ii. c. 3, p. 168, & seq.

Semereth had taken care that a young female slave should be a witness of the whole scene, that she might inform them of it, but left her locked up in a chamber of his villa, whence she could not be released till next morning. As soon as the Dey was apprised of it by a messenger sent on purpose, he dispatched a Chiaoux thither, who, breaking into the dungeon, found two of the wives already dead, and the other two just expiring, whose agonies he put an end to with his sword.

They were afterwards buried in a manner suitable to their rank; and his estate, which he had not time to sell, was, by the order of the Dowan, equitably divided among the children of those unfortunate mothers (10).

(G) Among these are six stately ones of a round figure, contiguous to each other, which are easily distinguished from all the rest. These belong to six Deys, who were elected to that dignity, and immediately after strangled in the Dowan, within a few days of each other, by the

chapels and oratories, which are resorted to by men and women every *Friday*; near which are also the cells of the *marabouts*, who ply there on those days, to assist the comers in their prayers for the deceased, and receive some pieces of money, or other presents, in return for their charity.

THE city of *Algiers* had formerly neither wells nor fountains to supply it with water, but were forced to save that which fell from the sky in cisterns, till the last century; when a *Moor*, driven thither from *Spain*, found out a way of conveying as much of it, by the help of two aqueducts, as supplied a hundred fountains with it, at proper distances from each other. This water, which is universally allowed to be excellent, is brought thither by a long course of pipes and conduits from a great variety of rivulets, which have their source on the adjacent mountains; and do likewise supply their country seats, and adjoining gardens and orchards with it.

The territory and prospects about Algiers.

THE territory about *Algiers* is very fertile; and the hills and vallies about are every where beautified with gardens, groves, and country seats, whither the richer sort of people resort during the summer season. These villas are little white houses, finely shaded with variety of fruit trees, and other verdure, which yield a beautiful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are stocked with plenty of fruit trees, melons, and pot-herbs, and watered by a multitude of fountains and

* DAPPER, ub. sup. TASSY, lib. ii. c. 4. See w, ub. sup. pag. 71, & seq.

fury of their cabals: the seventh that was chosen maintained his post; of whom we shall give a farther account in the course of this history.

The tombs of the Deys and Bashas are distinguished by a stone, on which a turban is carved in relievo; those of the Agas and military officers by a pike fixed in the ground close to the coffin; those of the Rais or sea captains by a staff, with a gilded truck or ball.

Those of the common people are only distinguished by flat stones, laid in the earth in the form of a coffin, of which those

at the head and feet are highest. All these tombs are without the walls, at a small distance from the town: the only one to be seen within the city is that of *Hali*, Dey, who was looked upon as a saint, and a great favourite of heaven, because he died a natural death; a happiness which few, that are raised to that dignity, have enjoyed since its first establishment; in-somuch, that his tomb was for forty days successively adorned with flowers, and surrounded with crouds of people offering up prayers for his soul (11).

(11) TASSY, ub. sup. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 200.

rivulets; a thing of singular pleasure and benefit in these hot climes, as it keeps every thing in a constant verdure; and where the people are so negligent of these advantages, that they do not so much as prune their trees, but let nature take its own course in almost every thing; and suffer their vines, which are here of exquisite beauty and fruitfulness (H). to run up to the very top of their lofty trees, where they extend themselves from one to another, and form indeed natural and delightful shady bowers; but would yield much better fruit, if they were better cultivated. The same may be said of their orange, citron, and other fruit trees; which, though in great number, yet, for want of care, never come to that perfection, as those which are cultivated by strangers, particularly by the *European* consuls; the trees of whose villas produce much more excellent fruits than those that belong to the *Turks* and other natives. And it is not a little surprising, that this should not excite their sluggishness to strive, at least, to that same industry in a thing, in which, in all other respects, they appear to take an equal, if not a greater delight^u.

It will not be expected, that, in a work of this extensive *The rich* nature, we should take notice of every fertile spot belonging *and exten-*

^u *Iid. ibid.*

(H) These, however, are not the natural produce of the country, but were formerly brought hither by the *Moors* from *Granada* after their expulsion from it; for, before that time, the *Algerines*, instead of cultivating it, did take singular pleasure in rooting up those which the Christians had planted there, and in turning the ground to other uses (12).

It is surprising to see what a vast number of gardens and plantations there are in the neighbourhood of this capital, though the reader may judge of it by those which cover a great part of an adjacent plain, about fifteen miles in compass, which are computed to 20,000: these

have, indeed, no houses belonging to them, but only huts built of boughs; and those which are nearer to the town have their villas, neatly kept by the slaves belonging to each of their owners.

None of these gardens or plantations are walled, but only fenced with what we call *Barbary* fig-trees, whose leaves being once stuck in the ground, take such deep root, and grow so quickly up, that in a few years they form an impenetrable hedge by their closeness and the prickles that grow upon the leaves, and are a safer, as well as more delightful inclosure than any wall (13).

(12) *Marmol, Dapper, Taffy, Shaw, &c. ub. sup. ed. 17. p. 201, & seq.*

(13) *Taffy, ub. sup.*

five plains to this province of *Algiers Proper*; of which the reader will find a more ample account in the authors often quoted thro' of *Mettijah*. this chapter. One of them, however, we cannot well omit on several accounts; and, particularly, because it will give him an idea of the fecundity of the rest. We mean the rich and delightful plains of *Mettijah*, or, as it is corruptly spoken, *Muttijar* and *Mottigia*, 'out of whose territory a great part of the *Algerine* plantations above-mentioned are taken. This plain, which extends itself above ten leagues in length, and four in breadth", or, according to a later and more accurate observer, near fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth", is every where watered by a great number of springs and rivulets, and produces abundance of rice, fruit, roots, and grain of all kinds in great perfection; insomuch that the inhabitants enjoy two, and sometimes three crops yearly of wheat, barley, oats, and various kinds of pulse, except in some few barren spots near the sea and woods, which swarm with venomous reptiles. This fertile spot is inhabited by *Arabian* tribes, and was the native dominion of prince *Selim Eutemi*, who was dethroned, and murdered by *Arach Babarossa*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel".

NATURAL curiosities here are scarce worth notice, if we except the Hammam, or hot baths of *Meeruga*, the antient *Aqua Calida Colonin*, situate between the river *Shellif* and the sea; the largest and most frequented of which is a bason of twelve feet square, and four deep; and the water of which bubbles up in a degree of heat just supportable, after it hath filled the bason, it discharges itself into a smaller one, made use of by the *Jews*, who are not permitted to bathe in company with the *Mohammedans*. These two baths were formerly covered with a handsome building, and stone corridors around the basons, but at present lie exposed to the weather, and nearly half filled with stones and rubbish, though still much frequented in the spring, being supposed to remove all rheumatic pains, to cure the jaundice, and to alleviate most other inveterate habits and distempers: higher up the hill there is another spring, but much too hot to bathe in; which is, therefore, conveyed through a long pipe into another room, and used in much the same manner and effect as our pumping". There are several other such hot springs in this province, whose waters are also medicinal, and very little heavier than rain water; these which our author weighed were in proportion to it, as 836 or 837 to 830; and that of *Mekual* as 910 to 830*.

" TASSY, pag. 202.

* SHAW, ub. sup. p. 65.

† Ibid.

ibid. * SHAW, ibid. p. 64.

* SHAW, ub. sup. p. 233.

THESE *Thermæ* are a sign, that the ground underneath abounds with sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, which is farther confirmed by the frequency and violence of the earthquakes, to which this country is subject at sea as well as land: three of the former our author felt, *an.* 1724, in a cruizer of 50 guns, at some distance from the coast, and in such a depth of water, that a line of 200 fathom could not reach the bottom; each of which gave as great a shock to the vessel, as if a large weight of twenty or thirty tons had fallen from a prodigious height upon the ballast: those at land are no less violent, and commonly fall out after some great rains at the close of the summer, and in autumn; the occasion of which is supposed to be the constipation, or closeness of the surface at such times, which confines or keeps back the subterraneous steams, which in the summer find a freer passage through the chafms or chinks of it †.

THE people in this neighbourhood talk much of large gigantic bones being dug up, particularly a thigh bone thirty-six inches long; but our author could meet with nothing like it at his coming to the place, and observed the coffins and graves to be of the usual dimensions; and much questions, whether those large ones so much talked of were not those of camels or horses buried along with their riders, together with their armour, &c. after the manner of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, who passed over from *Spain* into *Africa* ^a; and being the descendants of the ancient *Scythians* might, in all probability, use their old way of interring their great men ^b. This appears indeed so much the more probable, from some of those swords which have been found among the bones; one of which, our author tells us, is kept in the Dey's palace at *Algiers*, dug not many years ago out of *Temendseuse*: they are of an uncommon length, bigness, and weight, and have large handles in the shape of a cross ^c; so one would imagine them to be too unweildly to be used by men of common size and strength; and, consequently, that the bones and the weapons must have borne a nearer proportion than our author seems willing to allow.

† *Ibid.* *ibid.* p. 234.
vol. vi. p. 68.

^a *Id.* *ibid.*

^c SHAW, p. 65.

^b See *Antient Hist.*

S E C T. IV.

The Interest of Algiers with Christian and African Princes, and their respective Consuls residing there.

What nations are at peace with Algiers.

AS this is a matter that more immediately concerns us to know, as a trading nation, and as being in alliance with the *Algerine* state, than any other we have treated of in this chapter, it would doubtless be looked upon as an unpardonable omission, if we should neglect to give our readers at least as particular an account of it as we have done of all the rest. We have already taken notice that ours and the *French* nation are at peace with them. This privilege we have not only enjoyed ever since the year 1682, but have likewise, by our good offices, obtained it for our neighbours the *Dutch*; who, if we had not used our interest in their behalf, might have continued to this day at war with them; and now they are obliged to buy the continuation of their friendship by very considerable annual presents. The *Swedes*, about the same time, thought fit to purchase a peace from them at the expence of 700,000 dollars; which, considering the small number of *Swedish* vessels which their cruizers meet with, hath hitherto been looked upon as no small mystery. And it is well if the Dey is not, ere long, obliged to lessen the number of those alliances, from the same motives which obliged his predecessors to enlarge them: in which case it is easy to guess which of the four allies will be first in danger of a rupture, as long as the *French* can annoy them with their ships from *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, and we much more so with ours from *Gibraltar*. Were it not for this, it is plain their interest would rather induce them to be at war than peace with us, or any other trading nation, because they have always found that the balance of the captures made by, and upon them, was greatly on their side, both with regard to number and value; and without such a constant supply of them, their state, such is the constitution of it, cannot possibly support itself, but must either break the most solemn treaties with some of their allies, or suffer their sea forces to act in open violation of them to prevent an insurrection (A).

WE

* TASSY, l. ii. c. 20. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 316.

(A) It was a true, as well as serious answer which the late Dey, *Ali*, is reported to have given to Mr. Cole, our *English* consul, on his complaining of the injuries which our vessels met with from his cruizers; *The Algerines are a company of rogues,*

WE need not wonder, therefore, at the Dowan and militia *Peace* being so greedy of war, that they even refused to enter into *fused* to an alliance with the emperor, though the sultan, to whom *the emper-* they still own a kind of subjection, did earnestly request it of *ror.* them; nor at the Dey himself appearing outwardly the most forward and eager for it, though his own interest ought rather to incline him to be at peace with Christian princes, since every unsuccessful enterprize against them, or even miscarriage in his officers, doth as often occasion the loss of his head, as his stiff refusal to declare war against any nation they have pitched upon for a prey: but it is far otherwise with the officers and soldiery, who, whatever small losses they may suffer by it, are sure in the whole to be considerable gainers, as in the case of the late war with *England*, wherein their loss of about twenty-six of their beggarly corsairs was so amply compensated by the taking of no less than 350 of our

regents, and I am their captain (1). And it is plain, that if they have too many allies, their younger soldiers, who cannot well subsist without the money that arises to their share from prizes, will raise such clamours against him, as will oblige him either to break off with some of them, or to wink at such unjust depredations. This was the case in 1716, when these prizes became so scarce, that the officers were forced to lay the matter before the Dowan; where, after strong debates, it was carried by a majority, that since they met with few ships at sea, but what were either *French, English, or Dutch*, and prizes were the chief support of the state and navy, war should be immediately declared against the last, which was accordingly done; and one of their ships then in the harbour was seized, and an order issued out to all the *Algerine* ports to do the like: and all that their consul could obtain from the Dey, who

had a value for him, was, that he should be allowed his own time to settle his affairs, and be protected from insults (2).

They had, indeed, made a very strenuous opposition before against making any peace with them upon terms, alledging, the little encouragement there would be to fit out any ships, whilst they continued in friendship with those three trading nations, and how inconsiderable the loss of a few corsairs would be to the state, when balanced with the usual riches obtained by the war; concluding with a pathetic *Arabic* proverb, that *those men ought never to sow, who are afraid of the sparrows* (3): so that if the rich presents of the *Dutch*, and their further promises of a great supply of naval stores, prevailed upon the Dowan to grant them a peace against the remonstrances of the sea officers and soldiers, these found means soon after to oblige them to break it.

(1) *Shaw's Phys. & Miscel. Observat.* c. iv. p. 318, *ad fin.*
Algier, l. ii. c. 17, p. 238.

(2) *Taffy's*
(3) *Shaw*, *ib. sup.* p. 318, & *seq.*

rich merchant ships, that they would never have consented to a peace with us, had we not purchased it by dint of money, and a supply of naval stores ^b; both which their government did stand in great want of at that juncture (B).

It was by the same policy that we have kept them in some tolerable friendship with us, and inspired them with a particular esteem for our nation, till our becoming masters of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, fixed them more effectually to our interest. It is much by the same motive of fear that the *French* oblige them to keep up their alliance with them; and that they obtained the same privilege with us by the treaty concluded *an. 1718*; at which time they had a stout squadron

^b *Iid. ibid.*

(B) Besides the great advantage which the *Algerine* state hath, with respect to the number and value of those prizes, they have several other ways of indemnifying it for those of the losses they suffer at sea. If a corsair is lost at sea, or taken by the enemy, the owner is obliged to buy or build another of equal force within the time limited by the *Dey*, who is, however, to have some regard to his circumstances and abilities.

If a *Turk* or *Moor* be taken prisoner, though in fighting with an enemy, or by any other accident, whether laudable or otherwise, he is never redeemed or exchanged by the government, but is looked upon as dead; and, if he hath neither child nor brothers, all his effects, real and personal, are seized on by the *Dey* for the service of the state: and, if he returns from his captivity, all that he can obtain from him is a year's pay, such as he had before, to enable him to provide himself with a fresh set of arms, in order to enter again into the service.

Those that are either taken or killed in these excursions, or die in the service, have their vacancies supplied by new recruits from the *Levant*, who are at first admitted only to the lowest rank and pay, which being but small, is an inducement to them to mend their condition, either by plunder in the army or prizes at sea; by which means also they have an opportunity to raise themselves either by seniority, or by their valour and good behaviour, from one degree to another, till they arrive at the chiefest or highest pay (4). Even the demolition of houses by bombardment bring some emolument to the state, if they belong either to *Moors* or *Conuloglies*, who are obliged by the law to rebuild them within a year; and if they are not able to do it, every thing belonging to the house is seized on, and sold for the use of the state. So that in all respects war must be the most preferable to such a government, which can carry it on at so small an expence, and turn its very losses into gain (5).

(4) See before, p. 212, & seq.

(5) *Dapper, Tully, Shaw, & al. sup. citat. lying*

lying off in the road to give weight to their consul's remonstrances. But as to the rest of the Christian princes and states, it plainly appears, from what hath been said, that it is utterly against the *Algerine* government to be at peace with them long; and with some of them, especially the *Spaniards*, ever to be so, unless driven to it by superior force, which hath hitherto been tried in vain; and whenever that happens to be the case, it must be expected to be of no longer duration, than till they grow strong enough again to break it off.

It is quite otherwise with respect to the *African* powers, with Algiers whom they must, upon several accounts, keep a good harmony; *why at* and more particularly with the king of *Morocco*, and the Bey of *Tunis*, who, being contiguous to that of *Algiers*, might other- *peace with* *Morocco* wise prove very troublesome neighbours to it: for this last *and Tu-* *nis.* being chiefly peopled by the *Arabians* and *Moors*, who not only detest the *Turkish* government, but are naturally friends of the two former, on account of their being *Moors*, would run a very great hazard upon any rupture with either of them; and it might perhaps be the most effectual way for any *Euro-* *pean* princes to suppress the *Algerine* power, to engage either or both of them in a war with it, and support them well. The misfortune is, that the *Turkish* tyranny hath long since sunk the whole *Moorish* race into such slavish abjection, that they imbibed from their very infancy an unconquerable dread of the *Turkish* name; and are, as it were, naturally inured to be treated with the greatest contempt and insolence. neither is this slavish spirit confined to those that groan under their yoke, but hath spread itself among all the rest, and much more since the close of the last century, when *Chaban*, Dey of *Algiers*, with only 6000 *Turks* and 6000 *Moors*, attacked, and totally defeated the king of *Morocco*, *Alu'ey Ishmael*, at the head of 60,000 men, and obliged him to buy a peace from him on his own terms. His success was no less surprising soon after against *Mehemed*, Bey of *Tunis*, whom, with only 3000 militia, he defeated, at the head of 20,000 men, with a great slaughter, and took all his cannon and baggage; after which he entered his capital in triumph; and having set his rival *Ben Chouker* on the throne, returned to his own dominions, laden with an immense booty, as we shall relate more at length in the sequel. These two instances may suffice to shew how formidable the *Turkish* powers must have been by that time, and much more so since, both to the *Moorish* subjects and to the neighbouring *Moorish* kingdoms, who, on that account, are made to think it a singular favour

and obligation, that they forbear extending their conquests into their dominions ^d.

Arabians
how kept
under by
the Alge-
rines.

IT is, indeed, otherwise with respect to the tributary *Arabians*, who still retain their antient valour and love of liberty to such a degree, as to be still watching every opportunity of ridding themselves both of their yoke and tribute, and are numerous and strong enough to prove an over-match for the *Algerine* troops, were their tribes but rightly united with each other, and their neighbours sure to observe a neutrality. But besides that, the government takes care to keep them in extreme poverty by loading them with taxes, and oppressing them with military executions in cases of non-payment, they have still a more effectual way to prevent any attempt from that quarter, by fomenting divisions between tribe and tribe, and playing one against another; by which means a small number of *Turkish* forces, seasonably thrown in on any one side, will be more than a sufficient balance against the other: and thus, by the old experienced general maxim of, *Divide et impera* on the one hand, and by another more peculiar to the *Turks*, that severity on one side begets fear on the other, the *Algerine* state hath been able to keep that large and populous kingdom in obedience, or rather in a most cruel slavery, with a force scarcely amounting to 7000 *Turks*, including the *Colaglies*; of which near 2000 of the former are supposed to be veterans, excused from duty, and of the remaining 5000, 1000 are constantly employed in annually relieving their garrisons, whilst the rest are either to arm out their cruisers, or to form the three flying camps belonging to the three provincial viceroys, or rather annual tax-gatherers, mentioned in a former section ^e, assisted only by about 2000 *Zwuwabs*, corruptly called by *Leo Africanus*, *Dapper*, and other modern writers, *Azagues*, who are *Moorish* horse and foot, kept in pay for that purpose, who being all native enemies to the government, are only made use of to augment the bulk of its forces; but are never considered as any real safe-guard to it ^f. With so small a number of *Turkish* forces hath such a kingdom as this (so very dangerous to the head, so subject to convulsions among the soldiery, so onerous and oppressive to the subjects, and these not only born and bred enemies to the *Turkish* yoke, but almost 200 to one more numerous than their tyrannic lords), been able to subsist and support itself so long, maintain such constant wars against so many Christian states, and for the most part with surprising success, when each of them singly could equip

^d TASSY, *ibid.* SHAW, *ibid.*
^e *ibid.* ^f TASSY, *ub. sup.* SHAW, *ub. sup.* p. 312.

^e See before, p. 222,
a naval

a naval force so vastly superior to theirs. Lastly, how they have been able, by the help of so small a number of corsairs, to cause themselves to be respected at sea, and so many nations court and buy their friendship and alliance at a high rate; and how, with such handfuls of *Turkish* troops, they have been able to keep so many large provinces and variety of nations in subjection to them, might well be looked upon only as an inexplicable but an incredible problem, had not our vicinity to, and commerce with them, given us all the assurance of it that can be desired. But it is not improbable, that the most incredulous of our readers will find, in the sequel of their history, to which we are now hastening, matter enough, both to convince them of the truth of it, and to unravel a great part, if not the whole of that strange paradox.

S E C T. V.

The History of Algiers from the Foundation of that Monarchy by Barbarossa, to the End of the 16th Century.

IT will not be improper, in order to connect the *Antient* and *Modern History* of this kingdom, to recapitulate, in few words, the several vicissitudes and revolutions it hath gone through, from the time it was, with the rest of the *African* provinces, abandoned by the *Romans*, to the fatal period in which it became subject to the famed tyrant *Barbarossa*; who, being invited hither to deliver the *Algerines* from the *Spanish* yoke, did, by the basest treachery and cruelty, subdue it to himself, and became the first *Turkish* tyrant of it: ever since which time that brave nation hath continued under the galling yoke of a *Turkish* government. And this we think the more necessary to do here, as all those various revolutions lie mostly scattered in the several histories of the *Vandals*, *Greeks*, *Saracens*, *Arabs*, and other nations, that have successively held it under their respective dominions, and cannot be so easily recollected by the reader, without some such short recapitulation, as shall bring them as it were under one view, especially as this kingdom hath been blended at several times with those of *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Morocco*, &c. and with them made but a part of a much larger and more powerful kingdom.

WE have seen in some former chapters the *Romans* expelled out of this, and the rest of *Africa*, by the *Vandals*, and other northern *Barbarians*; who, after having destroyed the best part of their opulent cities and most sumptuous works, and domineered over these parts from the year 427 to 558, were forced to yield in their turn to the conquering arms of the

the renowned *Belisarius*, *Justinian's* successful general; from which time they continued in subjection to the *Greek* emperors, till about *an. 663*, when the *Mohammedan Arabs* overran all this part of *Africa*, and tyrannized over it till the natives found means to shake off the yoke, and to make themselves masters of a great part of *Barbary*, where they divided themselves into a great number of petty kingdoms or states ^a, under chiefs of their own nation and chusing, in whose government they continued several centuries, that is, till *an. 1051*; when *Abel Texfin*, of the *Zinbegan* tribe, drove them out, by the assistance of some powerful marabouts, and took upon him the title of *Amir al Miminin*, or chief of the faithful, whilst his subjects were distinguished by that of *Morabites*, and corruptly *Amoravids*.

The marabouts THIS race was again driven out in the 12th century by *Mohavedin*, a marabout, who, with the assistance of the *Muzameuins*, dethroned *Braban Hali*, the last emperor of the *Zinbegan* dynasty, and forced him to flee to some rocky precipice, where he miserably ended his life, with the unfortunate remains of his family, whilst the usurper and his successors seized on his dominions; and these affected to call themselves from him *Mohavedins*, and afterwards *Mohavedes* and *Mohades* ^b.

THIS priestly race was again expelled by *Abdulac*, governor of *Fez*, at the head of his *Benimerini*; and he, soon after, stripped of his new conquests in the 13th century by the *Sharifs of Hafsien*, descended from the *Arabian* princes, who had flourished here in the 10th century; and these, the better to secure their new dominions, divided *Barbary* into several little kingdoms or provinces, each of them under their respective chiefs, to prevent their being lost a second time ^c. Amongst the rest, this of *Algiers* was divided between four of their own native princes; the chief of whom, named *Rabmir amiz*, made choice of that of *Tremecen*; and the other three had those of *Tenez*, *Algiers Proper*, and *Bugeya*, or rather *Bujeyah*; by which partition those four cities became the seats and capitals of the four kingdoms; and the princes soon after took the title of kings upon themselves, and each of them had a number of *Arabian* tribes, or small republics, under them, whose chiefs were obliged to pay a certain tribute to them. These four monarchs laid so good a foundation for a lasting balance between them, that they continued some centuries in mutual peace and amity; till at length, that of *Tremecen* having ventured to violate some of their articles,

^a See before, p. 22, & seq.
^b See before, p. 25, & seq.

^c See before, p. 16, & seq.

that of *Tenez*, named *Abu'l-fariz*, who was by this time become very powerful, and was no less ambitious than he, took occasion, from his infringement, to declare war against him. It was not long before he made himself master of *Bujeyah* and *Tlem San*, or *Tremecen*; and had such success against his antagonist, that he obliged him to submit to a very disadvantageous peace, and to become tributary to him. He did not, however, continue long so; for *Abu'l fariz* dying a few years after, and having divided his kingdom between his three sons, the eldest of whom had *Tenez*, the second *Figeri*, vulgarly called *Gigeri*, and the third, named *Abdalaniz*, that of *Bujeyah* this last immediately entered into a vigorous and successful war against the king of *Tremecen*; in which the *Algerines*, who had been hitherto tributary to the latter, ^{and success} seeing him now become too weak either to protect or oppress ^{king of} them, thought it more safe to transfer their tribute to his antagonist, by which means *Abdalaniz* became so powerful, that he might, in all likelihood, have made himself master of all *Barbary* with a great deal of ease, had not *Spain* taken advantage of those intestine discords, and sent a powerful army thither, which soon put a stop to all his success, and quite changed the face of affairs there.

THIS remarkable revolution happened *an. 1505*, when *Ferdinand V* king of *Navarre*, by the advice of his prime minister, cardinal *Ximenes*, sent thither the count of *Navarre* with a powerful army and fleet, who soon made himself master of the important city and harbour of *Oran*, or *Auran*, then chiefly inhabited by *Mosses*, who had been banished out of the maritime provinces of *Spain* about twelve years before; and who, being thoroughly acquainted with the *Spanish* language, and the course of those maritime coasts, did greatly distress them by their frequent descents, and pillaging in roads; to suppress which this powerful force was chiefly sent. The *Spanish* admiral pursued his success with such valour and speed, that the city of *Bujeyah*, and other considerable places, soon followed the fate of *Oran*, which so alarmed the *Algerines*, who had no small reason to fear that his next attempt would be on their capital, which was at that time in too weak a condition to make head against such a force. In this dilemma ^{The Alge-} they found no better expedient than to apply to *Selim Eutemi*, ^{ines put} or, as *Marmol* calls him^t, *Celim Beni-Tumi*, a noble and warlike *Arabian* prince, whose territory was the fertile plain of ^{themselves} *Mettijah*, vulgarly *Mosfigia*, and to put themselves wholly ^{under the} under his protection and government; who came accordingly, ^{of prince} at the head of a good number of his bravest subjects, toge- ^{Eutemi.}

^t See before, p^r 50, 181. ^t *Afric* l. v. c. 41.

ther with his wife *Zaphira*, a lady justly celebrated for the beauties of her body and mind, and a son, then about twelve years old. All this, however, could not hinder the *Spaniards* landing a sufficient number of forces near *Algiers* on that same year, which soon obliged that metropolis to pay homage to *Spain*, and to become tributary to it: neither could prince *Selim* prevent their building a strong fort on the small island opposite to the city †, and putting a strong garrison, together with a sufficient quantity of artillery, into it, which proved a powerful curb on the *Algerines*, at the same time that it terrified their corsairs from sailing either in or out of that harbour: this galling yoke they were obliged to submit to till the year 1516, on which king *Ferdinand* died; but no sooner were they apprised of his death than they resolved, if possible, to shake it off, and make a fresh push for their liberty.

Aruch Barbarossa, the famous, or rather infamous, pirate, a Turk and native of the island of *Lesbos* on the *Archipelago*, or, as *Marmol* and others will rather have him, a *Sicilian* renegade (C), was by this time become no less dreaded for his valour than for his surprising success, and was then on a cruize with a squadron of galleys and barks. To him the *Barbaros* *Algerines*, with the consent and permission of prince *Eutemi*, sa invited sent a deputation, requesting him to come and free them by the Al- from the *Spanish* yoke, and promising him a gratuity *angerines*; swerable to so great a service; both which he readily accepted, and immediately dispatched a squadron of eighteen galleys and thirty barks to their assistance, whilst he hastened to them by long marches by land, accompanied by as many *Turks* and *Moors* as he could possibly engage in that expedition: the news of this filled the city of *Algiers* with inexpressible joy. But as we are now entering into a strange series of the most uncommon villanies, murders, and surprising successes of this infamous pirate, who is particularly noted by all historians of this time, though with some disagreement, as being the first who brought the *Turks* into *Barbary*, it will not be improper to give our readers a short account of him before we proceed farther.

† See before, p. 181, & 200.

(C) *Marmol*, and others after him, positively affirm his father to have been a native *Sicily*, and originally a Christian, who turn'd *Mohammedan* for the better carrying on the piratical trade. If so, *Aruch*, or, as he calls him, *Horux* (for the surname of *Bar-*

barossa was given him on account of his red beard) was only a renegade's son at most; for his father must be supposed to have brought him up in the religion he had assumed, and so could be no apostate from Christianity (1).

(1) See *Marmol*, *Afric.* l. v. ch. 11.

We have already observed in a late note, that he was the *his extract* son of a renegado, whether of *Sicily* or *Lemnos*, who followed *and first* the same piratical trade: his mother is said to have been a *exploits at* Spaniard of *Andalusia*, who had been taken prisoner by, and *sea.* was brought up under him; others will have him to have followed the trade of a potter. However that be, his son, whom we are speaking of, began that of corsair very young, and had the command of a vessel, fitted out by some *Constantinopolitan* merchant, to cruize upon such as were not in alliance with the *Porte*, and steered directly with it towards the coasts of *Barbary*, where a *Turkish* vessel had hardly ever been seen. He was kindly received by the king of *Tunis*, and permitted to put into any of his ports, upon paying him a tenth for every prize, and was here joined by another galley. We are told he was but then thirteen years of age, and had with him two brothers, *Hayradin*, vulgarly *Aradin*, and *Izaak*; the former of whom made afterwards a greater figure than *Barbassa* himself, and succeeded him in the kingdom of *Algiers*.

THESE three soon after took such a number of prizes, particularly two of the pope's galleys of war, as filled both *Moors* and Christians with astonishment (the *Moors* of *Barbary* having till then annoyed those coasts only in tow-boats and brigantines), insomuch, that in about eight years time he saw himself at the head of twelve large galleys; eight of which were his own, and the rest belonged to his chief officers: some authors make them amount to twenty-six, all manned with *Turks* and *Moors*. With these he was, not long after, invited to the assistance of the king of *Bujeyah*, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, with promises of ample rewards; and having landed his forces, consisting of 1000 *Turks* and *Moors*, made a fruitless attempt to recover his capital, in conjunction with that prince, the *Spanish* garrison making a continual fire upon them, in which his left arm was shot off by a cannon ball. He renewed it the year following with no better success; upon which he wholly gave it up, and sailed directly for *Jigel*, distant about twenty leagues from *Bujeyah*, where he continued the whole autumn and ensuing winter: by this time, the inhabitants being almost reduced to a famine through the badness of the harvest, he set sail, and soon after returned with three ships laden with corn, which he distributed among the townsmen, and the *Arabians* of the adjacent mountains; by which he so far gained the affections of the latter, that they immediately honoured him with the title of their Soltan; though they had, till then, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the greatest monarchs. Under this new title he began to make war against some of the neighbouring mountaineers, and had

gained several considerable victories over them, when he received the ambassy from prince *Selim Eutemi*; or, as he is called by others, *Salem Aben Toutin* above-mentioned, which gave him the promising prospect of making himself master of a more convenient and important place on the *Barbary* coast than either that of *Jigel* or *Bujeyah*. With this view he began his march by land, as was hinted above, at the head of 800 *Turks*, 3000 *Jigelites*, and 2000 *Moorish* volunteers; but instead of taking the direct road to *Algiers*, bent his way towards *Sharshel*, where *Hassan*, another famed corsair, had settled himself, and whom he there surprized, and obliged to surrender, not without a previous promise of friendship; but no sooner got him in his power than he caused his head to be cut off, seized on all his ships, and obliged the *Turks*, who had assisted in his service, to follow him in his new expedition. Upon their arrival near *Algiers*, all the people of that metropolis, great and small, with prince *Selim Eutemi* at their head, went out to meet this great warrior and deliverer, whom they looked upon as invincible, and conducted him into that metropolis with the utmost splendor and triumph, amidst the greatest acclamations of the people, and lodged him in one of the noblest apartments of that prince's palace, where he was again received with the greatest marks of distinction, and returned their compliments on his happy arrival with great condescension, and repeated assurances of his sincerest friendship and assistance: whilst his troops were likewise treated with such uncommon generosity, that our pirate, elevated beyond measure at their strange and unexpected submission, and his own reception, began to form the treacherous design of enslaving them, and making himself king of *Algiers*, and the provinces belonging to it. His only fear was, lest his *Turks* and *Moors* should recoil at so signal a piece of baseness, and others refuse to join in it, or, perhaps, betray his design to prince *Selim*, and abandon him to his just resentment. He, therefore, resolved to communicate it first to the chief officers of his council, after having first exacted a solemn oath of secrecy from them, who made no scruple to applaud his resolution, and to promise to assist him in it with all their might.

Barbarossa's ingratitude and treachery to the Algerines; ALL this while his troops revelled in the city and country with all the licentiousness and insolence imaginable, and committed the most shocking disorders with surprising impunity, the *Algerines* neither daring, nor being in a condition, to suppress them; and *Barbarossa* not only conniving at it, but privately encouraging them, with a view of bringing things to such a crisis as would facilitate the execution of his treacherous scheme. In the mean time, the better to delude the *Algerines*, he

he caused a battery to be erected at the marine gate, opposite to the *Spanish* fort; and at the distance of about 500, or, according to another author, 300 paces ^f, and from thence continued battering it for the space of a whole month, without any effect, his cannon being much too small; upon which he thought proper to put off his expedition to some other time. In all this he acted in so arbitrary a manner, without consulting the prince, or shewing the least regard to his being pleased or displeased with what he did, whilst his soldiers behaved with the same brutish insolence to the *Algerines*, that they could no longer doubt of his perfidious design, and began to complain of his perfidy in so loud and public a manner, as gave the pirate reason to think that their next step would be to oppose him with their all might; to prevent which, he resolved to be before-hand with them, and at once to rid himself of prince *Eutemi*, got himself proclaimed by his troops ^{prince Eutemi} king of *Algiers*, and oblige the *Algerines* to acknowledge him; as such (D): all which he but too easily accomplished, with little

^f Compare TASSY, p. 11, & MORGAN, p. 236.

(D) We are told by a late writer, that there was still another motive which hastened the execution of this perfidious design; *viz.* *Barbarossa's* secret affection for the excellent and beautiful *Zaphira*, prince *Eutemi's* wife. This secret piece of history, he tells us (1), he met with in a vellum manuscript, in the hands of a famous marabout, of the family of that unfortunate prince. The substance of which is, that the pirate's addresses to that virtuous princess being rejected with that resentment which the murderer of her husband, and the enslaver of the *Algerine* kingdom, justly deserved, his passion grew the more furious, and made him resolve to use force towards her. He made no scruple to threaten her with revenge; to prevent which, she took care to arm herself with a dagger and a dose

of poison against his next visit, designing with the one to stab the tyrant at the heart upon his first attempt, and to dispatch herself by the other, if she missed her blow.

He came accordingly on the next day, and, on some pretence, got all her women into one room, and having locked them up in it, entered into that of the princess, whom he found sitting on her sofa, and all bathed in tears, and overwhelmed with the deepest grief. He endeavoured at first to soothe her by the gentlest carriage, but grew the more furious upon her next repulse, and had no sooner laid his hands on her, than she drew out the dagger, and tried to plunge it into his heart. He did, however, so far ward off the blow, that it only wounded him in the arm; but that proved sufficient to oblige him to leave

(1) Preface to the Hist. of Algiers.

little or no danger or difficulty. With relation to the first, his being lodged in the prince's palace gave him an opportunity of concerting his measures both for the time and means of privately dispatching him; for having observed that he usually staid awhile alone in the bath every day before the time of prayer at noon, he took that opportunity of surprising him there, unperceived, in that naked and defenceless condition; and having strangled him with a napkin, immediately withdrew, without being observed by any one; presently after this he returns thither, attended with a considerable retinue, under pretence of bathing, as usual, and put on the most lively tokens of surprize and grief at the sight of the murdered prince; but to avoid suspicion, gave it out that he was fallen into a fit, and had been suffocated in the bath: and though the inhabitants of *Algiers* did but too justly suspect the pernicious and inhuman pirate to have been the author of that tragic scene, they had been already so cruelly treated by his soldiers, that they dared neither complain, nor oppose any thing he did. On the contrary, they began to fear that the slaughter would be universal; upon which many of them abandoned the city and country; and, with what little they could take with them, fled into some of the neighbouring states, whilst others barricadoed themselves in their houses, and left the *Turks* masters of every thing, which paved the way to the execution of the other two parts of his treacherous plot, getting himself proclaimed king by his troops, and acknowledged by the *Algerines*; the former of which was but too readily complied with by his forces, and without the least opposition from the latter. *Barbarossa* was accordingly proclaimed through the city with great pomp; he rode through

confesses himself to be proclaimed king of *Algiers*.

her for a while, till he had bound up his wound, and called in one of his guards to disarm her, resolved now more than ever to force her at any rate: but whilst that was doing, she had swallowed the poison, which operated with such quickness, that she expired soon after at his feet; whereupon the brutish tyrant wreaked his revenge on her women whom he had locked up, caused them to be all strangled, and privately buried with their mistresses, and a report to be

given out that they had made their escape (2). But whether this story might not be contrived by some of prince *Eutemi's* descendants to blacken the name of *Barbarossa* the more, we leave to our readers to decide, especially as our author doth not pretend to answer for the authenticity of the manuscript out of which he took it. The reader may see it at full length in his history of *Algiers* (3).

(2) *Lit. i. chap. 1.* (3) *Ibid. p. 11, 23.* See also *Morgan's Reflections on i. i. romantic story*, p. 239.

the streets on horseback, attended by his *Turks* and *Moors*, who cried, " Long live *Aruch Barbareffa*, the invincible king of *Algiers*, the chosen of God to deliver the people from the oppression of the Christians, and destruction to all that shall oppose, or refuse to obey him as their lawful sovereign ;" which last threatening words so confirmed the inhabitants in their fears of a general massacre, that those few that were left in the city began to think of preventing it by a timely submission.

THE cavalcade ended, the tyrant was accompanied to prince *Butemi's* palace, where, being seated on the throne under a stately canopy, he received the congratulations of his *Turks*; immediately after which his troops dispersed themselves, as was agreed, through all parts of the city, to acquaint the *Algerines* with what had been transacted, and to invite them in the new king's name to come and swear allegiance to him, with assurances, that as many as should comply, would be treated with particular regard by him, and entitled to his special favour. Accordingly many of them came and complied with his invitations, paid homage to him, signed the instrument of his coronation, and were dismissed with tokens of his esteem, and very large promises. The rest were brought in by degrees soon after, more through fear than love or hope, though he had taken care to allure them to it by a proclamation; in which he gave them the greatest assurances that he would govern them with the equity of a good prince, and the indulgence of a tender father. He had also issued out another edict for the establishing a better discipline and regularity amongst his soldiery, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to molest the inhabitants in their going in and out in pursuit of their respective callings: but all this proved mere grimace, and so little observed or minded by him or his *Turks*, that strangling, confiscation, imprisonment, fines, and banishment, were some of the first tokens he gave them of his pretended equity and fatherly tenderness; insomuch, that both he and his *Turks* became so dreadful and detestable to their oppressed subjects, that they used to shut up their houses and hide themselves, whenever he appeared in public. Whilst he was thus exercising his tyranny over all whom he suspected of disaffection, he did not forget to strengthen himself by every means that could terrify them from attempting the recovery of their liberty. He began with regulating and augmenting his forces, fortifying the citadel of his capital, supplying it with sufficient artillery, and other warlike stores, and placing a strong *Turkish* garrison in it. He next coined new money, with his name and stamp

* LEO AFRIC, lib. iv. MARMOL, l. v. c. 11. & seq. DASSER, TASSY, & al. upon

upon it (E); and sent ambassadors to all the neighbouring princes, in order to get himself acknowledged by them. In a word, he so confirmed himself on his new throne, allowed his *Turkish* soldiers so much liberty, and they grew so insolent and brutish with it; that neither the *Algerine* women, nor even their children of either sex, dared to appear in the streets, for fear of exposing themselves to some bestial attempts; whilst the men were quite drained and impoverished with heavy taxes by their pretended protector, nor dared so much as complain of their unhappy slavery, without danger of a still worse treatment.

Barbarossa BARBAROSSA, in spite of all his craftiness, suffered his brutishness and ambition to hurry him into three oversights, *sa gusly of* which were like to have proved fatal to him; for his *abree over-* treacherous and inhuman way of treating them could hardly fail, he must needs think, of driving them upon some desperate way of recovering their liberty; and he knew well enough how ready the *Spaniards*, under whom, tyrannic as they were, they could hardly fare worse, would be ready to assist them with all their might, to crush at once both him and his *Turkish* blood-hounds. The next false step he took was the disabliging the warlike *Arabs* within his dominions, already but too justly provoked at his perfidy and murder of the brave prince *Eutemi*; for though he had made use of all the artifices he could think of to wipe off the imputation of it, he was still firmly believed to be the author of it; and, though he had, by fair promises and caresses, so far gained upon them, that they had agreed to pay him a small tribute, yet he had suffered his harpies to invade them, and violently to drive away their flocks, seize on their granaries, &c. under pretence that they refused to pay it; by which means they were become no less inveterate against him than the *Algerines*. The third oversight he committed was the disbanding the greatest part of his *Moorish* troops, who were mostly of the province of *Jigel*, vulgarly *Gigel*, whose poverty, and the sweets of sharing with the *Turks* in plunder and oppression, had wholly attached to his service, but were now returned home with no small grudging and discontent ^b.

^a *Iid. ibid. Vid. & MORGAN, Algier, part 1. c. 11. TASSER, c. i. p. 29, & seq.*

(E) This coin was of gold and silver; and though some pretend that it had the Soltan's name on it, and that *Barbarossa* acknowledged himself under his protection, yet neither of them are true; for his coin, as we are told, was inscribed *Soltan Aronje*, in *Turkish* characters; and he always acted independant either on the *Porte* or any other power (4).

(4) See *Morgan's Hist. Algiers*, p. 240.

THE *Algerine* chiefs were apprised of all this, and began ^{they hatch} to think it a favourable crisis to make a bold push for liberty. ^{a terrible} They found means to send privately some deputies to the ^{plot against} *Arabians* of the *Metissean* plains, the country and dominions ^{him.} of their late noble Cheyk, prince *Selim Eutemi*, whose son had happily escaped to *Oran*, and put himself under the protection of the Marquess de *Gomez*, governor of it, and was treated by him with all the tenderness and respect due to his birth, youth, and unhappy circumstances. The design of this embassy was no other, than to stir up those brave *Arabs* to join with them in revenging the murder of their prince, to put an effectual stop to the *Turkish* tyranny, and to restore his son to his father's throne and dominions: they likewise found means to carry on a secret correspondence with the governor of the *Spanish* fort opposite to *Algiers*. The result of the whole was, that *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* should be all assassinated at once, and that the *Algerines* should again become tributary to *Spain*. The day being agreed on for the execution of this important attempt, it was resolved, that a considerable number of *Moor*s should bring their fruits and herbs, as usual, to the market, with arms concealed under their gowns; and that another set of them should privately glide themselves to the galleys, which were drawn up upon the shore on each side of the city, and set them on fire: so that whilst the *Turks* were employed in extinguishing the flames, the citizens should shut the gates upon them, and the garrison of the fort attack them in their armed boats on all sides, whilst the cannon of the ramparts kept firing upon them. The misfortune was, that the persons engaged in this design were too numerous; and *Barbarossa* had so vigilant and jealous an eye over the *Algerines*, that he discovered the whole design time enough to prevent its taking effect. So that, without betraying the least suspicion or uneasiness from them, he caused a strong guard to be placed both at the city gates and about the galleys, under pretence of securing them from the *Spaniards*, and by that means prevented the farther execution of that plot, without giving them the least suspicion of his being apprised of it: and whilst they were patiently waiting for a more favourable opportunity for resuming it, he was meditating in the most effectual means of wreaking his vengeance on the contrivers of it. Accordingly, as he was soon after going with his usual retinue to the mosque, at the hour of prayer, he was followed thither by a number of the *Algerine* chiefs, who were no sooner entered than the gates were ordered to be shut, and the place to be surrounded by the *Turkish* soldiery, to prevent the citizens approaching it. Immediately after which *Barbarossa* began with upbraiding them in the strongest

strongest terms for their intended treachery, as he stiled it, against him; then caused the heads of twenty of the principals of them to be cut off at the mosque's door, and, with their bodies, to be flung into the streets, and thence buried in some great dunghills, which were then in the heart of the city. He likewise confiscated most of their estates, and laid a heavy fine on the rest. Which dreadful execution so terrified them, that they never dared since to attempt any thing against him or his successors, but have patiently submitted their necks to the galling yoke with the most surprising patience, in spite of all the insolence and oppression they have groined under ever since ¹.

The Spanish fleet shipwrecked.

In the mean time the young *Arabian* prince, the son of *Eutemi*, whom we left at *Oran*, thinking himself no less able than he was eager to revenge the wrongs done to his family, laid before the marquis of *Gomarez* a very practicable plan for putting the city of *Algiers* into the king of *Spain's* hands, in which he proposed to become the principal actor; and was thereupon sent to lay it before cardinal *Ximenes*; who approving of it, sent a fleet, with 10,000 land forces, under the command of *Don Francisco*, or, as others call him, *Don Diego de Vera*, to drive *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* out of *Algiers*, and to restore young *Selim Eutemi*. But the fleet was no sooner come in sight of the place, than it was dispersed by a storm, and the greatest part of it dashed against the rocks: most of the *Spaniards* were drowned; and the few that had escaped to shore, either killed by the *Turks* or made slaves (E). So that instead of driving the tyrant out of *Algiers*, this sad disaster not only confirmed him the more in it, but contributed to swell his pride and insolence to such a degree, that he began to imagine himself invincible, and that the very elements conspired to make him so, and to grow more cruel and oppressive than ever towards the inhabitants both of the city and country; and, indeed, not only the *Algerines*, but the *Arabians* and *Moors*, began to look upon him as a prodigy of good fortune, as well as of insolence and tyranny; and well they might, considering to what pitch of

¹ MARMOL, GRAMMAY, LEO AFRIC. DAPPER, TASSY, MORGAN, &c.

(E) *Marmol* says, they landed 7000 troops, whom *Barbarossa*, whilst the rest, endeavouring to recover their ships, perished with the rest of the fleet by the storm that arose immediately after (1).

(1) *Marmol, Afric. lib. v. c. 11.*

power and grandeur he had raised himself with so small a handful of *Turkish* desperadoes*. The *Arabians* of several Arabians tribes in particular were so alarmed at it, that they held several conferences; in which they at length resolved to send on an embassy four of their most distinguished chiefs for wisdom, to implore the assistance of *Hamida Al Aabd*, vulgarly *Hamidel Abdes*, king of *Tenez*, a prince no less uneasy than they at *Barbarossa's* exorbitant power; and who readily promised to do his utmost to drive him and his *Turks* out of *Algiers*, provided they engaged to settle that kingdom upon him and his descendants. Their present fears made them readily agree to his conditions; so that he immediately set out, at the head of 10,000 *Moors*; and, upon his entering into the *Algerine* dominions, was joined by the *Arabians* of the whole country. *Barbarossa* had timely notice of his approach, and, trusting to his good fortune, engaged him at the head of only 1000 *Turkish* musqueteers, and 500 *Granada Moors*, and totally defeated his numerous army (F), and pursued him to the very gates of his capital, which obliged him to remove farther towards *Mount Atlas*; upon which he laid siege to, and easily carried it; and, after having given it to be plundered by his *Turks*, obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge him their sovereign (G).

ONE would have imagined that such an unequal victory and rapid success, when weighed with the tyrannic use he made of them, would have inspired all the neighbouring states with a suitable dread of his government. Nevertheless, he had no sooner made himself master of the kingdom of *Tenez*, than the inhabitants of that of *Tremecen*, which borders upon it, upon some dissatisfaction against their then reigning prince *Abuzeyan*, vulgarly *Abuzijen*, who had, it

* MARMOL, ub sup. GRAMMAY, lib ii. c. 17 & 18. DAPPER, DAVITY, TASSY, MORGAN, &c.

(F) This victory was, however, chiefly owing to the advantage which his troops had from their fire arms, the enemy having no other weapons than arrows and javelins (2).

(G) The city of *Tenez*, or *Tennes*, the capital of the kingdom of that name, is situate near the sea, about forty leagues

west of *Algiers*, and near as many east of *Oran*, and had at this time a considerable territory, both under the possession of prince *Hamida*, surnamed *Al Aabd*, from his swarthiness, his mother being a black, whence he is vulgarly called *Hamidel Abdes* (3).

(2) Marmol, ub sup. Tassy, p. 32, & seq. Morgan, Algiers, vol. i. ch. 3. p. 246.

(3) Id. ub sup.

seems, dethroned his nephew, and forced him to flee to *Oran* for refuge, sent some of their principal citizens on an embassy to him, with very advantageous offers, and even of the sovereignty of their noble city and fertile territory, if he would come to their assistance; which he readily accepted. His brother *Hairadin*, al. *Cheredin*, was immediately ordered to send him the artillery, and other warlike implements, necessary for that enterprize, from *Algiers*. His other brother, *Isaac Zemi*, was left governor of *Tenez* with only 200 *Turks* and a few *Moors*, whilst himself halted by long marches towards *Tremecen*, with the rest of his forces, attended with a great number of camels and horses laden with provision; his army still increasing as he went, by the addition of several *Moorish* tribes, which joined him with no other view than that of plundering. *Abuzijen*, who suspected nothing of his subjects treachery, being informed that *Barbarossa* was marching with full speed towards his dominions, went to meet him with an army of 6000 horse and 300 foot. The battle was fought on the plain of *Agbad*, al. *Agbel*, near *Auran*, with great bravery for some time; but the invaders artillery gave him such an advantage at length, that he forced him to retire to his capital, where he no sooner arrived than the *Tremecenians* struck off his head, and sent it on the point of a spear to the victorious *Barbarossa*, with a fresh invitation to him to come and take possession of the kingdom. Upon his approach, they all went out to meet and welcome him, whom he received with his usual complaisance, and many fair promises; but was no sooner entered that city with his *Turks*, than he began to give them some mark of his tyrannic temper; and either by foul or fair means compelled those, who had rifled the palace of their late king, to refund every particular to him; by which means he raised an immense sum upon his new subjects, some part of which he employed in repairing the fortifications of the city and citadel, called *Al-Meshuar*, and the rest in rewarding his *Turks* and *Moors*. The *Tremecenians* were highly exasperated at this extreme severity, as they deemed it, and were not long before they gave him cause to fear that his reign over them would prove but uneasy and precarious; and as, on the other hand, he rightly judged his neighbourhood, with the *Spaniards* of *Auran*, would prove troublesome and dangerous, he thought proper to enter into an alliance with *Muley Hammed*, king of *Fex*, who was then at war with that of *Morocco*. After which he took care to seize on and secure the remaining cities of that kingdom to his obedience, by garrisoning them with his own troops¹: and as some of them ventured to revolt soon

¹ MARMOL, ub. sup. GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 27. TASSY, & ak
sup. citat. after,

after, at the report of the tyrannies which he every where exercised over those that fell under his power, he was again obliged to send one of his corsairs, named *Escander*, a man no less cruel than *hego* reduce them; so that the *Tremecenians* began now to repent in good earnest of their having invited such a tyrant to their assistance, and to consult on the means of driving him away, and bringing back their lawful prince *Bubama*, or, as others call him, *Abuchen Men*, or *Abu Hammen*; but, unfortunately for them, their cabals were discovered soon after, and a great number of the conspirators were massacred in the most cruel manner, *Abuchen Men* had the good luck to escape to *Auran*, and to be received under the protection of the marquis of *Gomez*, governor of it, who sent immediate advice of it to *Charles V.* then lately arrived in *Spain*, with a powerful fleet and army. Some say, that that governor took the young prince with him to *Spain*, whither he repaired to lay before the emperor a plain state of the affairs and transactions in *Africa*, and to advise with him about the means of suppressing the power and success of the now dreaded *Barbarossa*^m. However that be, no doubt can be made about the readiness with which that politic monarch undertook to reinthrone an unfortunate prince, who would thereby become not only tributary to him, but might be made very instrumental in driving the usurping tyrant out of his other conquests. He immediately ordered him a succour of 10,000 men, under the command of the governor of *Aura*, who, under the guidance of *Abuchen Men*, began his march towards *Tremecen*, and in their way were joined by prince *Selim*, and a great number of *Arabs* and *Moors* from the adjacent countries. The first thing they resolved upon was to attack the important fortress of *Calau*, situate between *Tremecen* and *Algiers*, and commanded by the corsair *Escander*, at the head of about 300 *Turks*. They invested it closely on all sides, in hopes that *Barbarossa* would thereby be induced to come out of *Tremecen* to its assistance, which would give the citizens an opportunity to rise up in arms during his absence, and to keep him out. The *Turks*, however, made a brave defence, and, in a rally they made at night, surprised and cut off near 300 *Spaniards*. This encouraged them to venture a second time, in which they found the besiegers so well upon their guard, that they were repulsed with great loss, and *Escander* himself was wounded in the thigh by a musket ball; soon after which they sur-

A. D.
1517.
Charles V.
assists the
young king
of Tre-
mecen.

^m *Ibid.*

rendered upon honourable terms (F); and the place, after a severe plunder, was put into the hands of the king of Tremecen.

ALL this while *Barbarossa* kept himself close in his capital, not daring to stir out for fear of a revolt, and no less embarrassed on account of the politic delays which the king of Fez made, to send him the quota of auxiliaries stipulated by the late treaty of alliance between them, notwithstanding all his pressing instances to him.

Barbarossa leaves Tremecen at his approach

AT length being informed, that *Abu Hammen* and his *Arabs*, accompanied by *Martin Argot*, the *Spanish* commander, were in full march to lay close siege to Tremecen, he judged it more safety to come out of it, at the head of 1500 of his *Turks* and 5000 *Moorish* horse, and to break his way through the enemy in the open field. He was not going far from the city, before his council advised him to return and fortify himself in it, but it was now too late, the inhabitants being resolved to keep him out by main force, and to open their gates to their own lawful prince as soon as he appeared. In this distress he saw no way left but to retire to the citadel, and there defend himself till he could find an opportunity of stealing out with his men and all his treasure. Here he defended himself vigorously, and made several successful sallies against the enemy, as if he designed to hold out a long siege, but his provisions failing him, he took the advantage of a subterranean back way, which he had caused to be digged up for that purpose, and, taking his immense treasure with him, stole away as privately as he could. His flight was, however, soon discovered, and he so closely pursued, that to amuse, as he hoped, the enemy, he caused a great deal of his money, jewels, plate, &c. to be scattered all the way, thinking they would not fail to stop him in pursuit to gather it up. This stratagem failed him, through the vigilance of the *Spanish* general, who was himself at the head of

(1) This capitulation was, however, broken by the besiegers, and the *Turks* all massacred, except sixteen, who went and clung close to the stirrups of the king, and of the *Spanish* general. The occasion of which was owing to a young *Arabian* officer, who, having discovered his father's shield upon *Escander*, who had formerly taken it from

him, and had greatly abused his wives, fell upon him in a violent fury, assisted by thirty young warriors of his own tribe, and a good number of others who followed after them, and cut them all in pieces, notwithstanding all the king's and general's endeavours to prevent it.

(4)

the pursuers, and obliged them to march on, till he was come up close to him, on the banks of the *Huexda*, about eight leagues from *Tremecen*. *Barbarossa* had just crossed the river with his vanguard, when *Argol* fell upon his rear on the other side; and cut them all off, then crossing the water, overtook him, at a small distance from it. Here a fresh and bloody Barba-engagement ensued, in which the *Turks* fought like so many *rosta* and lions, till being overpowered by numbers, they were all *his army* massacred by the *Spiards*, and *Barbarossa* among the rest, *cut in* in the 44th year of his age. Thus fell that famed corsair, *cut in* four years after he had raised himself to the royal title over *the city of Tegel* and adjacent countries, two years after his making himself to be acknowledged king of *Algiers*, and scarcely a twelve-month after his treacherous reduction of that *of Tremecen*. His head, set upon a lance, was carried in *his head* triumph to that capital, where the marquis of *Gomez* settled *carried in* the king again upon his throne, not only without opposition, *triumph* but with the joyful inclinations of all the inhabitants. Some few days after the night, the king of *Spain*, who had, till then, artfully delayed sending his ally any succour, made his appearance at the head of 20,000 horse near the field of battle, as if he came to his assistance, when, upon hearing the news of his defeat and death, he marched off with all possible speed, to avoid being attacked by the enemy.

THE concern it gave him greater at *Spain*, when this news reached the *Turks* that were left there *Spain*, and not without great cause, considering that they were not only surrounded with enemies on all sides, but that they were left to defend a city, to which *Spain* were become so justly and on so many accounts, odious, ever since their arrival thither. However, they soon receded as the most effectual way to prevent a revolt from that side, to cause *Aladin*, or *Hajadin*, the late *Barbarossa*'s brother, to be proclaimed king of *Spain*, and high admiral of the sea, *Aladin* which was done without any great opposition, though the *Spanish* generality of the captains, and some say *Hajadin* himself, *at first* were at first more inclined to embark their forces and riches *admiral of* upon two or two galleys, which was all their naval strength *the sea* at that time, and to abandon *Spain*, than to trust to the inactivity of the inhabitants and this must, in all probability, have proved their safest way, had not the marquis *Gomez* been guilty of too much precipitation in sending the emperor's forces back into *Spain*, so soon after his reenthroning the *Tremecen* king, instead of keeping them still in *Spain*,

^a MARMOL, TASSY, & al. ubi sup. Vid. & VERTOT Hist. of Malthe, lib. x. p. 541.

^b See before, p. 264, & seq.

by which means he lost, for ought that appears to the contrary, the fairest opportunity of driving those *Turks* quite out of *Barbary*. *Hayradin* was too quick-sighted not to perceive the advantage which the removal of those forces was to him, in ridding his friends from all farther dread, and disheartening the malecontents from all farther hopes from that quarter: of all which he so well convinced his officers and militia, that they all resolved to stand by him to the last^a.

HE was not, however, without some just fears, that the *Algerines*, to whom his government became daily more insupportable, on account of the cruel tyrannies and oppressions which his officers exercised over them, would, upon the first opportunity, join themselves with the *Arabians* and *Moors*, and break out into some open revolt. He had scarcely held the reins two years, before he had such pregnant proofs of an universal ferment throughout the kingdom, as made him apprehend some speedy insurrection, unless he found some more effectual means to over-awe them than his few insolent *Turkish* forces, which were now detested by all his subjects. The more effectually, therefore, to secure himself against all events, he had recourse to *Selim I.* then emperor of *Constantinople*, to whom he dispatched an ambassador, with magnificent presents, to notify to him the death of his brother *Aruch*, and his own election to the *Algerine* crown, and to make him at the same time an offer of submitting the kingdom to his protection, and to pay him an annual tribute, provided the emperor would assist him with forces sufficient to maintain himself in his station and his new conquests. He was moreover to inform the *Porte* with the situation of the affairs in *Barbary*, and to represent to him how easy it would be to reduce that whole country under its protection and government; and last of all, if the Grand Signor refused those offers, they were then empowered to offer to him an entire cession of the *Algerine* kingdom, on condition that *Hayradin* should have the dignity and title of viceroy under him^a.

Obtains
his protec-
tion, and a
strong rein-
forcement. *SELIM*, who had but a little before, by the conquest of *Egypt*, put a final end to the long usurpation of the *Mamalik*^a, was highly pleased with this proposal, as it was so considerable an addition to his dominions, or, at least, to his glory; and sent *Hayradin* word, that he readily received him under his protection, appointed him his *Basha* or Viceroy over the kingdom of *Algiers*, and that he would speedily dispatch to him a reinforcement of 2000 *Janissaries*, completely armed, which he accordingly did; by which means *Hayradin* became so absolute a master, both of the *Arabians* and *Moors*,

^a *Iid. ibid.* ^a *Iid. ibid.* ^a See before, vol. ix. p. 232, & xii. sub *SELIM I.* p. 224, & seq.

that they were forced to become his submissive slaves, without daring to utter the least complaint against his government. After this he continued in *Algiers* without the least fear or danger, well guarded by his bold and resolute *Turks*, increasing daily in power and wealth by the number of his corsairs, and their successful depredations at sea: whilst the *Porte* kept sending him a constant supply of recruits every year, with money for the payment of his troops; insomuch, that vast numbers of *Turks*, who were either malefactors, or persons in debt, or desperate circumstances, broken fortune, or on any other account uneasy at home, resorted thither from the *Levant*, and gladly listed in his service either for the land or the sea; so that in a little time the *Turks* under him became capable of suppressing both *Moors* and *Arabs* at home, and of opposing and annoying the Christians at sea.

His fleet and army daily increased, by new supplies from Turkey.

HE was now at leisure to put two grand projects in execution, which he had been meditating for some time. The first was to destroy the Pegnon or *Spanish* fort, which was a great nuisance to his metropolis, or at least to force the garrison out of it: the other was to make that city a commodious harbour for his ships, by building a mole from thence to the island, in order to shelter them from the weather and the north sea, as well as from being within the reach of the fort guns; to avoid which, they were obliged to lie about a mile west of the towns, and without any good anchorage. As to the first, after having made several fruitless attempts to compass it by force, he at length bethought himself to do it by stratagem; to which end he directed two handsome young *Moors* to convey themselves privately into the fort, and to get admittance to the governor, under pretence of being desirous of becoming Christians; and these acted their part so well, that they were kept in his house, in order to be instructed before they were admitted to baptism. They had continued there some time without the least mistrust, when, on *Easter* day, whilst all the garrison were at church, one of the governor's domesticks observed them both very busy at the top of a watch-tower in making signals to the city by the motion of the muslin of their turbans; upon which he alarmed the garrison, which immediately put itself in arms to prevent a surprize. The two young *Moors* being seized and brought to the governor, were soon forced to discover the whole secret, and that they were sent thither by *Hayradin* to watch a proper opportunity for surprizing the fort, and to give notice of it to the town by a signal. Upon which the governor ordered them to be hanged upon a very high gallows, as a

signal to the town that their plot was discovered; which so exasperated *Hayradin*, that he resolved to leave no experiment untried till the fort was either taken or destroyed. He sent accordingly a herald, on the next day, to summon the governor, *Martin de Vargas*, either to surrender the place upon the honourable terms he offered him, or expect the utmost severity of military law, in case he refused. To this the brave governor sent an answer, that he was a *Spaniard*, and equally despised his offers and his menaces; which so exasperated him, that he swore upon the Koran, before a full council, to begin the siege immediately, and not to quit it till he had mastered the fort, or perished in the attempt. News being brought to him on the same day, that a *French* vessel was stranded upon his coast, and implored his protection and assistance, he readily granted it; but caused the cannon to be taken out, in order to be employed in battering the fort, along with the few field-pieces which he had by him; and continued firing at them with such vehemence, during a whole fortnight, that the walls and fortifications were almost quite demolished, and the garrison made so weak a defence, that he rightly judged it to be reduced to the last extremity. Upon which, getting about 2,000 musqueteers on board his galliots, he reached the fort of the place, and mounted the breach without any opposition. Here he found the governor dangerously wounded, and the rest of the garrison either slain or wounded. He caused them to be removed to *Algiers*, and healed of their wounds; but some months alter, either upon some dislike or suspicion, caused the brave governor to be banished to death, and the rest to be made slaves *.

*The Spanish fort
'a'ou.*

*Hayradin
makes
Algiers a
convent
barrack.*

Being now become master of that important fort, he delayed not to put his next project in execution; which was to build a strong mole for the safety and convenience of his ships; in which he employed no less than 30,000 Christian slaves, whom he obliged to work without interruption; so that he had quite completed the whole within less than three years, with ut any expence to him. His next care was to cause the fort to be repaired, and a good garrison to be sent into it, to prevent any foreign vessel's coming into the harbour, without previously giving a good account of themselves. These two important works added so much strength and wealth, not only to the city, but to the kingdom, that *Hayradin* soon became dreaded, not only by the *Moors* and *Aralians*, but by the maritime Christian powers, and more particularly the *Spaniards*, from whom they had been in

* *Idem* *ibid.*

constant apprehension of some powerful descent; whereas they were now in a condition not only to annoy all their trading vessels along the *Barbary* coasts, but likewise to make frequent and successful incursions upon their own, *Successful* and bring from thence great numbers of prisoners, and other *incursions* valuable plunder. *Hayradin* failed not to acquaint the *Porte* on the with an account of all these transactions, and to represent *Spaniards*. them to the best advantage, in order to obtain a fresh supply of money from thence, to enable him to build a stronger fort, and to erect new batteries in all the places which seemed most exposed to favour an enemy's landing. He made no request but what was readily granted by the Grand Signor; neither lost he any time to make those additional fortifications, both to the fort and the mole; all which have still received greater improvements from time to time, as often as there was occasion for them.

IN the mean time the Soltan, whether out of a sense of the great services *Hayradin* had done him, or, perhaps, out of some jealousy, lest, after having raised himself to such a height of power and wealth, he should attempt to make himself independent, raised him to the dignity of Captain Basha of the empire; and appointed *Hassan Aya*, a *Sardinian* renegade, an intrepid warrior, and an old experienced officer, to succeed him as Basha of *Algiers*; who had no sooner taken possession of his new government, than he began to pursue his cruises and ravages on the *Spanish* coasts, with greater fury and success than ever, and extended them to those of the ecclesiastical state, and other parts of *Italy*. This soon alarmed Pope *Paul III.* and obliged him to apply to the emperor *Charles V.*; and to exhort him to send a powerful fleet to suppress those frequent and cruel piracies. The emperor, on his part, wanted not to be spurred up to it. His resentment for the loss of the *Spanish* fortress, the indignities which had been offered to his governor there, and the hostilities they continued still committing on the *Mediterranean*, to which we may add, the invitations he received from several *Arabian* chiefs, who promised to assist him in restoring the prince *Selim* to his throne, easily determined him to equip a powerful fleet, and to command it in person; in which he flattered himself with an easy conquest not only of *Algiers*, but of the greatest part of *Barbary*. The account he had received of the situation, strength, and valour, of those people, all contributed to confirm him in his noble views; as nothing, indeed, could immortalize his

*Succeeded
in Algiers
by Hassan
Aya.*

*The Pope
engages
Charles V.
against
him.*

† Relation addressed to Pope PAUL, VERTOT, Hist. of Malta, lib. x. p. 128, & seq. TASSY, MORGAN, & al. sup. citat.

name so much as the suppression of such a vast number of sworn enemies to Christianity, and the reducing of these vast countries under the standard of Christ. That nothing might be wanting to render so glorious a design successful, by engaging all Christian powers to join in it, Pope Paul published a bull with a plenary absolution of all sins, and the promise of the crown of martyrdom, to all those who should fall in battle against those infidels, or be taken slaves by them, and a variety of other indulgences and blessings, suitable to the services which every one should do in so glorious a cause ².

THE emperor accordingly set sail towards the end of the summer, at the head of a powerful fleet; consisting of 120 ships and 20 galleys, and having on board 30,000 chosen troops, and an immense quantity of money, arms, ammunition, &c.; besides great numbers of young nobility and gentry, who came in as volunteers, and attended him at their own expence, upon the only motives of religion and glory. Among these were many brave knights of *Malta*, of whom we shall speak more largely in a subsequent chapter; an order of noblemen of all the nations of *Europe*, whose greatest ambition it always was to signalize themselves against all the enemies of *Christianity*; and who were ever ready to join in any expedition against them, and always behaved themselves with uncommon valour and intrepidity. Besides these, many ladies of birth and character likewise helped to increase the splendor and greatness of his court; and the wives and daughters of the officers and soldiers who followed them with a view of settling in *Barbary*, when he had finished the conquest of it. All this meeting with a favourable wind, soon appeared before the coasts of *Algiers*, every ship displaying the *Spanish* colours on the stern, and another at her head, which had a crucifix to serve her for a pilot.

Algiers in great consternation.

IT is hardly possible to express the general consternation which the appearance of this powerful fleet threw the city of *Algiers* into. It was at this time surrounded only with a wall, without hardly any out-works. The whole garrison amounted only to about 800 armed *Turkish* soldiers, and 6000 *Moors*, without fire arms, and poorly disciplined and accounted; the rest of their forces being then dispersed in the other provinces of the kingdom, to raise the tribute on the *Arabs* and *Moors*. In this distress the Dowry immediately assembled, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for defending the place. One of their first reso-

² *Idem* *ibid.*

lutions was, not to hazard their forces in a fruitless opposition to the enemies landing, but to reserve them within the walls, in order to make the best defence they could against their attacks, till the return of those detachments that were then scattered through the kingdom; to hasten which they dispatched expresses every where, acquainting them with their danger, and to desire them to make what additions they could to their number, in order, at least, to obtain a more favourable capitulation from the enemy. The place where the fleet came to anchor was near cape *Matabux*, about two small leagues to the eastward of *Algiers*; where, the army being landed without opposition, the emperor took his post on an eminence, and caused his standard of the cross to be set up at the sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, &c. whilst the rest of the army worked night and day with indefatigable alacrity in erecting a fort, which hath retained ever since the name of the emperor's fort. The army was encamped under the cover of the artillery of the fort, and near a spring which supplied the whole city with fresh water; whose course being turned by the *Spaniards*, soon reduced the inhabitants to so great a want of it, that they were forced to make use of such a stinking fort as their cisterns and reservoirs furnished them with, and which would, ere long, occasion some dreadful disease amongst them. In this *Hassan* complicated distress the *Basha Hassan* received a summons summoned from the emperor to surrender the place at discretion, on to sur-
 pain of being put to the sword with his whole garrison. render.
 The herald was moreover ordered to extol to him the vast strength of the Emperor both by sea and land, and to make him very considerable promises, both of money and great preferments. And at length to strive to prevail upon him to take hold of that favourable opportunity to return to his native country, and be reconciled to God and his church, both which he had so greatly offended by his apostacy*. To all which the surly *Hassan* returned this answer; That none *His an-*
 but a madman would pretend to advise an enemy; but that *swer to*
 the advised must still act more madly, if he should take the *the he-*
 counsel of such an adviser; and with it dismissed him. *rald.*
 Others however tell us, that he freely owned himself to be, at that juncture, wholly out of a condition to resist so formidable a power; but, as the proposal was no less hard on his side, he hoped his majesty would grant a few days suspension to deliberate with his council. His only view in this was to gain time, in hopes that some of his expresses would reach those flying camps, that were then scouring the

* Relat. to Pope PAUL, VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 132.

*The city
besieged,
and ready
to sur-
render;*

*which a
mad pro-
phet pre-
sents.*

provinces; and as he heard no news from those quarters, he was just upon the point of surrendring, when advice was brought, that the forces belonging to the western government ^a were in full march towards the place; upon which the Dowan unanimously resolved to defend it to the utmost. On the other hand, *Charles* receiving no farther answer from the town, and being sensible that the situation of the place would not permit him to block it up by sea and land, which could not be done without dividing his forces, resolved to try a general assault, which he could the more safely hazard, as he had taken care to dispose of his fleet so as to have it ready at hand for a re-embarkation, in case of necessity. These precautions being taken, he lost no time to be beforehand with the troops that were coming to its relief, but kept a constant firing upon the town; which, from the weakness of its fortifications, and the faint defence of the besieged, he began to look upon as already in his hands. In the mean time, whilst the Dowan were deliberating on the most effectual means of obtaining an honourable capitulation, a surprizing scene opens itself to them, which makes them at once alter their resolution; and the assurances given them by a poor despised madman of a speedy relief, and of the total destruction of the Christian army and fleet, in some miraculous manner before the end of the moon, encourages them to hold out till the time prefixed; when the prediction met with an accomplishment, no less surprizing and unexpected, than exact in every particular. The reader may see a more ample detail of this wonderful prophet, and his speech and behaviour before the Dowan in the margin (G);

for

^a See before, p. 222, & seq.

(G) This surprizing person was an eunuch named *Ruff*, or *Josiph*, much admired by the common people for his prophetic gif; but no less despised and ill treated by the great ones on that account, as may be gathered from the speech he made to the Dowan upon this occasion, and wherein, after some long preamble in praise of God and his prophet, he addressed them in words to this effect:

"My lords, I am the poor
"*Rusef* the slave of slaves,
"*and most abject of Mussulmen,*

"persecuted by the great, re-
"*presented as a madman by*
"*our Marabouts; on which ac-*
"*count not only my advices*
"*have been rejected, but my-*
"*self treated ignominiously.*
"*The Cadi, who is the judge*
"*of the law, hath often made*
"*me undergo very severe and*
"*public punishments; say,*
"*why? Because the Almighty,*
"*whose ways are to us un-*
"*searchable, hath sometimes*
"*given me an insight into fu-*
"*turity; and what I have hi-*
"*therto foretold hath been*
"*thought*

for the truth of which we have no other evidence, but a received tradition among the *Algerines*, though the history of that

"thought unworthy of their regard. *Hassan* have remained silent towards those that despised me, but have informed those poor people, who pitied and relieved me, of things of the greatest moment to them. But at this juncture, *Hassan* being ruler of our city, the public danger forces me to speak."

Here *Hassan* (whom the present distress had a little humanized, as well as the clamours of the people that followed *Yusif* had over-awed, they all expecting some great revelation from their prophet), bid him speak on; upon which he proceeded in words to this effect: "Here is a powerful fleet of infidels, whose vessels are crowded with armed men, and who have come as suddenly upon us, as if they had risen out of the sea. We are destitute of every means of defence, and our only hope placed on an equitable capitulation, if equity can be expected from Christians. But God, who laughs at the machinations of men, hath quite other thoughts. He will release his people out of the hands of idolaters, in spite of all the Christian gods, be they ever so many. Lord *Hassan*, and you his ministers and great men of the kingdom, and ye learned men in the law, I call upon you to take courage. Rely for this once upon the despised and abject

Yusif, and be assured, that before the end of this moon, our God will display his glory to the utter confusion of the Christians: Their ships and army will perish in your sight, and our city be victorious and free. Their arms and equipage will fall to our share; and as they have already employed a vast number of hands, in erecting forts for our future defence against themselves; so they shall continue still slaves to us, and few of those blind and hardened people shall be permitted to return to their own country." He concluded as he had began, with a kind of doxology, which was answered by the shouts of the whole multitude; which last proved, in all likelihood, more effectual in determining the Dowan to hold out till the end of the moon, than any confidence they had in his predictions (5).

Murmol, a zealous *Romanist*, hath indeed taken no notice of this extraordinary prophet; but, instead of it, tells us, that there were at that time three prophecies current among the *Algerines*, which an old woman had uttered against the Christians; two of which had already been fulfilled, in the defeat of the Spanish general *de Vera*, and the shipwreck of admiral *Moncada*; but the third, and most fatal of all, was this of the destruction of the emperor's fleet and armada (6). But might not

(5) *Taffy, hist. of Algiers*, p. 46, & seq. & seq. *Morgan, Algiers*, vol. 1. c. v. p. 321, & seq.

(6) *Hist. of Barbary*, p. 37,

The besiegers
sadly annoyed with
rains.

that unfortunate expedition hath left us the most authentic, as well as dreadful proofs of its accomplishment.

THE besiegers had already suffered greatly by the rains, which had overflowed their camp, damaged their provisions, and wetted their matches, so as to render their fire arms useless; of all which the governor being fully apprised, had galled them by his frequent sallies, in which they lost great numbers of their men, the *Maltese* knights being ever ready at hand to repulse them, even to the very gates of the city^b. But all these losses were inconsiderable, in comparison of that which the fleet and army sustained on the 28th day of *October*, on which so dreadful a storm of wind, rain, and hail, arose from the north, accompanied with violent shocks of earthquakes, and a dismal and universal darkness both by sea and land, that the sun, moon, and elements, seemed combined together to destroy them; whilst their ships, forced from their anchors by the violence of the winds and waves, either dash and split against one another, or against the adjacent rocks and shelves, in spite of all the united endeavours of pilots and sailors to prevent. Inso-much that in that one night, some say in less than half an hour^c, no less than 86 ships and 15 gallies were destroyed, with all their crews and military stores; by which the army on shore was deprived of all means of subsisting any longer in those parts. Neither was this the only bad effect they felt from that destructive storm; for their camp, which spread itself along the plain under the fort, was, by the violent rains, laid quite under water, from the torrents that came tumbling down from the adjacent hills. Many of the forces, by trying to remove into some better situation, were barbarously cut in pieces by the *Moors* and *Arabs*; and several gallies, and other vessels, endeavouring to gain some neighbouring creeks along the coasts, were immediately plundered, and their crews massacred, by the inhabitants (H).

BUT

^b Relat. of the siege of Algiers, addressed to Pope PAUL. VERTOT, Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. lib. x. p. 134, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

^c *Idem* *ibid*.

this turn be designedly given to it, to avoid giving offence to those of his church? Sure it is, that some of them have not scrupled to affirm, that this destructive storm was raised by some great magician, as we shall

have occasion to shew in a subsequent note.

(H) Among a number of other instances of these inhuman butcheries, we are told of one, which serves as a taste of the barbarity of those coasters.

The

BUT the most dreadful prospect of all was on the next morning, when the storm being quite ceased, and the light returned, the surface of the sea seemed in some measure covered with the fragments of so many ships, and the bodies of men, horses, and other creatures, swimming on the waves. The sight of which appeared so melancholy and dreadful, that Charles immediately resolved to take the advantage of *The siege* the present calm, to save himself and the sorrowful remains *raised in* of his fleet and army; and abandoning his tents, artillery, *baile.* and all the rest of his heavy baggage, to the enemy, marched directly, though in no small disorder, at the head of his army, towards cape *Malabux*, in order to re-imbark in those few vessels which had out-weathered the storm. But this *Hassan* did not permit him to do, till he had made him feel some fresh strokes of his fury and resentment. That subtle *Basha*, who had caused their motions to be carefully watched, allowed them just time enough to reach the shore, when he sallied out with his garrison, and fell upon them with such desperate fury, whilst they were in the midst of hurry and confusion to gain their respective ships, that he made a fresh slaughter of them, besides a much greater

The vessel belonging to Don *Antonio de Carriero*, one of the commanders of the *Spanish* squadron, being one of those which were forced on shore by the violence of the storm, and split against a rock, a young beautiful *Spanish* damsel, richly clad, and bedecked with a good number of jewels, was cast on the shore, and fell a prey to one of those monsters of cruelty, who immediately ran to her, and, having seized on all her rich ornaments, immediately butchered her; neither her tears, intreaties, nor her extraordinary charms, being sufficient to move his pity so far, as to let her escape with her life (7).

A favourite nephew of the famed Admiral *Doria* had much the like mischance in his own vessel; and was on the point of undergoing the same dreadful fate, when the emperor, who

happened to be a sorrowful spectator of all these disasters, chanc'd to be apprised of his danger, and immediately dispatched some *Italian* companies, under the command of Don *Antonio de Arragon*, who came just in time to rescue him out of the hands of those murderers.

The land forces were in no less danger in their unhappy situation, having neither tents, ammunition, nor victuals, for one day; nor any proper assistance for their wounded; in so much, that the author of the account sent to Pope *Paul III.* assures that pontif, that he had seen five knights of *Malta*, and above 30 gentlemen volunteers, wallowing in the mire, their wounds still flowing with their last blood, and lying quite destitute of all kind of assistance (8).

(7) *Ullas, op. Vertot, Hist. of Malta, lib. x. p. 138.*

(8) *Idem ibid.*
number

The mad
prophet
rewarded.

number which he carried away captives; so that they had seen the backs of their last enemies, and were quite freed from all fear and danger from this powerful crusado, before those troops were arrived at *Algiers*, which had been sent to levy the tribute; and, upon appearing at the metropolis, had nothing else to do but to join in the thanksgiving and rejoicings, which the governor ordered to be made on that occasion ^d. Soon after this the poor *Yusef* was not only declared the deliverer of his country, but had a considerable gratuity decreed to him, together with the full liberty of exercising his prophetic function unmolested. It was not long, however, before the Marabouts, and some of the interpreters of their law, made a strong opposition against him, and remonstrated to the *Basha*, how ridiculous and scandalous it was to their nation, to ascribe the deliverance of it to a poor paltry fortune-teller, which had been obtained by the fervent prayers of an eminent saint of their own profession (I). But though the *Basha* and his *Dowan*, seemed

^d *Iidem* *ibid.* TASSY, Hist. of Algiers, p. 48, & seq. of Barbary, p. 39. MARMOL, lib. v. c. 41. MORGAN, *ubi* sup.

(I) The reputation and vast donatives which this poor eunuch had gained upon that occasion, had so far raised the jealousy and envy of the whole Maraboutic tribe, that they resolved, at any rate, to retrieve their lost credit upon the ruin of his. To effect which they trumped up one *Cid Utica*, or, as our *Morgan* will have him called, *Sidi Outeddeddo*, a Marabout, in high veneration for his frequent fastings, prayers, and other holy exercises, whom they affirmed to have continued in the most fervent addresses to heaven, from the first arrival of the *Spanish* armada, to the day on which the storm overtook and destroyed them; but that, having on that day received a fresh inspiration, he went and gave the sea a certain number of strokes with a stick, which immediately after occa-

sioned that fortunate tempest, which he had however forbore to divulge out of a downright spirit of humility.

The credit which the politic *Dowan*, and great lawyers, pretended to give to this cunningly devised fable, failed not to raise the veneration of this pretended saint to a high degree; inasmuch that after his death a stately mosque was erected over his tomb. Since which time the Marabouts found means to persuade the people, that, in all the like dangers of an invasion, the beating the sea with a bone of that saint would be immediately attended with the like destructive tempest on their Christian enemies (9). It is not however unlikely, that they have had since many occasions for trying the vanity and inefficacy of it.

(9) *Iidem* *ibid.*

out of policy to give into this last notion, yet the impression which *Yusef's* predictions, and the late accomplishment of them, had made among the common people, proved, it seems, too strong to give way to such an artifice. And the spirit of divination and conjuring is since got into such credit and vogue amongst them, that not only their great statesmen, but their priests, Marabouts, and santouns, have applied themselves to that study, and have dignified it with the title of *Mohammed's* revelations.

WHILST the *Algerines* were making great rejoicings at their unexpected deliverance, the imperial fleet was forced to weather out a fresh storm, which arose against them soon after they had gained their ships; insomuch that they were all scattered from each other, and several of them perished; one of them in particular, which had 700 *Spanish* soldiers, besides sailors, sunk in the emperor's view, and not a soul of them could be saved, the sight of which greatly affected that monarch, as it gave him cause to fear, that the greatest part of the rest, which were out of sight, might have undergone the same fate. At length, with much labour and toiling, they happily reached the port of *Bujeiah*, or *Bugeya*, which then belonged to the *Spaniards*, whither *Hassen*, king of *Tunis*, repaired soon after, with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and met with a gracious reception from the emperor, accompanied with fresh promises of his friendship and protection. Here he thought fit likewise to dismiss the few remains of the *Maltese* knights and their forces, who embarked in three shattered galleys, and with great difficulty and danger regained their own island. The emperor staid no longer there than till the 16th of *November*; when, taking the advantage of a favourable gale, he set sail for *Cartagena*, and reached it on the 25th of the same month. Thus ended this unhappy expedition; in which, besides the loss of upwards of 120 ships and galleys already mentioned, above 300 colonels and other land and sea officers, and 8000 soldiers and mariners, either perished by the first tempest, besides those that were destroyed by the enemy on their re-embarkment, or were drowned in the last storm. As for the number of prisoners it was so great, that the insulting *Algerines* sold some of them, by way of contempt, even for an onion (K) *per head*.

AFTER

See the Hist. of Malta, in the next vol. Relat. to Pope PAUL III. VERTOT, ubi sup. p. 139, & seq. TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

(K) This is at least affirmed to this day by the *Algerines*, who add, that the emperor, vexed at his ill success, threw the diadem he had on his head into the sea, as soon as he was got on board, with

Hassan's expedition against Tremecen. AFTER this signal deliverance, the elated Bascha of *Algiers* undertook an expedition against *Muley Hammed*, king of *Tremecen*, who had submitted himself to *Charles V.* in order to be restored by him to his kingdom. But that prince,

Hassan dies, and is succeeded by Haji.

being now in no condition to make head against him, was forced to procure a peace with him upon his own terms; which consisted in paying him a vast sum of money, and becoming tributary to him; after which he returned to *Algiers*, laden with immense riches, the greatest part of which he sunk into his own coffers. *Hassan* was not long after seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in the 66th year of his age. After whose death the *Algerine* militia, without waiting for any farther orders from the *Porte*, chose *Haji*, or *Chaji*, an old officer from their own body, for his successor. This new Bascha had not long enjoyed his dignity, before he saw himself invaded by a powerful *Arabian* Cheyk, named *Abu Terice*, at the head of 20,000 men, whom he had however the good fortune to overcome, and put to a shameful flight. Yet was he soon after obliged to resign his dignity to *Hassan*, the son of *Hayradin* the brother of *Barbarossa*, whom Soltan *Soleyman* had been prevailed on to nominate to it; yet was he still respected by the new one, and all the *Algerines*, not only on account of his late defeat of the *Arabian* Cheyk, but much more for his gallant behaviour, whilst the emperor's army was besieging *Algiers*; for which it chiefly was, that they had raised him to that dignity without the *Porte's* consent. He lived in this credit four years after his resignation, and died in the 84th year of his age. *Hassan*, his successor, was born at *Algiers* and was now about 28 years of age; and his father *Hayradin*, a Bascha at the *Porte*, and great favourite of *Soleyman*, who had not only procured him this government, but obtained him a squadron of twelve stout and well-equipped galleys, was welcomed at his arrival at *Algiers* with great demonstrations of joy. One of the first exploits after his arrival was, upon certain advantageous conditions, to set *Abu Zegen*, the younger brother of *Abdalla*, upon the throne of *Tremecen*, in prejudice of his eldest brother, who had ap-

Hassan's expedition against Abdalla.

§ MARMOL, MORGAN, & al. sup. citat.

with these words, Let some more fortunate prince redeem and wear it; and that many of their *Spanish* slaves and renega-

does still give out, that the kings of *Spain* look upon their crown as forfeited, till they can make themselves masters of *Algiers* (10.)

(10) *Morg. Algiers*, vol. ii. c. 7.

plied to *Charles V.* and promised to become tributary to him. To understand the source of this dispute, we must recollect, that that emperor had settled *Abu Hammed* on the throne upon the same terms; who accordingly payed a regular tribute while he lived; but, after his death, his son *Abdalla* withdrew it from him *. After his decease, his two sons became rivals for the succession. *Abdalla*, the eldest, applied to the emperor, and *Abu Zeyen* to *Hassan*; who marched accordingly against *Abdalla*, then upon the throne, at the head of a powerful army, and some artillery; upon which *Abdalla*, who was not in a condition to make head against their united forces, packed up the most valuable effects, and retired to *Auran*; so that it was with little or no difficulty, *Intrones* that he placed *Abu Zeyen* on the throne; who, on the other *Abu Zeyen*; hand, to gratify him for this signal service, according to their agreement, was obliged, both by fair and foul means, to raise vast sums of money on his new subjects. After which *Hassan* immediately returned to *Algiers* with his forces, after the short absence of a few weeks, laden with a rich plunder and treasure. The new *Tremecenan* monarch did *who is* not long enjoy the sweets of his ill-gotten dignity; he having *dethroned* scarcely been seated one year upon the throne, before he *by the* was forced by the *Spanish* count *de Alcandela*, to resign it to *Spaniards*. his brother, and to retire to *Fez*, as his brother had been obliged to do some years before to *Auran*. The count, who was then governor of that place, had procured *Abdalla* a reinforcement from *Don Carlos* of 2000 *Andalusians*; and with these, and a great number of *Moors*, who came with their chiefs to offer their services to them, and some pieces of artillery, he marched towards *Tremecen*, and in his way was met by the brave *Almansor*, uncle, father-in-law, and prime minister, of *Muley Hammed Abdalla*, who was waiting for him at the head of 5,000 horse; and, upon his joining him, entertained him and his *Spaniards* with a dramatic entertainment after the *Moorish* manner (L). After which both

* See before, p. 53, & seq.

(L) This was a representation of a very late rencounter between one of the *Cheyks* and his *Arabs*, with a *Turkish* party of fusileers going to reinforce *Tremitten*, who were defeated by the following stratagem; finding his *Arabs* unwilling to attack them, he went about to all the *Adowans* with a halter about

his neck, and swore he would never take it off till he had fought with them; but, finding them unwilling to follow him, he dispatched six of the handsomest damsels he could get after them, mounted upon camels, crying out, as he rode, Now shall I see what courage these gallants will shew in rescuing

Almanzor joins the Spaniards.

The Algerines evacuate Tremecen.

both took the way towards *Tremecen* with their joint forces. Upon their approaching to that capital, the *Tremecenians* sent to beg of *Almanzor*, that he would not bring the count thither, seeing they were fully resolved to surrender the place to him, and drive the *Turks* out of it. To that the general sent answer, that the people, who had been traitors to their prince, deserved to lose their heads, and added, that he was bringing a set of Christian executioners to perform that office. However *Hassan*, the *Basha* of *Algiers*, found means to compromise matters, by sending a venerable fanton to him, by whose mediation a treaty was agreed on between them, that the *Turks* should immediately evacuate *Tremecen*, and have a sufficient guard of horse to conduct them safely to *Algiers*; which was executed accordingly. After which the count went to lay siege to *Mostagan*; and *Almanzor*, who had declined to accompany him thither, marched directly to *Tremecen*. The *Turks*, under their safeguard, arrived at *Algiers*; and *Abdalla* was restored to his kingdom, though only as a tributary to *Charles V* ⁸.

HASSAN Basha had not been long at *Algiers* before he received a fresh invitation from the restless *Tremecenians* to return to them, and even to take upon him the reins of their government, or to put them into such hands as he should like best; upon which he immediately took the field, at the head of 3,000 *Janissaries*, 1,000 *Spahis*, and 2,000 *Mooris* cavalry, under the *Mulatto* king of *Tenez*, and some artillery, and took the direct road to *Tremecen*. Being come

⁸ MARMOL, lib. xv. p. 345, & seq. D. HANCO, MORGAN, Algiers, vol. ii. c. 7.

such beauteous virgins out of the hands of these *Turkish* tarpaulins, which set them all on fire for the onset. Upon which he caused a great drove of camels, trained up for such purposes, to be made march before them; which they did with such restless violence, as he knew would throw the *Turks* into a great disorder; who accordingly were forced, in their defence, to fire upon them as fast as they came; so that, as soon as the Cheyke perceived they had spent all their fire, he imme-

diately advanced, and, breaking thro' their ranks, easily cut them all in pieces. This warlike piece was not only acted to the life, but decorated with other circumstances; particularly a scene of twelve women mounted on camels, and attended by their cavaliers, who came to compliment the *Spanish* Don, with the swollen titles of restorer of the realm, protector of the orphans, &c. in Arabic; which was interpreted to him, and accompanied with the loud shouts of the *Moors*, &c. (11)

to the river *Sagu*, about four leagues from *Auran*, he was met by the *Spanish* count *Alcandela*, at the head of 6,000 *Spaniards*, and as many *African* and *Arabian* horse, commanded by the *Tremecenian* king, which obliged him to halt that night to give his men some repose, intending to attack them the next morning. A bloody engagement would doubtless have ensued, had not a *French* courier been dispatched to him by two galleys, with a letter from the *French* king to console with him for the death of his father *Hayradin Barba-Hassan-rossa*, whom a severe fever had carried off in *May* last at *Constantinople* (M). The news of which so afflicted him, as well *news of his* as most of his officers, that on the next morning he entered *father's* into a treaty with *Don Martin*, the *Spanish* count's son; by death; which he engaged to leave the king of *Tremecen* in quiet possession of his throne, and continue a vassal to the emperor, without any further molestation from him. The treaty being *makes* signed, the *Algerines* stayed only two days longer in their *peace and* camp, where they put themselves in deep mourning; after *returns*. which they returned with their *Basha* to *Algiers*. This is the true account of that transaction; though the *Spanish* authors, after their usual manner, have turned it into a precipitate flight, as if *Hassan* had not dared to look the enemy in the face ^h. However, the *Tremecenians* were not at all pleased with this peace: they hated their king, on account of his vassalage to the emperor, and his amity to the Christians, besides a great deal of mal-administration which they charged him with. This made them at length apply to the *Sharif* of *Fez*, and make him the same offers which they had done before to *Hassan*, *Basha*, who accepted them with so much greater readiness, as he had for some time a longing mind after that kingdom, which we shall see in a subsequent chapter. The pre-

^h HAEDO, MARMOL, MORGAN, ub. sup.

(M) This old warrior, who pointed the famed *Dragut* to *Vertot* says was above 80 years succeed him in the command of old (12) when he died, had, after the fleet, though without giving him the title of admiral, which his being recalled from his government of *Algiers*, given himself up to pleasure, and passed he had bestowed on *Hayradin* the rest of his days and nights (13). However, our author with his fairest slaves: so that must be mistaken about the age of this last, considering, that his carrying his debauches too far, elder brother, *Aruch Barbarossa*, he was found dead in his bed of was scarce forty-four years old those excesses, to the great grief when he died, *an. 1518*. of *Soltan Solymán*, who ap-

(12) *Vertot's Hist. de Malthe*, lib. xi. p. 163, & seq. p. 275, & *Morg. Algiers*, vol. ii. c. 7. p. 364.

(13) See before,

parations which he made for that expedition soon alarmed the *Algerines*, who saw with no small envy the swift progress which those upstart brothers had already made in these parts: *Hassan*, *Basha*, accordingly sent an army of 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with ten field pieces, under the command of a *Turkish* alcajde and two renegadoes, with orders not to engage the *Fezians* till they were joined by the *Beni Amar*, a warlike *Arabian* tribe in the neighbourhood of *Auran*. By this time the *Fezians*, who had got within sight of *Mostagan*, were not a little surpris'd to see them making to the same place: so that *Abdalla*, the Sharif's youngest son, who commanded them, seeing himself in no condition to engage, found no other way to avoid it than by turning his horse's head westward, and betaking himself to a speedy flight, leaving his camels and baggage behind him. The *Algerines* and *Arabs*, however, soon overtook his rear, which was commanded by his brother; and, after a bloody fight on both sides, killed the young prince, defeated his forces, and carried his head in triumph on the point of a lance. The news of this disaster no sooner reached *Abdalla's* ears, than he posted away with his equipage and forces to carry the unwelcome news of it to his ambitious father; whilst the victorious *Algerines* entered

Tremecen and plundered *Tremecen*; and, in a general council, resolv'd taken and to keep possession of that city in the name of their *Basha*; plundered and, leaving the alcajde *Sepher*, with 1500 *Turks* in it, by the *Algerines*. returned directly to *Algiers*, laden with rich spoil, where they met with a gracious welcome. *Hassan* caused the head of the young Sharif to be put in an iron cage, and placed on the principal gate of the city, called *Bab Azoun*, where it continued till an. 1573¹.

Hassan e- IN the very same year *Hassan* caused a tower to be built rests some on that very spot where the emperor had pitched his pavilion, edifices in when he made that unfortunate attempt on *Algiers* formerly *Algiers*, mentioned. He likewise laid the foundation for an hospital and is re- for the wounded *Janissaries*, and finished a magnificent called. bagnio, in imitation of that which his father had built at *Constantinople*; but this last occasioned the loss of his *Bashaship* for some time: for having refused to part with the former to *Ruffan*, a proud avaricious *Basha*, in great authority at the *Porte*, he was given to understand, that his denial would soon be attended with the loss of both, as well as of his government of *Algiers*. To avoid so terrible a blow, *Hassan* immediately equipped six galleys, and set sail for *Constantinople*; but took care to leave his government in the hands of the alcajde *Sepher*, lately mentioned, a person of tried conduct

¹ *Ibid. ibid.*

and valour; who, from a mean extract, had raised himself to that height by dint of merit; and who, during the seven months administration, behaved with such prudence and equity, that no one had suffered death, or even corporal punishment during that time; a thing till then scarcely ever known under that arbitrary government. He did moreover begin and complete the great bastion over the mole gate; supply the city with corn and other provisions, which had laboured under a grievous scarcity some time before; and did several other public acts, both in *Algiers* and in his alcaideship of *Tenez*, in which he died about ten years after, greatly esteemed and regretted. He was succeeded in that of *Algiers* in the month of *April* by *Basha Salha Rais*, to whom *Rustan* procured that dignity, in revenge to *Hassan*, who had tried all possible means to pacify and reconcile him, but in vain.

SALHA RAIS, the fifth *Basha* of *Algiers*, and the first of *Hassan Arabian* extract that the *Algerines*, in all probability, ever had, succeeded or ever will have, as they are now become independant on by *Basha* the *Porte*, had, among other exploits, accompanied *Hayradin Salha Barbarossa* on several expeditions, and behaved with such valour and conduct, that he was become his particular favourite; so that his merit was very well known among all the *Algerines*. The first thing he signalized his new government by, was the reduction of the *Soldan*, or king of *Tocost*, or *Tuggurt*, who had lately revolted (N); against whom he marched through part of the *Numidian* desert, at the head of 5000 *Turkish* foot, 1000 *Spahis*, and 8000 other auxiliaries, all with fire-arms, besides two or three field pieces, and other heavy luggage; with all which he arrived in sight of that prince's capital, before he had the least intimation of his being in march against him. In this surprize the young king, not above fourteen, was, however, advised by his prime minister, and easily persuaded, to keep the city gates chained up, in hopes of some succour from his vassals and the neighbouring *Arabs*, who are mortal enemies to the *Turks*. But the *Basha* battered the walls so successfully, during the first three days, that he made himself master of it by assault on the fourth. A terrible slaughter ensued; and the young

(N) This prince, whose territories, the *Spanish* writers tell us, consisted of a very considerable city, and about thirty large towns and villages, lying upwards of 150 leagues south of *Algiers*, and producing the finest

states, was obliged, among other things, to send an annual tribute of fifteen black female slaves to the *Algerine* *Basha*, but had now refused to continue it (11).

prince being brought prisoner, and asked how he dared lift up his arm against the Grand Signor's awful banner, was glad to lay all the blame on his prime minister, who had, indeed, shewn an uncommon zeal against the *Turks* on that occasion; to reward him for which the *Basha*, upon such conviction, caused him to be fastened to a cannon, and blown up into the air. The surviving inhabitants, to the number of 12,000, were sold for slaves, and the city was plundered and left quite desolate. After which *Salha Rais*, taking the young king with him, marched directly against *Wargala*, another *Numidian* principality, which had likewise revolted. Upon his arrival at its capital he found it quite abandoned; the prince having, at his approach, retired with all his subjects and their effects to some inaccessible deserts; only forty rich Negro merchants, whose camels the fugitives had taken from them, were forced to stay behind; who redeemed themselves at the price of 200,000 ducats worth of timber or gold dust. *Salha Rais* immediately dispatched a courier on a swift dromedary to the fugitives, with solemn promises, that if they would return, and continue faithful tributaries for the future, they should receive no injury for what was done; and, upon their return, kept his promise inviolably with them, not, however, without threatening them with another visit, in case they broke their own again; in which case they would find to their cost, that the *Turkish Algerines* were not to be trifled with¹. On his return, as he passed through *Tuggurt*, he generously set the young king of it, with other prisoners, at liberty, on the same conditions and warning; and, if *Marmol* be right in his account, brought to *Algiers* fifteen camel loads of gold dust, besides a great deal of other valuable plunder^m; and, in his way, rebuilt the now neglected castle, of which we may have occasion to speak further in the sequel.

A. D.

1553.

ON the next year he equipped a fleet of forty galleys, brigantines, and other vessels, and made a descent on *Majorca*, where he met with so warm a reception from the islanders, that he lost, according to the *Spanish* writers, near 500 of his men, and among them some of his best officers. His next attempt was on the *Spanish* coasts, where he found every place likewise ready to give him the same welcome: at length, sailing towards the *Streights*, in mouth, he saw four or five *Portuguese* frigates of war, newly come from *Lisbon*, with *Muhy-Abu Hassan*, king of *Bedet*, vulgarly *Velez*, a pretender to the crown of *Fez*; who, after a vigorous defence, was taken prisoner, with about twenty of his *Africans*, and the greatest

¹ *Ibid. ibid.*^m *Ibid. v. c. 57. p. 427, & seq.*

part of the *Portuguese* : with these he steered directly towards the *Pennon de Velez* ; where the alcaide *Moufa*, governor for the king of *Fez*, thinking that he was come to attempt that strong fortress in favour of his prisoner, the king of *Bedez*, sent him offers to surrender it to him ; to which the generous *Basha* answered, that being in alliance with his *Fezian* master *Salha*'s, jesty, he was so far from a design of violating it, that he came to make a present of those prizes he had taken from his enemies ; and that he was carrying his rival, who had been begging the assistance of Christian princes against him, prisoner to *Algiers*, in spite of all the advantages with which he offered to buy his friendship ; adding, that all he required of him in return was, that he would not suffer his *Fezian* subjects to molest him in the quiet possession of the kingdom of *Tremecen* (O) ; but that the river *Mullujah* might continue still the boundary between *Fez* and *Algiers*, and that neither side may cross it to disturb the other. This message, together with the captures and cannon, he desired that governor to deliver to his master, and then set sail for *Algiers* .

By this time the two Sharifs had made such progress, and gained such power in those parts of *Barbary*, as justly raised the jealousy of *Salha Rais* ; who, under pretence, true or false, that some *Tingitarians* had, by their order, crossed the *Mullujah*, and committed some depredations, raised a con-

" See MARMOL, lib. v. HAEDO, & al.

° *Iid. ibid.*

(O) We have seen a little above how the *Algerines* got possession of that kingdom under the bassaship of *Hassan* (15). As for *Muley Hammed Abou Teyen*, the then king of it, they let him enjoy the title, upon condition that he delivered up all the fortresses of it into their hands ; to which he was forced to submit ; and continued to live in friendship with that *Basha* and his successor *Rais* to his death.

Marmol, however, tells us, that the grievous oppressions and brutalities which they committed every where some years after, made the unfortunate prince so uneasy, that he began to apply again to count

Alcandela for fresh assistance ; but the *Algerines*, who got intelligence of it, raised such a storm against *Hassan*, *Basha*, as if he connived at it, that he was forced to put an end to it, and obliged that prince to retire to *Auran* with his family ; where having lived about three years, in expectation of being again restored to his dominions by that governor, he was carried off by a contagious distemper, leaving only one son, six years old, on whom *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, bestowed some lands in *Castille* for his subsistence : since that time *Tremecen* hath remained in the hands of the *Algerines* (16).

(15) See *bes-re*, p. 288, & seq. (16) *Marmol*, lib. v. c. 11. *Morgan*, vol. ii. c. 3.

siderable army of horse and foot, and, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon, marched directly to the city of *Tella*, or *Tedza*, about eighty miles short of *Fez*, where one of them waited his coming, at the head of 40,000 horse, and the same number of foot; an army sufficient to have slain a less brave commander than *Salha Rais*. But it is more probable that he chiefly depended on some alcaides in the enemy's camp, whom he had secured in his interest: for the onset had no sooner begun than several of them wheeled about to him; upon which the Sharif was put to flight with a considerable loss. The Bascha having left a garrison of 200 Turks in *Tedza*, led his troops on to *Fez*, where he attacked the Sharif afresh, who had by that time recruited his army. Here he gave him a second overthrow, and pursued him so closely into the new city, that he entered it at one gate, at the very time the flying Sharif was marching out at another, in order to retire to *Morocco*. The city was plundered as usual, only the Jews redeemed themselves with the round sum of 300,000 ducats. One royal courtesy, to use *Haedo's* words, he shewed to the chief wife of the Sharif and her two daughters, who were fallen into his hands, whom he caused to be used with all possible respect, and to be safely conducted to *Morocco* ^{P.}

He staid in that city near two months, till he had fixed *Muley Abu Hassan*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed king, upon the throne, and reconciled him to the alcaides, and then returned in triumph to his own capital. Soon after which, the governor of the *Pennon Velez*, afraid of the *Fezian* king's resentment, quite abandoned that fortress; of which the *Algerine* Squadron having got notice, seized upon it without opposition, and left a garrison of 200 Turks in it; for which signal service they were amply rewarded by the Bascha.

1555. On the next year *Salha Rais* raised a new army, and *Salha Rais* equipped a large fleet, in order to lay siege to the city of *Bu-
besieges jeyah* (P). About which time Signor *Strozzi*, the *Maltese*
Bujeyah. admiral,

^P *Ibid.*

(P) This fortress, of which we have elsewhere spoken, is, by most *European* writers, called *Bugia*. It stands about thirty leagues due east from *Algiers*, at the foot of a hill, and is commanded by several eminences, and was taken from the *Moorish* *Rex Pedro Navarro*, an. 1516, and was still in the hands of the *Spaniards*, as well as that of *Auran*, taken by the same admiral; both which were looked upon as thorns in the *Algerines* sides. *Bujeyah* in particular was defended by two castles, one built on the brow of a hill by *Charles V.* called since the Emperor's Castle.

admiral, arrived with orders from the *Porte*, that he should assist him with what gallies he could spare, in order to assist the *French* king, *Francis I.* against *Philip II.* king of *Spain*; to whom the *Basha* was forced to lend 24 large ones, well provided and manned, which greatly lessened his naval strength. This was in some measure made up by a reinforcement which he received from the king of *Cuco* of 30,000 *Arabs* and *Moors*. Upon his arrival before the place, he made no delay of cannonading it from two eminences that commanded it; one of which he directed in person, and the other was committed to a *Greek* renegado. Whilst this was doing, a *Spanish* galleon arrived with a supply of men, money, and provision for the garrison; but is soon after sunk by the cannon of one of the batteries. By the eighth day of the siege, the fort *El Vergelette* being become indefensible, and most of its garrison being slain, the rest retired into the town. In six days more, the other had suffered so much by the besiegers cannon, that it was forced to do the same. Soon after which the governor, *Don Alonso de Peralta*, surrendered the town upon honourable terms, though king *Philip* caused him to be beheaded for it soon after his arrival into *Spain*. *Salha Rais* made a great number of slaves and rich plunder, which he sent to *Algiers* by sea, whilst he and his land forces returned thither by land, after an absence of only two months. Thus was this considerable place regained from the *Spaniards*, after they had held it 35 years. We have elsewhere taken notice of a change that happened immediately after the surrender of it; viz. that the *Weyd-el-quebir*, which runs by it, and had its mouth choaked up with mud at the time the Christians held it, so that no vessel could enter; but that it was quite cleared up by the violence of the rains which fell the following winter, and carried all that mud and sand into the sea. Towards the end of the year, the *Basha* sent his son *Mohammed* to the *Porte* with the news of his success, and some very considerable presents; all which met with a gracious reception, and obtained in return a reinforcement of forty gallies and 6000 *Turkish* soldiers, which were to be employed on a private expedition the following year.

THEY set sail accordingly the next *May* for *Bujeyah*, whither the *Basha* repaired with thirty more gallies of his own,

1 MARMOL, DE TORRES, HAED, MORGAN.
fore, p. 227, note (D).

2 See be-

Castle; the other, called *El Vergelette*, commanded the mouth of the port; but neither of them in a condition to stand it out long.

and

and 4000 men, on this intended expedition; which he, however, kept as private as he could, though it was expected to be against *Auran*. The rendezvous was to be at *Tetendefust*, vulgarly *Metafuz*, four leagues east of *Algiers*; where he was scarcely arrived, before the plague, which then raged violently in that metropolis, broke out in his groin, and, maugre all the remedies that could be used, carried him off in twenty-four hours. It is hardly possible to express the concern and regret which his death spread over the whole fleet: they immediately set sail for *Algiers*, where they buried him among the *Bashas*, his predecessors, in a sepulchre near the sea-side; over which his unfortunate successor, *Hassan Corso*, his own brave renegado, caused a handsome dome to be erected, which was some years after much embellished by his own son *Mohammed*, who also became *Basha* of *Algiers* (Q).

Hassan
Corso
chose by the
Janissaries.

IMMEDIATELY after his interment, the *Algerine* soldiery chose his favourite renegado, *Hassan Corso*, a native of *Corse* by the *fica*, in his room, till they received further orders from the *Porte*. He was a person no less beloved by the *Janissaries* than he had been by the late *Basha*, under whom he had served as *Beyler Bey*, or captain general of the land forces, with great reputation; and yet so modest, that it was with no small struggle that he was prevailed upon to accept of the *Bashaship*. Soon after which, the fleet sent from the *Levant*, who were not yet apprised of *Salha Rais's* death, arrived at *Algiers*; where it was resolved, in a grand council, that the news of it should be dispatched to the *Porte* with all speed and secrecy; after which they were immediately to steer for *Auran*, without waiting for an answer from the court. They sailed accordingly, with all necessaries for the siege, but had scarcely begun their hostilities against the out-works, when orders came from the *Porte*, expressly forbidding *Hassan Corso* to begin the siege; or, if he had, enjoining him to raise it out of hand: the Grand Signor, it seems, not hoping for the same success under that new *Basha* as he did under the old. These orders, though brought by the famed renegado *Ochali*, were

* Ibid. *ibid*.

† HÆDO, MORGAN, &c.

(Q) *Salha Rais* died in the 70th year of his age. He was of a middle stature, corpulent and swarthy, steady in all his resolutions, sedulous in all his warlike concerns, and successful in all his enterprizes.

We are obliged to omit several of his other wars, particularly that against the *Bras Moor*, *Beni Abba*; being content in a work of this extensive nature, to confine ourselves to the most interesting transactions.

received with great heart-burning by the whole fleet and army, who looked upon themselves as sure of success, the garrison of the place being then very weak. Nevertheless, as they dared not disobey them, they immediately broke up, and returned to *Algiers* by land and sea as they came.

CORSO had hardly enjoyed his dignity four months, before *Tekelli* news came that eight galleys were bringing a new *Basha* to *Algiers*; viz. the famed *Tekelli*, a principal Turk of the *Grand Signor's* court: upon which the *Algerines* came to a unanimous resolution not to admit him into their territories, but to continue *Hassan Corso* in his government, and to send notice of their resolutions to the *Porte*. Accordingly orders were forthwith sent to the alcaides of *Bujayah* and *Bona*, on no account to let him come to land; and, in case he attempted it by force, to fire upon him; and let him know, that they were fully determined not to receive him as their viceroy. Those two governors punctually obeyed those orders; and *Tekelli* was repulsed from *Bona* and *Bujayah*, and last of all at *Algiers*; which drove him into such confusion and discontent, such complaints and menaces, that the *Levantine* fleet, which was still at anchor there, began to fear the consequences of such an obstinate refusal. And as there never was a good understanding between these and the *Algerine Janissaries*, whose singular privileges they envied, but could not enjoy, they agreed at length, unknown to them, to introduce *Tekelli* by stratagem.

THEY began with expressing some fears, lest the new viceroy, provoked at their opposition, should come and set their galleys on fire in the night, as they lay unguarded and disarmed in the port, which would infallibly ruin them: but, said they, if you *Janissaries* will take care of the town, we will undertake that of the fleet, and keep a strict and armed watch on board our vessels, and so be safe on all hands. This being readily agreed by both sides, their next advice was to send *Tekelli* notice of their resolution to oppose him one and all, and to insist upon his immediate leaving of their coasts: to this they also readily agreed; and *Chuloc*, called by the *Spaniards* *Xaloque*, their admiral, was appointed to carry the message to him.

HE went accordingly; but, instead of the message, gave him a long detail of the arrogance, cruelty, and tyranny of the *Janissaries*, and of the necessity there was of suppressing their power, in order to prevent their shaking off their dependance on the *Porte*. *Tekelli* greedily listened to him, and gladly approved of the method he proposed to introduce him into the

• See before, p. 212. & *infra*, passim.

town. The darkness of the night favouring them, they came with his galleys to the mole gate, where they found the *Levantes* in swarms upon the marine, armed and ready to assist him. All this while the *Algerine Turks* slept safely, as they thought, in their beds, little suspecting what was doing on the sea-side; when *Chaloc*, entering the town at the head of 300 men, introduced *Tekelli* into the old palace, till the new one could be evacuated; immediately after which the whole city was alarmed with the shouts of the *Levantes*, Long live Soltan *Ottoman*, *Tekelli*, *Tekelli*. This soon roused up the *Janissaries*, who came armed out of all their quarters; but, finding themselves overmatched, were glad to make as speedy a retreat. *Tekelli* seeing every thing succeed to his wish, marched directly to the new palace, attended by about 2000 musqueteers, and was met at the porch with great submission by *Hassan Corso*, who came to welcome him, and to assure him, that the part he had had in that transaction was wholly through compulsion, and against his will. To which excuses he vouchsafed no other answer than an angry disdainful look, and ordered him forthwith to be secured.

*Hassan
Corso's
cruel death*

MORNING no sooner appeared than he dispatched two galleys, one to *Bujeyah*, and the other to *Bona*, to bring the two alcaides prisoners; after which he entered into a strict enquiry about the ringleaders of the revolt; but his predominant passion, avarice, seemingly getting the better of his resentment, he readily accepted of all the bribes that were offered on all sides, and promised that he would put none to death, but the renegado *Corso* and the two alcaides.

ACCORDINGLY, a few days after, the unfortunate *Corso* was condemned to the *Chinhun*, or hook, a dreadful punishment, formerly described ^w, on which he hung by the right ribs three whole days, and expired in the most exquisite torture (R).

^w See before, p. 241, sub. note (A).

(R) It being then the month of *October*, and the season excessively cold, we are told (19), he continued begging of the Christian slaves that passed by, for God's sake, that they would throw something to cover him; but, as there are guards all about, none dared venture to approach him.

Thus died that brave ne-

gado, if any of that class deserve that title, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and in the 5th month of his *Bashaship*; a dreadful instance of fortune's inconsistency. He was interred near his old master and predecessor, *Salba Rais*; where his own renegado and generous avenger, *Yusef*, erected a handsome cupola to his memory (20).

(19) *Hacdo*, *ib.*, *sup.*, &c.

(20) *Ibid.* *ibid.* *Marmol*, *Morgen*, & *al.*

THE next that fell a sacrifice to the inexorable *Tekelli* was *Alisardo*, a *Sardinian* renegado, and governor of *Bu-jeyah*; who, being reckoned immensely rich, underwent the most cruel tortures of bastinadoing, burning, scarifying, &c. in order to make him discover his wealth, and was at last impaled alive: the governor of *Bona* was likewise condemned to be impaled; but, by the intercessions of some of the *Algerine* grandees, and a good round sum, had the good fortune to obtain his pardon; notwithstanding which, the cruelty of the new *Basha* to *Alisardo*, and the ignominious punishment of the brave *Corso*, their favourite *Basha*, raised a general resentment among the *Janissaries* *.

BUT none took it more at heart than his own renegado *Yusef Calubres*, mentioned in the last note, who was then governor of *Tremecen*; who no sooner heard the news of it, than he resolved at any rate to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt. The *Turks* which he had under him, and who were no less exasperated at *Tekelli's* cruelty, were easily persuaded to join with him in it; upon which he sent word to some of the principal officers of *Algiers*, that if they would assist them, or only promise to stand neuter, he would engage to free them from that tyrant: the plague, which then raged furiously at *Algiers*, and obliged him to remove to an old demolished town near the sea, about five miles westward, appeared very favourable to their design. Upon which *Yusef*, with 300 *Turks* and renegadoes, some say 600, marched with such speed and secrecy, that he appeared before *Tekelli's* pavilion before he had the least notice or apprehension of it (S). The fright which it threw him in would not permit him to consult his safety by any other means than a hasty flight, to which he betook himself, accompanied only by a few servants: but, upon his appearing before the town of *Behazou*, he was still more surprised to find the gates shut against him by the *Janissaries*, which threw him into such a despair, that he betook himself with all possible speed to an eminence near the sea, about a mile and a half west of *Algiers*, where he

* HÆDO, & al. sup. citat.

(S) This quick march is so much the more surprising, as it was then about *Christmas*, the roads very bad, and *Tremecen* is above 300 miles west of *Algiers*: but, it is said, that he disguised his design, under pretence of raising of the usual tribute in the provinces of that kingdom near-
 est to *Algiers*, by which he might advance still nearer to the capital without giving any suspicion. However, one method he took to prevent a discovery; which was, to order all the *Moors* he either met with or overtook to be chained to trees.

took

took sanctuary under the dome of a famed saint that lies buried in it. *Yusef*, who had followed him closely all the way, was got there by that time he was dismounted from his horse; and, without any regard to the place, pierced him several times with his javelin, and left him weltering in his own blood. This action was highly applauded by his and all the *Janissaries*; and, upon his entering into *Algiers*, he was received with universal acclamations, as their deliverer from the tyranny of *Tekelli*, who fell a just sacrifice to his avarice and cruelty, in the 50th year of his age, and third month of his viceroyship.

Yusef
chosen Bas-
sha, and
dies.

YUSEF, al. *Yousouf Calabres*, a *Calabrian* renegado, was, for this signal service, unanimously chosen *Bassha* of *Algiers*, without the consent or knowledge of the *Porte*, towards the latter end of *December*; but had hardly reigned six days, before he was struck with a pestilential carbuncle in his groin, which carried him off in less than twenty-four hours, in the 26th year of his age, to the great grief of the *Algerines*, especially of the *Janissaries*, who caused him to be buried in the same grave with his late patron, the unfortunate *Hassan Corso* ².

AFTER his death they contented themselves with chusing a deputy only to succeed him, till the *Porte's* pleasure was known; and the person pitched upon was a considerable *Turk*, named *Chajah*, al. *Tajah*, who entered on his government with the new year, and behaved with singular prudence during the six months it lasted; and, upon the arrival of the new *Bassha* from the *Ottoman* court, quietly returned to his former condition of a private man, till he was some time afterwards raised to the regency.

Hassan re-
stored to
the Bassha-
ship.

THIS new viceroy was the son of *Hayradin*, who had been forced to go to *Constantinople*, to justify himself against his inveterate enemy *Rostan*, *Bassha*, and had the address to get himself replaced in his *Algerine* government. He arrived accordingly about the end of *June*, and received some days after the news that the *Sharif* had lately defeated and killed *Muley Abu Hassan*, whom *Salha Rais* had settled on the *Fezian* throne, and was got to *Tremecen* at the head of a powerful army: upon which he marched out of *Algiers*, at the head of 6000 *Turks* and renegadoes, besides 16 *Arabs* and *Moors*; and, being got within four days march from *Tremecen*, had news sent to him, that the *Sharif* had fled towards *Fez*, as soon as he heard of his approach; upon which he turned out of the road to *Tremecen*, resolved to pursue him to the gates of his capital. There he found him waiting for him, at the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

head of a powerful army, in battle array. A bloody fight ensued on the next day, in which the *Algerines*, who were vastly inferior in number and strength, were so severely beaten, that the *Basha* thought fit to retire on that very night, leaving a considerable number of fires to conceal his flight. He took his way northwards with such silence and privacy, that the enemy had no notice of it till late the next morning; and the *Sharif* let him go unmolested till he had recovered his shipping, in which he sailed back to *Algiers*, much displeased with his ill success.

THE next year proved more glorious to the *Algerines*, tho' fatal to the *Spaniards*, by the death of the brave count d' *Alcandela*, and his son *Don Martin de Cordono*, in their unfortunate expedition against *Mostagan*, or *Mostagenem*. Besides the loss of those two brave warriors, and a great number of other noble *Spaniards*, a great many thousand more were made prisoners, and doomed to a most dreadful captivity. This sad disaster was chiefly owing to the count's redundant bravery. He had obtained a fresh supply of 12,000 men from the king his master, one half of which only could be transported at one time into *Barbary*, and arrived about the middle of *June*; the rest, commanded by his son, were to follow after, on the return of the transports, and did not arrive till the *August* following. Had he immediately marched with the first troops from *Auran* to *Mostagan*, which are but twelve or fourteen leagues asunder, as he was advised to do by several of his best officers, he would have found the place so weakly guarded, that he might, in all probability, have made himself master of it with little expence or difficulty; whereas his staying for the rest of his troops, and moving by slow marches, gave the neighbouring *Moors* time to form a camp of 6000 horse and 10,000 foot, and to join the *Algerine Basha*, who, at the head of 5000 *Janissaries* and 1000 *Spahis*, with twelve field pieces, had come within sight of the place before the *Spanish* army had sat down before it. So that he was now obliged to engage the *Turks* at a great disadvantage; whereas, had he gained the town before their approach, he might have expected them either within or without it, as he saw occasion: but his excess of courage made him overlook that good council, as it would lessen his glory in proportion as it lessened his danger. The consequence of which was, that he lost the battle with his life, his army being totally routed, and more than 12,000 *Spaniards* made captives: among whom was his son, the brave *Don Martin*, marquis de *Cortes*, and a great number of noblemen and gentlemen. This fatal battle was fought on the 26th of *August*;

August; immediately after which *Hassan*, *Basha*, returned to *Algiers*, laden with laurels and spoils * (T).

Hassan ON the next year he was obliged to march against *Abdalaris*, *marchesa*-prince of the *Beni Abbas*, who inhabit the mountains, and *gainst the* had discontinued to pay the usual tribute to the *Algerine* state. *Beni Ab-* Before he proceeded on this expedition, observing that *Al-* *bas.*

* HAEDO, MORGAN, &c. qb. sup.

(T) *Marmol*, who hath given us a longer detail of this unfortunate action than our limits will allow us, and hath endeavour'd to represent almost every circumstance of it more in favour of the *Spanish* count than our *Spanish* author, tells us, among other things, that he had no more than 6500 men to oppose the *Turkish* army; next that the want of provisions, and especially water, occasioned a great faintness, murmuring, and disorderliness amongst them; and, lastly, that as he was attacking the enemy with his usual bravery, at the head of a small party of his men, his frighted horse rearing himself up, threw him flat on his back on the ground, where he was trampled to death by the enemy; whilst his cowardly troops, instead of assisting him, only consulted their safety by flight.

Yet maugre all these palliatives, he has been obliged to give us some other particulars, which do but too plainly prove *Haedo's* reflexion, that his excessive courage occasioned his overthrow: for, when informed by his son of the arrival of the *Algerine* *Brasha* and his *Turki*, and advised by his council to fall upon them that very night, as they could not but be very much fatigued by their long

marches, by which means he might easily rout them, and seize on their provisions to enable his famished troops to go on with the siege, he only answered, *that it was not at all convenient*; and when they represented to him, that if he did not, they would certainly attack him the next morning, he readily answered, *they dare not; if they attempt it, they are all lost*: and, without acquainting them with his design, ordered his troops to be furnished with match and powder, and, after midnight, to decamp, and march to *Maxagran* with all possible silence; which was executed with such precipitation, that a great number of their sick and wounded were left behind, and their doleful outcries were distinctly heard, while the garrison from the town were cutting them in pieces. He adds another instance of his martial rashness; viz. that when he found it impossible to rally his scattered troops, he rushed, sword in hand, into the thickest of the enemies ranks, at the head of a small number of them, and crying out, *St. Iago, St. Iago, the victory is ours, the enemy is defeated*; soon after which he was thrown by his horse and trampled to death (21).

(21) *Marmol*, lib. v. c. xi. p. 352, & seq. xii. p. 366, & seq.

giers now swarmed with Christian slaves, especially since the battle of *Mostaganem*, he caused a standard to be set up in the bagnio, in which his own, who were no less numerous, were lodged, with a proclamation, that if any of them would turn *Mohammedans*, they should have their liberty, and enter into present pay, and be sent to fight against the king of the *Beni-Abbas*: upon which great numbers of them, *Spaniards* especially, gladly embraced his proposals; by which means he soon got an army of 6000 *Turkish* foot, 1000 *Spahis*, besides 9000 *Arabian* and *Moorish* cavalry. *Abdalarzis's* forces were in no respect inferior to his, either for valour, discipline, or arms; nevertheless the war was soon at an end, by an unfortunate musket-ball which went through his breast, notwithstanding his being always armed with a double coat of mail: his fall having so disheartened his troops, that his brother, who succeeded him, was glad to clap up a peace with the *Basha*; which, we are told, he obtained without engaging himself to pay the arrears, or even to continue paying the usual tribute to the *Algerine* republic^b. The most probable motive of which singular condescension in the *Basha* we shall offer to our readers in the margin (U). As for *Abdalarzis*, or, as others call him, *Abassi*, he is celebrated by most historians of his time for his signal valour and conduct, and was for this in high esteem and friendship with *Hassan*, *Basha*. One remarkable instance of his bravery, which we cannot pass in silence, is that which he shewed in that famed battle, wherein the *Sharif's* eldest son, *Muley Cadder*, who had made himself master

^b *Iid. ibid.*

(U) The *Beni-Abbas* have in their mountains sundry narrow passes, through which the *Algerine* troops must pass, whenever they go their eastern circuit (22); so that whenever any quarrel or dispute happened between them, they immediately stopped their passage, which obliged them to take a vast, long, tedious, and difficult compass through the streights of the *Numidian* deserts, which were inhabited by a brave martial tribe of *Arabs*, called *Mautbi*, which made it still more dangerous, as these last were seldom or never at peace with *Algiers*, and often terribly annoy'd them in those narrow and craggy defiles: for which reason it was ever of the greatest importance, and is so to this day, for the *Algerines* to secure the former of these streights, either by keeping the *Beni-Abbas* under tribute, or, if that could not be done, by being at peace and in friendship with them, as it is likely to have been the case at this critical juncture (23).

(22) *De his, vid. sup. p. 225. seq. Hædo, Morgan, &c.*

(23) *Idem lib. v. c. 57, p. 425, &c.*

of Tremecen, was slain. *Hassan Corso* commanded at that time the *Algerine* army; but finding his men averse to an engagement, and he declining to give the enemy battle, after a severe, but ineffectual reprimand, repaired to his own troops, rushed boldly on the *Sharif's* army, and, with his own hand, struck off the head of his son *Musley Cadder* above-mentioned, who commanded in chief, and carried it in triumph to *Algiers*; by which the *Turks* became masters of *Tremecen*. In this last action of his life, he is reported to have stood the fire of the whole line of the *Turkish* foot before he fell; and in all others he always behaved with a surprising conduct and intrepidity. The only thing in which his character is justly blamed, is his revolting against the *Algerines* at this time, when he had received the greatest marks of friendship from *Hassan*, *Basha*, from the time of his return to his viceroyship; some of which were reckoned, indeed, very impolitic: for he had not only bestowed upon him the town of *Mesila*, bordering on the *Numidian* desert, with all its revenue, and presented him with some pieces of cannon, which *Salba Rais* had left there on his return from *Tugurt*, but had furnished him with engineers to convey them to *Alcala*, his capital town on the mountains. His revolt and ingratitude could not, therefore, but highly exasperate him; and though he made peace upon so easy terms, he forgot not to build some fortresses in such parts as would most effectually curb and keep him under, and, in due time, bring those mountaineers under their former vassalage. About this time the company of *Marsilian* merchants began, probably with his permission, to build a fort on these coasts, at some small distance from *Calle* (where the *French* have since settled themselves) that it might serve them both for a magazine for the corn they purchased in those parts, and for a refuge for their pearl fishery men. But it was some years after demolished by the *Algerine* forces, by order of some of his successors, under pretence that the *French* there had bought all the corn, which had caused a famine in their kingdom*.

Hassan's ANOTHER impolitic piece of complaisance *Hassan* was guilty of, which proved of worse consequence to him. He had married the king of *Ceeco's* daughter, and *Alicaid*, his favourite renegado, his niece; in consequence of which affinity, he permitted his subjects to come in droves and buy ammunition at *Algiers* by a privilege that had never been granted to them, and of which they were so excessively glad, that the streets of that metropolis swarmed with those mountaineers, insomuch, that above 600 in a day have been ob-

* *Taylor's Hist. d'Algiers*, lib. i c. 9.

served to have gone out of it laden with those warlike commodities; which created such a jealousy in the government, that the *Janissaries* raised an insurrection, seized on the *Basha*, his *genegado*, and another of his chief officers, and sent them in irons to *Constantinople*, and accused him to the *Porte* of having a design to make himself king of *Algiers* (W); which was the more likely to be true, as they had tried all other means in vain to oblige him to recall his permission. In the mean time *Bosnac Hassan*, Aga of the *Janissaries*, and *Couza Mehmed*, the *Beyler-Bey*, or general of the land forces, took the joint administration of the state.

HASSAN being arrived at the *Porte*, easily found means to clear himself and his two companions, and was accordingly set at liberty with them. But a new viceroy being sent to *Algiers*, was no sooner arrived than he caused the two officious deputies to be seized and sent to *Constantinople*, where they quickly after lost their heads^d.

THIS new *Basha* was named *Abamed*, vulgarly *Achmet*. He was a great favourite of the Soltan, and a man of such known insatiable avarice, that, upon his arrival at *Algiers*, all ranks of people came in shoals to make him presents; all which he the more greedily accepted, as he had bought his dignity by dint of the money which he had heaped together during the several years he had been *Bostanji* *Pashee*, or head gardener to Soltan *Solyman II*. He enjoyed it, however, no longer than four months; and, after his death, his lieutenant *Yayak* took care of the state another four months, when *Hassan* was sent a third time viceroy of *Algiers*: such was his merit, and the esteem which *Solyman* still bore to the memory of the two famed *Barbareffus*, his father and uncle. He came accordingly about the beginning of *December*, attended with ten

^d MARMOL, HAEDO, TASSY, & al. sup. citat.

(W) This jealousy and resentment was far from being ill-grounded, seeing those Highlanders are reckoned the most expert marksmen in all *Africa*; and among whom it would be a difficult matter for a young fellow to get a wife, till he was expert enough to shoot at a mark with a single ball with great dexterity and exactness; and are so extremely curious, that they

will hardly touch the barrel or lock with their naked hand for fear of soiling them. It was, therefore, very impolitic and dangerous in him to suffer them to provide themselves with such vast quantities of fire arms, which they might in time turn against him or his successors, unless he had formed some private design like that they accused him of (24).

(24) See Marmol, Morgan, Tassy, & al. sup. citat.

royal galleys, which that monarch had ordered his high admiral *Pbiali*, *Basha*, to furnish him with; and such was the joy of the *Algerines* at his arrival, that the very women appeared on the terrasses and balconies to welcome him.

He spent the rest of the year in raising such an army as no *Basha* before him ever had; it consisted of 15,000 *Turks*, renegadoes, *Morescoes*, &c. all musqueteers, 1000 *Spahis*, besides 10,000 horse, which the king of *Couco*, and other *Cheyks*, had furnished him with. His fleet was not inferior to his army, consisting of 32 galleys and galliots, all well manned and equipped, besides three *French* vessels laden with biscuit, oil, and other provisions. With this great armament he set out on the *Februay* following, with a design to make himself master of *Marja-al-quibbir*, and its spacious port; and, on the 3d of *April*, began the siege of it in form, intending, immediately after the taking of it, to attempt that of *Auran*, which is but about a league from it. This last was commanded by the count d' *Alcandela*, who had succeeded his father; and the former by his brother *Don Martin de Cordova*, who had obtained his liberty at the price of an immense sum from the *Algerines*, and made now a most gallant defence against the *Turks*. The *Algerine* fleet arrived soon after that brave governor had thrown himself into the town: so that it was attacked both by sea and land with such desperate bravery, that they had made several considerable breaches both in the forts and town, some of them wide enough to have been entered on horseback. The *Turkish* standards had been several times planted on the ramparts, and as often dislodged. The attacks were daily renewed, and continued for several hours, fresh men being still sent to supply the place of those who were either wounded or over-tired, without diminishing the ardor and courage of the besiegers. Notwithstanding all which surprising bravery, the town, now in some measure reduced to ruins, must have fallen shortly into the besiegers' hands, had not the *Basha* been forced to break up with the utmost precipitation, on the news that the famed *Genoese* admiral *Doria* was approaching, with a powerful succour from *Genoa*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*. He arrived at *Algiers* on *July* next, and found the whole city in tears and lamentations for the loss of their relations and friends, who had perished at the inauspicious siege; whilst he, who, doubtless, naturally partook of the ferocity of the *Barbarossas*, silently rejoiced that it had rid him of so many inveterate enemies, especially among the turbulent *Janissaries*; and it is plain by the sequel that he was actually premeditating such another expedition, as would quickly rid him of all the rest.

• MARMON, HAEDO, TASSY, VERTOT, & al.

IN the mean time the Christian armada having missed its aim of intercepting the *Algerine* gallies, bore away for *Pennon de Velez*, their common lurking place, in hopes to ferret them out of it; but in their attempt received such an unexpected repulse from the handful of *Turks* that were there in garrison, that they were glad to sail away *re infecta*, and with no small loss and disgrace. On the next year the *Algerines* received a considerable damage and mortification by the loss of the *Pennon de Velez*; a place, till then, justly looked upon as impregnable; and which, in all probability, would have continued so, had it not been basely abandoned by their governor: but of this we have already given a full account, to which the reader may recur.

THIS loss was greatly regretted by the *Algerines* and their *Basha*, as well as by Soltan *Solyman*, especially against the brave knights of *Malta*, who had had the greatest hand in the reduction of it. So that he was at length persuaded by his viceroy, as well as by the famous corsair *Dragut*, to undertake the conquest of that island (X). But of the ill success of this expedition we shall speak more fully in the subsequent history of that island and order. All that need be said of it here is, that the *Turks* being forced to abandon the siege at the approach of the Christian armada, *Hassan*, *Basha*, returned with his 28 gallies to *Algiers*, where he arrived about the beginning of *October*. From that time, till about a year and half after, nothing of consequence occurred; but then, about the middle of *February*, eight gallies arriving at *Metáfuz* from the *Porte*, he was soon after given to understand, that they were conveying *Mabamed*, *Basha*, the son of *Salba Rais*, to *Algiers*; by which he rightly concluded, that he must now take a final leave of that government; and, tho' contrary to custom, immediately evacuated his palace for his successor, whom he likewise presented with the noble bagnio he had built in that metropolis, besides a great number of Christian slaves; most of them noted artists in several faculties. He arrived soon after, with all his wealth, at *Constantinople*, where he lived only three years longer. He died

£ See before, p. 134.

(X) What chiefly determined the *Maltese* gallies made a prize that warring monarch to it, was the loss of a *Turkish* Maon, of a monstrous size and strength, and laden with an immense treasure from the east; and which

the *Maltese* gallies made a prize of, after a desperate fight on both sides, on their return from the taking of *Pennon de Velez*, between the islands of *Zant* and *Cephælonia* (25).

Hassan's death, 1750; in the 50th year of his age, and 8th of his last *Bashaship*, and was buried under the same cupola with his father, leaving two sons behind him; the eldest of whom, named *Mahamed*, Bey, married the following year the daughter and heir of the famed corsair *Dragut*, who had been killed before *Malta* (Y); and the youngest, whom he had by the king of *Ciucc's* daughter, and whom he left with his mother at *Algiers* at his departure thence for *Constantinople*.

Succeeded by Mahamed, Bash. His successor, *Mahamed*, upon his first arrival, performed several public spirited deeds, which gained him the love of all the *Algerines*. He not only supplied that country with provisions, under the scarcity of which it had laboured for some time, but freed the roads from the swarms of robbers, which, in a great measure, occasioned it, insomuch that scarce a day passed without some public execution. And so little occasion was there for his martial genius, that he employed great part of his time in hunting and hawking. The only expedition which called him abroad was to quell an insurrection at *Constantina*, the capital of the eastern province; where the governor, having attempted to force a young damsel from her parents, the citizens had driven out the whole *Turkish* garrison, except some few *Turks* which had been slain in the tumult. His presence soon reduced the mutineers; but his untimely severity, in selling all the inhabitants for slaves that fell into his hands to the highest bidders, was highly resented;

§ HÆDO, MORGAN, & al. ubi sup.

(Y) This young gentleman, whom *Hassan* had by a beautiful *Corsican* renegade, commanded a large gally of his own, being closely pursued by the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, general of the *Neapolitan* galleys, at the siege of *Naparin* in *Morrea*, was so mortally detested by his slaves on account of his inhuman disposition, that, as soon as they perceived the *Neapolitans* ready to board him, they immediately fell upon him, and tore him all to pieces before the marquis could come near enough to prevent it; and with him, in all likelihood, the fa-

mily of the *Barbarossas* became extinct, since we do not hear of any issue either he or his brother left behind.

As to his marriage with *Dragut's* daughter, we take it from *Hædo*. *Verlot* not only takes no notice of it, but affirms, *Hassan*, his father, to have married her; but this last must be a mistake of that otherwise exact author, since he calls him there a young hot-headed *Turk*; whereas *Hassan* was 28 years old when he was made *Basha* of *Algiers* the first time, which was above twenty years before the death of *Dragut* (26).

(26) Conf. *Hædo*, ubi sup. & *Verlot's Hist. de Malike*, vol. v, p. 26. See also *Argen's Hist. Algiers*, vol. ii. p. 432.

and, in less than a year, cost him the loss of his government, notwithstanding the signal services he had done to that republic, besides those already mentioned. For it was, by his prudence and address, that the *Janissaries* and *Levantes*, two distinct bodies, till then eternally jarring, to the no small disturbance and detriment of the state, were at length reconciled by being incorporated together. A bold stroke of politics this was, which paved the way to that independency and power which the republic hath since gained over the *Porte*, and the rest of the states of *Barbary*. He likewise added some considerable fortifications both to the city and castle; and seemed to have nothing so much at heart as to render that place impregnable; which may, in all probability, be the cause why the *Porte*, ever jealous of its dependants, did deprive him so soon of his government. However, whilst he was thus consulting how to advance the *Algerine* power and wealth, a bold *Spanish* adventurer, named *John Gascon*, a native of *Valencia*, was hatching a design against him; which, if it had taken effect, would have occasioned the destruction of all his corsairs, and an infinite deal of mischief. It was no less than to surprize the whole piratic navy in the bay, and set them all on fire in the dead of night, when they all lay defenceless and in their first sleep; and for this he had obtained not only king *Philip II's* permission, but proper vessels, mariners, fire-works, and all other materials necessary for the execution of his plot. With these he set sail for *Algiers*, at the most proper season; viz. in the beginning of *October*, when most, if not all the ships, lay at anchor in the harbour, and easily sailed near enough, unsuspected, to convince himself of it with his own eyes, and to view the port and their manner of riding, in order to catch them napping, at a time when the greater part of their crew were dispersed here and there in their quarters along the marine. He came accordingly, unperceived by any, to the very mole gate, and dispersed his men with their fire-works; but, to their surprize, found *Gascon's* that they were so ill mixed, that they could not, with all their fire-works art, make them take fire (Z). In the mean time, *Gascon* sail him; took it into his head, by way of bravado, to go to the mole ^{his} *brava-* gate, and give three loud knocks at it with the pommel of his ^{do at the} dagger, and to leave it fixed by the point into it, that the *city gate*;

(Z) The superstitious *Algerines* look upon *Gascon's* disappointment as miraculous to this day, and to have been owing to the efficacious protection of the

same powerful saint, *Sidi Outeddada*, whose prayers raised that terrible storm against the *Spanish* armada, *an.* 1541; of which we have treated a little above (27).

forced to
sail away
with all
speed;

Algerines might have cause to remember him, which he had the good fortune to do without meeting with any opposition or disturbance: but it was not so with his men, who, finding their endeavours unsuccessful, began to make such a bustle as quickly alarmed the guard posted on the adjacent bastion; from which the uproar spread itself through every part of the garrison. *Gascon* finding himself thus frustrated, and in the utmost danger, had no other way left but to ply his oars and sails, and speed away with all possible haste. By this time the *Basha*, being apprised of the design, ordered four of his best gallies to go in pursuit of our *Spaniard*, with express order not to return without bringing some satisfactory account of at least one of their vessels. Whilst this was doing at *Algiers*, the *Spanish* brigantines had made such speed in their retreat, that they found themselves twenty leagues off; and thinking themselves now past all danger, being quite tired and fatigued, began to slacken their oars and take some rest. They had not long enjoyed this respite, before that in which *Gascon* was, perceived one of the four galliots abovementioned making all the sail they could after them, and gaining ground every minute; so that they were again forced to ply their oars with the utmost fury and dread. This they had continued near eight miles, when, finding themselves overtaken, they were forced to surrender. The captain, who commanded the galliot, was a *Greek* renegado, named *Delli Rais*; who was no sooner apprised that *Gascon*, the captain and contriver of that design, was in his possession, than he immediately tacked about for *Algiers*, without troubling himself farther about the rest, rightly judging that he was bringing the most welcome prisoner to *Mahamed, Basha*.

ACCORDINGLY, as soon as he was delivered up into his hands, *Mahamed* ordered a gibbet of considerable height to be erected on the spot where he landed, and him to be hoisted up, and hung by the feet to a hook, that he might die in the most exquisite torture; and, to shew his resentment and contempt of the king his master, ordered his commission to be fastened to his toes. The sentence was punctually executed, and the *Basha's* severity highly applauded by the exasperated *Turks*; whilst the prisoner, our author says^b, bore this dreadful punishment with the patience and constancy of a martyr; for such he really reckoned him.

A strong
representa- HE had not, however, hung long in that excruciating mi-
tion in his sery before *Delli Rais*, the renegado captain, who had taken
surrender. to him, came at the head of a number of other corsair captains
to *Mahamed, Basha*; and, in the strongest terms, repre-

/ ^b HAEDO.

sented

sented to him the injustice and cruelty it was to condemn prisoners of war to such dreadful punishments, alleging, that it was the ready way to provoke the *Spaniards*, and other enemies they fought against, to make the same reprisals; so that it might be one day their fate to be treated in the same inhuman manner, unless he immediately ordered his prisoner to be taken down, and proper care taken of him. They added, that as to the stratagem which he had contrived against them, it was no more than what one nation practised against another, and what they themselves would gladly try against any enemy, were it in their power.

By these and such like arguments, they at length prevailed on the *Basha* to comply with their request; and *Gascon* was not only taken down, but conveyed into the royal bagnio, where he was carefully attended by some Christian surgeons, and visited, out of curiosity, by people of all sorts and persuasions: but it was not, it seems, his fate to escape so well; great murmurings arose soon after among the people, which made the *Basha* repent of his lenity; and two days were scarce past since his release, before some *Moors* came, who pretended to be just arrived from *Spain*; and, whether true or false, affirmed, that it was the common talk and belief there, that the *Algerines* dared not hurt a hair of *Gascon's* head, lest their armada should come and blow their town into the bottom of the sea. At which the too credulous minister was so exasperated, that he ordered the unhappy *Valentian* to be brought forth, and hoisted up by a pulley to the top of the execution wall, and let down again upon the Chingham or hook; which, in his fall, luckily took hold of him by the belly, and gave him such a mortal wound, that he expired without the least groan: nor did the *Basha's* resentment stop there; for he ordered the body to hang there *in terrorem*, as it actually did, till, being partly wasted, some slaves ventured to take it down in the night, and buried it privately in the Christian cemetery without the western gate. Thus ended the ill-timed project of the unfortunate *John Gascon*, which yet hath procured him a place among the *Spanish* martyrs. Our author mentions many instances of such kind of martyrdoms, which only serve to display the cruel and irradicable hatred which reigned at that time between the *Moreiscos* and the *Spaniards*; but which by no means disculpates the latter from the inhuman reprisals which they make on the former, if they were not the first aggressors: for if the evil grows still more desperate and incurable, unless one side think fit to put a stop to it, of whom may it be more reasonably expected, the Christians or *Mohammedans*? Nevertheless, if we look so far back as the time in which those mutual barbarities begun
to

to be suppressed, we shall find that the *Turks* bid fair for having shewn the first example of lenity and humanity towards their captives and slaves.

A complaint made against the Basha to the Porte. BUT to return: whilst *Mahamed* was exercising a quite opposite behaviour at *Algiers*, as he had lately done at *Constantina*, some of the inhabitants of the latter found means to lay their complaints before the *Ottoman* court; which, either mistaking such arbitrary tyranny in a substitute, or, perhaps, liking still worse the public spirit which he had shewn towards the *Algerines*, immediately sent thither the famed corsair *Hali Fartaz*, commonly known by the name of *Ochali*, in his roomⁱ, before he had governed that state full fourteen months (A).

Ochali sent thither.

OCHALI, commonly called in contempt *Hali Fartaz*, or the scald head, an obscure native of a poor village in *Calabria*, who, from a slave and renegado (B), raised himself to the

ⁱ *Iid. ibid.*

(A) *Mahamed*, Basha, was about fifty years of age when he was forced to quit his government, but went and served the Grand Signor against *Don John de Austria*, an. 1571, who defeated the *Turkish* fleet; and being then taken prisoner, with several other great officers, was sent to *Rome* as a present to pope *Pius V.* but was not long after exchanged for some Christian cavaliers, who were made prisoners at the taking of the *Golletta* (28).

(B) This surprising man made his first appearance at *Algiers* in the condition of a slave, having been taken prisoner at sea, and sold to an *Algerine* corsair; but in so wretched a state, so full of vermin, scabs, &c. that he was shun'd by his fellow slaves. In a short time his patron, finding him industrious and sturdy, took him from the oar, and made him boatswain of the ship. He turned *Mohammedun*, that he might be upon the par with, and

revenge himself on, the *Levantine* that had affronted him; and having gained his liberty, and picked up some money to purchase part of a brigantine, he went on the cruize, and soon got to be master of a galliot, and passed for one of the best and boldest corsairs in *Barbary*. He became a great favourite to the famed *Dragut*; and from this time became known by the title of *Hali Rais*, especially with the *Porte*, whither he was sent to solicit fresh succours against the duke of *Medina Celi*, and the Christian armada; and obtained a reinforcement of 100 royal galleys, commanded by the famed admiral *Phiali*; of which expedition we shall speak more fully in a subsequent chapter, and only take notice, that *Dragut* and *Ali Rais* gained no small honour in the defeat they gave to the Christian fleet, an. 1560. He accompanied him five years after to the siege of *Malta*, where both signalized them-

the dignity of *Basha* by his valour and merit, if this last can be properly ascribed to an apostate, arrived at *Algiers* about the beginning of *March*, 1586, the following year; about which time the war against the revolted *Morescos* in *Granada* was at the hottest. So that, upon his arrival, he was strongly solicited by them for assistance against the *Spaniards*, and freely gave leave to all that would go adventurers at their own expence; but refused to send them any himself, alledging, that *it more concerned him to defend well his own state, than to interfere with the affairs of others*. And when great numbers of *Algerines*, who had engaged in that quarrel, had embarked a vast quantity of arms for that purpose, he would not suffer them to go; but, with much intreaty, consented, that those, who had two of a sort, should send one of them, provided it were done *gratis*, and not for lucre; and ordered they should all be carried to a certain mosque, that he might be a witness of their zeal for the cause. But here again, finding the quantity too great, he caused part of them to be conveyed to the city arsenal, and permitted the rest to be shipped away. In this first year he likewise laid the foundation of

selves; and when *Dragut* was there slain, the great admiral named him his successor in the government of *Tripoli*, in which he was soon after confirmed by the *Porte*. Thither he carried the body of his old friend and benefactor, and buried him in a manner suitable to his rank; and there he took possession of all his galleys, arms, treasure, slaves, and other effects, which were likewise confirmed to him by the *Porte*. During the two years and a half of his government, he acquired fresh wealth and reputation by the frequent and dreadful depredations which he made on the Christians along the *Mediterranean* coasts, especially those of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Calabria*. In the course of all his successes he forgot not his friend *Phiali*, but sent him continually some noble presents;

for which grateful returns, that great admiral, upon the recall of *Mabamed*, *Basha*, from *Algiers*, procured him that government from the Grand Signor (29). So that he, entering that metropolis in a capacity and equipage vastly different from that in which he was brought in thither at first, we thought our readers would not be displeased with this short account of his strange advancement, and the various steps by which he climb'd up to it. We shall only add, that the name of *Ocbali* is a corruption of *Ali al-ali*, or *Ali* the renegado; a term of reproach, which seldom fails sticking close to those who have apostatized. We shall, however, give him no other appellation henceforth than that of *Ali*, or *Hali*, *Basha*.

the fortrefs, called *Bebat-weyd castle*; of which we have spoke in the beginning of this chapter ^k.

reduces the
kingdom of
Tunis ;

IN the next year he signalized himself by the total reduction of the kingdom of *Tunis*, then under the protection of *Spain*, to the obedience of the *Ottoman* empire; of which transaction a full account will be given in the next chapter. Towards the close of the year, as he was entering in triumph into that metropolis, he was met by many of the *Arabian* Cheyks, who came to congratulate him on that occasion, to whom he at first gave a very kind reception; but, to their great surprise, acquainted them, a day or two after, that he expected they should pay tribute to him, and help to bear the charges of the government's defence against all the enemies, foreign and domestic. At which they were so shocked, being always used, till then, to be courted for their friendship and service, that they frankly told him, he must never expect any tribute from them, but what he should extort from them in the field, and lance in hand; for no where else would they part with one single asper to him. This answer did no less surprise our proud *Basha*; but, as the case then stood, he thought it the wisest way to disguise his resentment.

HE continued the whole year at *Tunis*, to settle the affairs of that kingdom; and, in *February* next, returned to his own government, after having left there, as his viceroy, a *Sardinian* renegado, named *Ramadan Sardo*, who became afterwards *Basha* of *Algiers*. He likewise appointed another renegado, named *Mahamed Neapolitano*, to act as field general, and garrisoned the city with 3000 *Turks*; after which, taking his journey by land, he arrived at *Algiers* about the middle of *February*. His design was not to stay longer there than till he got all his captains and galleys ready for an expedition, which was quickly done, as he had sent them orders beforehand; and with these he sailed directly for *Constantinople*, to solicit the Soltan for a fleet, in order to retake *Goletta* from the *Spaniards*; without which he could not keep long in the possession of *Tunis*, being the castle and main strength of that capital. This at last was the pretended design of this excursion; but on a sudden he altered his course, to intercept four *Maltese* galleys, which were then sailing in the channel between *Maltha* and *Sicily*. The *Maltese* finding themselves surpris'd, agreed that it was the best way to try to escape; upon which three of them fled with all their sail and oars; and that, called the *St. Ann*, was the only one that engaged, and maintained a most desperate fight against eight of the *Algerines* during the space of two hours and more, and did not

^k See before, p. 242.

surrender till every one of the knights, and the greatest part of their equipage, were either slain or disabled. From thence the *Bahia* sailed in pursuit of the other three, two of which they overtook, and fought with the same success, and found them laden with abundance of rich merchandizes, besides some hundreds of fettered rowers, most of them *Moors*; and with those rich prizes sailed back directly for *Algiers*, where he caused to be hung under the arch of the marine gate most of the *Maltese* shields and bucklers; together with the image of *St. John*, taken from the poop of their admiral's galley, as trophies of his victory. This did not hinder his being greatly embroiled with his soldiery, and being several times in danger of his life, on account of their not being duly paid according to their establishment; an omission which a viceroy of *Algiers* ought carefully to avoid by all means: instead of which, he suffered their resentment to rise to such a height, that he would, in all likelihood, have been assassinated, had he not kept himself closely shut up in his own palace, till he could get another fleet equipped, and made the best of his way after a new cruize. It was the month of *April*, the weather very boisterous; so that having the wind full in his teeth, and the incensed *Janissaries* at his heels, he was forced to spur his rowers to such a degree, that some of them expired at the oar of his own galley before he could get out of their reach. As he was sailing towards the *Levant*, he received orders from the *Porte* to come and join the *Turkish* armada with his gallies at *Goren* in *Morea*, which was designed against the island of *Cyprus*, which he did with all possible speed, having twenty stout vessels well manned and equipped, and where he was received by the rest with great joy, they being exceedingly glad to have such an expert sea commander to accompany them. It was in this expedition that the famed battle of *Le-
panto* was fought, which proved so glorious to the Christians *his brave-
ry and suc-
cess at Le-
panto.* and so fatal to the *Turks*; and in which *Hali*, *Basha*, who commanded the left wing, came off alone with honour. Among other of his exploits, he engaged the *Maltese Sol-
tana* with such fire and fury, that most of her knights being either slain or disabled, he boarded and carried her off; and though he was afterwards forced to abandon her upon the total defeat of the *Turks*, yet he took care to secure the great standard of the order, which not only gained him great honour, but likewise served him in great stead: for, before he could reach *Constantinople*, to which he repaired after the fight, the *Janissaries* had preferred such grievous complaints against him as might have proved fatal to him. But when, upon his appearing before the Grand Signor, he laid that standard at his feet, instead of a reprimand, he was loaded with

with careſſes and applauſe, and confirmed in his viceroyſhip of *Algiers*, with permiſſion to govern that ſtate by his favourite *Memmi Corſo*, whom he had left there as his deputy, when he fled from the fury of the *Faniſſaries*, and had behaved himſelf with ſuch prudence and moderation, that he had kept every thing in quiet during his abſence, and gained the love of the militia ^m.

HALI, Baſha, obtained ſoon after, by the intereſt of his patron, *Phiali*, a fleet of 230 royal gallies, with the title of *Captain Baſha*; with which he ſailed from *Conſtantinople* the following *June*. He ſoon overtook the Chriſtian armada, and boldly challenged them to a ſecond engagement; but theſe, for what motives is not eaſy to gueſs, unanimouſly declined it; by which, ſays our author, the Baſha gained near as much honour as if he had gained the victory over them ⁿ; and, at his return, became a greater favourite to the *Porte* than ever. But whiſt he was on this expedition, the Soltan, who, it ſeems, had given him leave to retain the title of Baſha of *Algiers*, was ſoon after prevailed upon to beſtow that government on *Arab Achmed*, a native of *Alexandria*, but of Arabian parents; who ſailed accordingly to *Algiers* in the month of *March*, attended by fix *Ottoman* gallies.

Arab
Achmed
ſent vice-
roy;

AT his arrival he found the people under dreadful apprehenſions of a viſit from the victorious Chriſtian armada; and immediately applied himſelf to repair the old, and to add ſome new fortifications to this place; levelling to the ground a large and beautiful ſuburb without *Beb-azoun* gate, pulling down the gate, with part of the city wall, and rebuilding it with great improvements. In theſe, and other embelliſhments and fortifications (C), he employed the two years and two months of his government; which is the more remarkable, becauſe the city laboured all that time under a

^m HAEDO, MORGAN, &c. ⁿ HAEDO, ub. ſup. ^{grievous}

(C) Among the former we may reckon the Fanar, or lantern, upon the iſland before the city, and ſtanding on the caſtle, built formerly by *Barbaroſſa*, and which is ſtill there to be ſeen; and the two noble fountains which run with a conſtant ſtream, the one without the gate *Beb Azoun*, and the other without that called *Beb-al-weyd*, which receive their clear water

from a multitude of fine ſprings, which run down from the adjacent hills.

Among the latter we ſhall only mention the ſtout fort or baſtion near the *Beb Azoun*, where the town is moſt liable to be attacked by land, which baſtion is at that point of the city wall which runs out into the ſea (30). He was ſeldom ſeen abroad without either a half

grievous pestilence, and carried off near one third of its inhabitants. He took care, however, to secure the love of the militia, by paying them duly, and other acts of complaisance, lest their prejudice against him, as an *Arabian*, should bring any insult or murmuring against them; but he was no less severe, even sometimes to a degree of barbarity, towards the *Moors*, poor patient slaves, who dared not complain. To-^{sent to the} wards the end of *May* he set out of *Algiers* with three of his own, and some of his friends gallies, being ordered to go ^{siege of} *Goletta*; and assist his predecessor, *Hali*, *Basha*, at the siege of *Goletta*; and, at the close of the same month, arrived his successor, *Ramadan Sardo*, a renegade of *Sardinia*, whom, as hath ^{and succeded by} *Ramadan Sardo* been already hinted, *Hali*, *Basha*, had left his deputy-governor in the city of *Fez*, as the properest person to keep that new conquered city in due subjection (D). This man, it seems, was so well beloved by the *Algerines*, that they had sent a deputation to the *Porte*, to entreat the Soltan, that if he recalled *Arab*, *Basha*, he would send them no other governor than *Ramadan Sardo*. At the head of those deputies was *Memmi*, Rais, late admiral of *Algiers*, and a great favourite at the court; who, without any difficulty, obtained his request: and *Arab*, *Basha*, was ordered to the siege of *Goletta*, to make room for *Sardo* at *Algiers*. All this was done without his knowledge, inasmuch, that the news of his advancement came to him at *Kayrowan*, where he still resided, by a courier sent to him by his friend *Memmi* from *Fusa*, where he had just then cast anchor.

RAMADAN received them with no less surprise than joy; and, having left a renegade of his own to supply his absence, till the arrival of the Captain *Basha* with the *Ottoman* fleet,

pike or a cudgel in his hand; which he was very prone to make use of upon all occasions, ^{and} ~~came~~ to his original occupation of a driver. He was very cruel, not only to the *Moors*, but much more so to the Christian captives; of which our authors give us some shocking instances, which we shall spare ourselves trouble to transcribe (31).

(D) This person had raised himself from a slave to that dignity, by his sense and good conduct. His patron, finding him a very ingenious boy, sent him to the renegade school, where

he soon became master of the *Arabic* and *Turkish* tongues; read and writ to admiration; and, after having followed traffick for some time, his good qualities gained him the affection of *Hali*, *Basha*, who adopted him, and left him *Kiayah*, or lieutenant of his new conquest, where he behaved with great prudence and conduct till an. 1573, when *Don John* of *Austria* retook the city, and forced him and his *Turks* to retire to *Kayrowan*, as we shall see in the next chapter (32).

(31) *Ibid. ibid.*(32) *Ibid. ibid.*

set sail directly for *Algiers*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. His first care was to make the best preparations he could to assist his predecessor both at *Goletta* and *Tunis*, and *Muley Moluch*, in an expedition into *Tingitania*, according to the instructions he had received from the *Porte*. And, upon hearing of the arrival of the Captain *Basha* with the *Turkish* fleet at the bay of *Tunis*, about the end of *July*, he immediately dispatched thither his admiral, *Memmi*, with nine large galleys and galliots, well manned and provided; his predecessor being already departed with another squadron for the same service.^c The success of which was, that the *Spaniards* were expelled that whole realm with considerable loss, as will be seen in the next chapter.

A LITTLE before the beginning of the next year he set out, at the head of 6000 *Janissaries*, 1000 *Zouavwa*, or mountaineers, 800 *Spahis*, and twelve field pieces, for the kingdom of *Fez*, where he was to assist *Muley Moluch* against *Muley Mahamed*, king of *Fez*, who waited for him, at the head of 30,000 renegadoes, and a considerable number of *Moor*s; all furnished with fire-arms, besides about 30,000 horse, well mounted and equipped; whilst *Ramadan*, at the head of his own forces, was met in his way to him by a reinforcement of 6000 *Arabians* and *Moorish* horse. We have seen in some former chapters a full account of the state and strength of this opulent city, as well as of its several reductions under different powers*; and shall only observe here, that it proved so much to their advantage and satisfaction (the young *Sharif* being abandoned by most of his forces, and forced to betake himself to flight), that, though he was at no farther expence or trouble than shewing himself at the head of his army, yet the grateful, and now overjoyed *Muley Moluch*, failed not to reward the *Algerines* and *Arabs* in a most generous manner; infomuch that the lowest groom among them did not go ungratified. Among the presents which he also made to *Ramadan*, or, as it is commonly stiled, to the Grand Signor's standard, was a purse of 300,000 ducats, with a considerable quantity of valuable rarities, and ten Christian slaves, which had belonged to this now vanquished *Muley Mahamed*.

1576. *RAMADAN* returned to *Algiers* in *March*, and was received with as great applauses by his people as if he had gained a complete victory: but continued no longer in his viceroyship than till the 29th of *June* of the following year, when, to their inexpressible sorrow, and general murmuring and discontent, he was forced to resign it to *Hassan Venedic*, *Basha*, a *Venetian* renegado, a man of the most opposite character,

^c See before, p. 74, & seq. Vid. & p. 16, & seq.

after he had governed *Algiers* three years and one month, with *Ramasso* much justice and equity, that not one single complaint had *dan* been heard against his administration: and the *Porte* was so called, and sensible of his merit, that he met with a most gracious reception; and was, quickly after, promoted to the *Bashaship* of *Tunis*; of *Tunis*^d; where we shall hear more of him in the next chapter.

HASSAN VENEDIC had been taken a slave, when a boy, succeeded by the famed *Dragut*; and from him passed to his heir *Hali* by *Hassan Sartaz*; and had imbibed so much of their haughtiness, *Venedic*'s avarice, and cruelty, that when he came to his government of *Algiers*, he met but with a cold reception there. He began his administration by some very tyrannic acts; the first of which was to compel all that had any slaves, from whom a good ransom might be expected, to sell them to him at a little more than prime cost. He next exacted a fifth, instead of the usual seventh part of all prizes taken by the corsairs. His next step was to monopolize all the corn, of which there was then a great scarcity, oil, butter, honey, fruit, &c.; insomuch that the *Janissaries* were not afraid to tell him to his face, that there was nothing to be bought in the markets but what was his, except onions and cabbages. He exercised the same tyranny on the *Arabs*, and *African* subjects abroad, on whom he levied a much heavier tribute; and, what made it still more insupportable, obliged them to pay it in wheat and barley, of which there was a great scarcity, and retailed it at an exorbitant price. With the same avaritious view he turned butcher, money-changer, broker, &c. in all which he added cheating to extortion, not only towards the *Algerines*, but to all the foreign merchants; and had reduced the *Algerine* state to the most contemptible and miserable condition that ever it had been in. All these, and a great variety of other tyrannies and oppressions, the *Turks* bore with surprizing patience, till he took it at length into his head to curtail their stipends; upon which they preferred such grievous complaints against him to the *Porte*, and exposed all his cruelties, injustice, and extortion, in such lively colours, that he was soon recalled, and a new one sent thither in his stead, after he had been suffered to reign three whole years and a quarter^e.

THIS new *Basha* was called *Jaffer*, *Aga*, an *Hungarian* and he by renegado (E), who arrived at *Algiers* about the end of *Jaffer August*, *Aga*. 1580.

^d *HARDO*, & al.^e *Idem* *ibid*.

(E) He had been taken prisoner by a body of *Turks*, with his mother, and two other children.
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dren; and brought from *Hungary* to the *Porte*, and presented to the *Soltan*, who caused him

August, at a time when that metropolis, as well as the whole country, was reduced to the greatest misery by the raging famine ;

to be made at once an eunuch and a *Mussulman*, and committed the care of the infant prince his son to him. In which, as well as in all other posts he was advanced to, he gave the most shining proofs of his singular prudence and justice, and of his generous disposition to all mankind, except criminals. In consequence of which he had often expressed his utmost dislike and abhorrence against the rapacious behaviour of his predecessor ; who, notwithstanding the many crimes laid to his charge, had the good fortune to come off scot-free, on his return to the *Porte* (though not without being forced to refund some of his ill-gotten wealth amongst the courtiers), and to be, not many years after, nominated to the same government ; where we shall find him again acting the same part.

During his first viceroyship, there flourished at sea a famed corsair, named *Morat Rais*, and surnamed the grand. He was a native of *Albania*, and born of Christian parents ; but fell into the hands of the *Algerine* corsair *Kara Hali*, who made him turn *Turk*, and brought him up in the piratical trade under him ; in which he became so famous, that we cannot avoid giving a short account of some of his most considerable exploits against the Christians. One of the first was in a small brigantine, with which he rowed to the *Spanish* coast, and got back to *Algiers* in seven days with 140 Christian captives ; which gained him a

great reputation with the *Algerines*, and his own patron. His next was with *Hali Batha* against the *Maltese* ; in which he had the courage to engage the *Soltana*, and was like to have been killed by him, for robbing him of that glory. So successful was he in all his excursions against *Christianism*, that he became formidable on those seas. Inasmuch that, in the year 1578, he could equip eight gallies of his own, with which he set out ; and, in a little time, brought back with him the *St. Angelo*, and the *Capitana*, of *Sicily* ; which were conveying the duke of *Terra Nova*, late viceroy of that island, into *Spain*, with all his family and equipage. In the same year he made a descent into those of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, where, though stoutly repulsed, he brought away a good number of slaves ; then attacked a rich *Genoese* ship near *Alicant*, with 90 Christians on board, all which he brought to *Algiers*, twelve days after his departure. In the year 1580, a few months before the arrival of *Jaffer Aga*, he surprised two gallies belonging to *Pope Gregory XIII.* on the coasts of *Tuscany*. One of them, which was the *Capitana*, was the pontifical newly created admiral, who was then taking his pleasure in *St. Stephano*, and both of them had a great number of monks, priests, and other considerable prisoners, as well as *Turkish* and *Moorish* captives ; all which he brought safe to *Algiers*.

In the year 1581, he attacked
two

famine; infomuch, that 8,000 *Arabians* and *Moors* are said *A grievous famine at Algiers.* to have died in the streets for want, within the space of six weeks, chiefly through the avarice of his predecessor. Notwithstanding which he let him depart quietly, on the *September* following, with all his immense wealth, amidst the loudest curses and execrations of the people; though he did not delay applying himself to the most expeditious means of relieving their present distress. The first step he took was to proclaim a free access to that port for all Christian merchants, both to carry on the usual commerce, which had been greatly obstructed by his predecessor, and likewise to treat about the redemption of captives, which proved an effectual spur to promote the other, and to bring in a speedy supply of corn, and other provisions; for having, upon his arrival, sent for the fathers of the redemption, and all the Christian merchants that were there, he desired them to write to all their Christian correspondents about it, assuring them, that they had not now a rapacious *Hassan* to treat with, but one that would deal with them with all possible justice and equity; for that, being incapable of having any children, he had not the least desire to accumulate riches, but rather to gain the love and good wishes of all under him, by his moderation and benevolence.

HE proved as good as his word; neither did this his generous disposition make him in the least remiss against those who deserved a contrary treatment; so that, from the very first year of his government, he began to give some instances of his severity against them; and displaced his own Kayia, or lieutenant, on account of some just complaints preferred against him.

IN the year following the Aga of the *Janissaries*, who was likewise come with him from the *Levant*, being accused of bribery and extortion, he caused a Dowan to be convened, and got him condemned and deposed by a great majority. Notwithstanding which prudent caution, both Aga and Kayia,

1581

• *Iidem* *ibid.* •

two rich *Portuguese* ships; one of which he sunk, and took the other, after a desperate engagement on both sides; in this last, besides a great number of captives, he found a million of ducats in specie, all which he brought to *Algiers*; where we shall find him soon after stripped of a good part of his prize by the Captain *Batha*, and slaves, under pretence of forwarding his expedition against the *Sharif* (34).

(34) *Haedo, Morgan, &c.*

provoked at their own disgrace and his severity, soon after formed such a conspiracy against him, as was like to have proved fatal to him. It was no less than the getting him assassinated. After which the former was to step into his government, and the latter was to succeed him as Aga. A wealthy *Moorish* merchant was to have supplied them with money to bribe the assassins; for which, besides extravagant interest for it, he was to be put into some considerable post. *Ben Delli*, the treacherous Aga, had already gained for many *Janissaries*, that he thought he might venture to propose the matter to a meeting of their officers; but, to his great surprise, four of the principal^b of them cried out, that they would rather be cut in pieces, than prove traitors to the Soltan, and his worthy *Jaffer* Aga. The consequence of which was, that those who had engaged already in the plot began to relent, and the Aga immediately clapped in irons, and the news of it sent to the Basba; who caused *Kayia* likewise to be seized. A grand Dowan was convoked, in which, though the two grand traitors had many friends, yet none dared to speak a word in their behalf; upon which they were both condemned, and privately strangled in a vault on the night following, which was the first of *May*. The officious *Moorish* merchant fled at the news of it, but purchased his safety soon after at the expence of 30,000 ducats, the sum he had offered to advance to the traitors^b.

BEFORE the end of this month arrived at *Algiers* the Captain Basba *Hali*, at the head of six royal galleys, from the *Porte*, on an expedition against the Sharif of *Morocco*, who was suspected of being treating of an alliance with the king of *Spain* against the *Ottoman* interest. This Captain Basba, who had been the greatest friend and supporter of his favourite *Hassan*, the late viceroy of *Algiers*, had suffered himself to be so incensed, by the vile insinuations of that renegado, against his successor the noble *Jaffer*, that he did him all the ill offices he could, by virtue of his present commission, taking from him a great number of slaves, vast sums of money, and other pretended necessities for his present expedition; all which *Jaffer* was forced to submit to. But, when he came to order the *Janissaries* to march westward to his assistance, which he did chiefly in revenge to the complaints they had preferred against his favourite *Hassan*, they all unanimsly refused to stir a foot, unless he produced the emperor's express orders for it. And when he told them, that they were only verbal; but that he could soon procure a written one, they bad him do so, and then they would

obey, and not till then. This obliged him to send another renegado to the *Porte*; but they would not suffer him to stir out of *Algiers*, without a deputation from their own body, which he dared not refuse. So they deputed the chief *Marrabout*, a person in high veneration, with letters to the *Porte*, representing the danger of sending *Hali* Basba against the *Sharif*, from whom they had as yet received no injury or insult; seeing, if he should so far succeed as to expel that prince out of his kingdom, it would be no difficult matter for a renegado of his aspiring and ambitious temper to make himself master of all *Barbary*; especially as another renegado of his own was then Basba of *Tripoli*. Whilst these dispatches were sending to the *Porte*, arrived the fortunate *Morat* Rais, mentioned in the last note, with his rich capture, of which the Captain Basba seized on a considerable share, in order, as he pretended, to help the carrying on of the *Tingitanian* war. But, towards the end of *July*, he had the mortification to receive an express order from the *Porte*, on pain of losing his head, to desist from his expedition; so well had the *Algerine* deputation succeeded there; so that he was immediately obliged to depart with his fleet, and arrived at *Constantinople* towards the close of *October*^d. Yet such was the inconstancy of that court, that, in spite of all the representations that had been made against him, and of all the crimes that had been laid to the charge of his favourite *Hassan*, he found means to get him nominated a second time viceroy of *Algiers*, as the only means he had to mortify and revenge himself against the *Algerine Janissaries*; and that vile and rapacious renegado was once more promoted to that dignity, to the great regret of all the militia, and the rest of the people; who had conceived a no less just esteem for the worthy *Jaffer*, though he had not been above two months with them, than abhorrence against his successor, under whose former administration they had suffered so long an oppression and tyranny.

Hassan a second time viceroy of Algiers.

It will not be thought foreign to our *Algerine* history to take notice, that it was about the beginning of *September*, of this very year, that queen *Elizabeth* granted her patent to our first *Turkey* company, which then consisted only of four eminent merchants of *London*; viz. Sir *Edward Osborn*, Mr. *Thomas Smith*, *Richard Staper*, and *William Garret*; which patent was signed on the 11th day of that month at *Westminster*. And, on the following year, Mr. *Hardbane*, or, (as others write his name, *Hardbroien*, or *Hardbourne*), was sent first ambassador from her majesty to the *Ottoman*

Queen Elizabeth grants a patent to the Turkey company.

1582.

^d *Iidem* *ibid.*

Porte, where he met with a splendid reception from Soltan *Morat* III. who likewise granted to our nation sundry considerable privileges, which the reader may see in the authors quoted in the margin *. At which time his excellency Mr. *Harebone* appointed Mr. *John Tinton* consul at *Algiers*, who was the first that ever bore that character †.

BUT to return to our new *Basha*; he arrived at *Algiers* towards the end of *May* of the same year, attended by eleven gallies, seven of which were his own, and the rest the Captain *Basha's*. Not long after came in *Morat* Rais with upwards of 500 *Spanish* captives of both sexes, which he brought from the coasts of *Spain*. Upon which the new *Basha* took occasion to call together all the other *Algerine* Rais, or captains, and told them, that they were all, except this *Morat*, a pack of idle cowardly drones; that he himself would shew them how to go a cruising, and ordered them to get all their vessels ready, which was quickly done; so that 22 gallies and galliots were equipped, to which he joined his own eleven. These all set sail together towards the coasts of *Sardinia*; where they made descents in several towns, as they were directed by their *Sardinian* slaves, who were, for the most part, ready to sacrifice their country for the sake of regaining their liberty (F); and from which they brought away above 1,500 captives. Thence they sailed towards *Genoa*, where they broke into a town called *Sori*, whence they brought away about 150 more; of which prince *Andrea Doria*, who was arrived at *Genoa* the night before, getting intelligence, he sailed in pursuit of him with his seventeen gallies; but *Hassan*, getting the wind of him, struck away for the coasts of *Provence*. We need not tell our readers, that in all these expeditions, how cautiously soever carried on.

Hassan
goes on a
cruise
with all
his cap-
tains.

* HAKLUYT, vid. & MORGAN, *Algiers*, vol. ii. c. 14. & appendix.
† Ibidem ibid.

(F) It is we find a common, though melancholy, practice among those slaves, of all countries, to betray their own native place, and occasion the captivity of perhaps some hundreds of their own countrymen, or even townsmen, for the sake of obtaining their own freedom; so that these wretches will offer themselves of their own accord, to direct them the way to it.

But as some of them, out of remorse, have tried to make their escape before the ship could reach the place, it is now a common rule amongst those corsairs, to pinion those volunteers very closely and to give the end of the rope that ties them in charge to three or four *Turks*, from whom they are not to be released, till they have performed their engagement (36).

(36) *Haedo, Morgan, & al.*

they

they frequently meet with a stout repulse, and lose many of their men, which are either killed or taken. Those maritime towns, being accustomed to such visits, easily taking the alarm, and raising a numerous posse of horse and foot to oppose or pursue them; the very women, on such occasions, pelting them with large stones from the tops of the houses, and killing them in the streets, as was the case in this expedition we are speaking of. But his most profitable excursion was on the *Spanish* coasts, to which he had been invited by the *Morescos*, from whence he transported no less than 2,000 men, women, and children, with an immense wealth, into *Barbary*; and was liberally paid for his trouble. In his return he met with a *Ragusan* trader, laden with corn, whom he obliged to redeem himself, and cargo, at the price of 9,000 ducats; and being all now well satisfied with their good fortune, he led them triumphant into *Algiers*, after having been near three months out; and then asked his captives, *Who was the better corsair, he or they?* *He returns laden with immense spoil.*

After this we hear nothing of any extortions or cruelties at home; perhaps he was afraid of fresh complaints being sent to the *Porte*. But what wealth he could not amass by that, he did in the trading way, being represented as a very notable merchant, though far from a fair dealer. This did not, however, hinder his being recalled, sooner than he could have wished; at the news of which he could not refrain from tears. However, before he went away, he granted a pass to one *Singleton*, an *English* merchant, which hath been preserved to us by the authors lately quoted^h; and which, giving us some insight into our affairs in those parts, at that time, and being written in a style agreeable to his haughty disposition, our readers will not be displeased to see at full length in the margin (G). He departed in the month of

¹ *Idem* *ibid*.

^h HAKLUYT, MORGAN, *ubi sup*.

(G) *Noi Hassan* Basba, *vice re, et*
lugo tenente, &c.

“ We *Hassan* Basba, viceroy,
“ lieutenant, and captain-general,
“ of the dominions and jurisdiction
“ of *Algiers*, give and
“ grant free and safe conduct to
“ *Thomas Shingleton* merchant;
“ that with his ship and mariners,
“ of what nation soever
“ they be, and with his merchandizes,
“ of what country

“ soever they be, he may go
“ and come, trade and traffick,
“ freely in this city of *Algiers*,
“ and other places in our jurisdiction,
“ as well of the east, as
“ of the west. And, in like
“ sort, we farther command the
“ admiral of *Algiers*, and other
“ places of our jurisdiction, and
“ all captains of vessels, as well
“ of ours, as of the *Levant*,
“ both great and small, who
“ soever

Sent vice-roy of Tripoli; of May with his own galleys, which he had augmented by that time to twelve, together with the four which had brought the new Basha, to his new government of *Tripoli*, to which he was commissioned by the *Porte*, after a short administration of less than one year at *Algiers*. We find little more of him, except that he staid two whole years at *Tripoli* in great credit; after which his patron, who was now grown aged, and willing to retreat, obtained for him the commission of Captain Basha, in which post he did great damage to the Christian merchants, and was at length *poisoned*. poisoned at *Constantinople* by the famous renegado *Cigala*, who succeeded him in that post.¹

Memmi sent vice-roy of Algiers;

receives a letter of complaint from the Turkey company.
1584.

THE new Basha was called *Memmi Arnaud*, that is, the *Albanian*; but not the same whom we have had occasion to mention a little higher, as admiral of *Algiers*, but another of the same name and country, as we shall see in the sequel. He formerly belonged to *Kara Hali*, *Morat Rais's* patron, and was become a famous corsair, and had behaved with so much prudence and conduct, that, upon the Soltan's removing *Hassan* from *Algiers* to *Tripoli*, the Captain Basha recommended him as a proper person to succeed him in that government. He was accordingly sent thither, as hath been already hinted; and, after his arrival, gave signal proofs both of his great capacity and strict justice; so that he failed not giving great satisfaction, not only to the *Algerines*, but to those Christian merchants who traded with them. On the second year of his government, *Sir Edward Osborn*, now lord mayor of *London*, having been informed, that some of the *Algerine* corsairs had engaged and sunk one of the ships belonging to the *Turkey* company, contrary to the treaty of commerce concluded at the *Porte*, sent him a letter of complaint, the substance of which the reader may see in the

¹ HAEDO, MORGAN.

"soever they be, we do com-
mand them, that on finding
the said *Thomas Singleton*, of
the *English* nation, in the seas
of *Genoa*, east *France*, *Naples*,
Calabria, *Sardinia*, &c. with
his ship, merchandize, and
men, of what nation soever
they be, they molest them
not; neither take nor touch
any thing of theirs, whether
money, or goods, under pe-
nalty of losing their lives and

"effects. And, as you make
account of the favour of his
Ottoman Highness our Sove-
reign Soltan *Morat*, you are
to suffer him to pass on his
way, without the least impe-
diment.

"Dated at *Algiers* in our
regal palace, confirmed
by our royal signature,
and written by our prime
secretary, *January 23*,
1583."

margin,

margin (H), by which he may judge what regard that piratic crew paid to the orders of the Soltan. On September following, the Queen was pleased to write another letter to the zabeth Grand Signor on the same subject; in which, besides the complaint above-mentioned against the *Algerine* corsairs, another was subjoined against the Basba of Tripoli, who had seized on an *English* ship called the *Jesus*, which came thither to buy oils. Which produced an express order from the Soltan to that Basba for the restitution of the said ship and effects, on that same year; and a fresh one from the *English* ambassador to him, dated January of the following year, to

(H) "Most high and mighty king, may it please your highness to understand, that the most high and most mighty Soltan hath confirmed certain articles and privileges, with her most excellent majesty the queen of *England*, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffick by sea and land, in the dominions of his Soltanic majesty, as appears more at large by the said articles; whereof we have sent a copy to Mr. *John Tipton*, our commissary, to shew the same to your highness. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships, which came from *Patras* in *Morea*, laden with currants, &c. bought in those parts, was sunk by two galleys, belonging to the City of *Algiers*, and most of the ship's equipage either slain or drowned, and the residue detained captives; an act quite contrary to the articles and privileges afore-said; wherefore we humbly beseech your highness, that, since it hath pleased the Grand Signor's majesty to grant us the said privileges, you will please to assist us in the same;

"granting us, by your authority, aid, and favour, that those poor men, thus detained in captivity, may be set at liberty, to return to their respective abodes. And likewise, that your highness would give orders to the captains, and people of your galleys, that they henceforth suffer us to pursue our commerce, with six ships yearly, into *Turkey*, and all other the Soltan's dominions, freely and peaceably, without interruption of those privileges; since each of these ships carries his *Ottoman* highness's pass, whereby they may be distinguished. And, for this your singular courtesy, we shall remain your most obliged debtors, and be ready to return to your highness all the service in our power, as you will be farther informed by the said *John Tipton*; and shall ever pray for, &c. &c.

"For, and in the name of, the whole company trading to *Turkey*,

"Your very humble servant,
"Edward Osborne,
"Lord Mayor of *London* (36)"
London, July 20,
1584.

Morat
Rais sails
to the Ca-
naries.
1585.

the same purport *. But whether these orders were complied with or no, we are not told. But we meet with, in the same author, another express order from the same Soltan, directed to the viceroys of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, dated June 1, 1584, for the quiet passing and repassing, &c. of her majesty's subjects through all his dominions; for the further particulars of which we shall refer our reader to the authors above quoted, where he will find several other valuable pieces relating to the same subject, which we cannot allow room for in this extensive work. On the year following *Morat* Rais, being, as is most probably conjectured, spurred on and directed by some Christian slave or renegado, ventured, the first of all the *Algerine* and other *Barbary* corsairs, to sail through the *Streights of Gibraltar*, and out of the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantic* ocean; and thence to the *Canaries*. His squadron had just reached the height of those islands, when his pilot told him, he was afraid they had overshot the mark; upon which *Morat* told him, that, though he had never been there, he was sure they were in the right road, and bid him steer on; soon after which they got sight of *Lancelota*. They staid at some distance, till night prevented their being perceived; and then made a descent into the island with 250 fuzileers, where they ravaged without opposition, and carried off, besides a considerable plunder, about 300 captives, among whom were the mother, wife, and daughter, of the governor, the count himself narrowly escaping being one of the number. This done, *Morat*, as usual in such cases, stood aloof, and hung out the flag of truce, for the islanders to come and redeem what they pleased, or could, of his captives; so that none staid behind, but those who were either friendless or penniless. How many and how much he got by those that were redeemed, we are not told; but, in his return, he was informed, that the admiral of the *Spanish* gallies, Don *Martin Redilla*, was waiting for him at the *Streights* mouth, at the head of 18 sail, to punish him for his insolent attempting to sail where no *Barbary* corsair had before ventured. *Morat*, though naturally rash, yet thought it more advisable, at this juncture, to retire to *Larach*, a *Morocco* sea-port, where he continued near a month. At length, taking the advantage of a stormy night, when he rightly supposed the *Spanish* admiral would take shelter in some port, he ventured to sail through the *Streights*; and, being got over them, fired a gun, to give him notice that he need wait no longer for him. In his return he met with *Memmi Basha*, who acquainted

* HAKLUYT, MORGAN.

him with the news of his son's death, which so affected him, that he sailed directly for *Algiers*, after an absence of four months. But neither the loud welcomes he received there, nor the congratulations he met with, on account of his being the first conductor into the *Atlantic*, could console him for the loss of his darling son¹. We find nothing else worth mentioning concerning him, during the two years of *Memmi's* government, except that his rapacious successor *Achmed*, upon his arrival, exacted a fine of him of 30,000 ducats; which not being well able to pay, he was forced to get away privately to *Temendefust* in one of his gallies, leaving his wife and children behind, whom that griping *Basha*, however, suffered to follow him in another galley. This unexpected favour so highly obliged *Memmi*, that he generously sent him 25,000 ducats by the same galley, with a note for the rest, for which his namesake and countryman *Memmi Arnaud*, the admiral formerly mentioned, and the brave *Morat Rais*, became sureties. After this he set sail from *Temendefust* to *Tunis*, the new government to which he had been commissioned by the *Porte*; where, having governed three years, he was removed to *Tripoli*, of which he was twice viceroy; and in both governments gained the love and applause both of the soldiery and people, by his justice, courteousness, and affability, which he extended even to Christians, contrary to the practice of most renegadoes^m.

ACHMED, a native *Turk* of noble descent, but extremely haughty and avaritious, purchased the viceroyship of *Algiers* with a large sum; no wonder therefore he began his government by such a violent extortion on his predecessors. The next thing he did was to forbid his cruizing captains to stir up till he himself was ready to sail at their head, and make such another expedition against the Christians, as *Hassan Basha* had done; adding, in a haughty tone, that if that renegado had been so successful in his, surely they might expect something better under him, who was so far superior to that calf. He set sail accordingly, in June 1587, with 11 galleys and galliots, and made directly to the small island of *Gotha*, thence to *Biserta*, and to *Maritimo*, near *Trapani*, in *Sicily*. His next course was, through the gulph of *Naples*, to the *Roman* territory; where himself leaped on shore at the head of his men, in hopes of some great booty; but was soon glad to retire, and flee for his life; the prince *Andrea Doria*, being then sailing for *Naples*, with all his family, on board seven royal galleys, giving him a furious chase, till night put an end to it.

¹ HÆDO, MORGAN, &c.^m Idem ibid.

ACHMED, having thus happily slipped away from him, sailed to the gulph of St. *Florentine*, plundered *Faringola*, and brought away 240 captives; thence he ranged along the coasts of *Tuscany*, *Genoa*, *Provence*, and *Spain*; but without any great success, the people every where taking the alarm; so that, being weary of his cruising, he returned to *Algiers* towards the end of *August*, after ten weeks absence. This was the only excursion he made in person during his three years government, though he still continued sending out his captains at all proper seasons, who seldom failed of success. The share he had in those prizes prevented, perhaps, his oppressing the people, as several of his predecessors had done; so that, upon his leaving that government for that of *Tripoli*, where he was to succeed the brave *Memmi*, he went off with a good character; neither doth it appear, that the *Algerines* were much dissatisfied with his administration.

Achmed
succeeded
by Hidir.
1589.

His successor, *Hidir Basha*, a native *Turk*, who had also purchased that government by dint of money, arrived at *Algiers* in *August*, the same month in which *Achmed* had left it. About a week after arrived the famed *Morat Rais*, bringing in a noble *Maltese* galley, which he had taken after a bloody engagement on both sides, together with some smaller prizes which he had made, after his parting in great anger with his friend *Memmi* the *Algerine* general (I). His *Maltese* prize was

(I) These two, having joined their forces together, which consisted of four galliots, were on a cruise round the coasts of *Sardinia*; where they perceived, near *Monte Cristo*, four galleys belonging to Pope *Sixtus V.* which were sailing at some small distance from them. Upon which *Morat*, always bold, cried out to his company, come every man to his bird. But *Memmi*, more cautious, did not think it advisable with their four galliots to engage an equal number of such stout galleys. The other two were of his mind; and, in spite of all, he could say to encourage them, one and all declined the engagement. And no wonder they should, seeing *Memmi*, who commanded in the admiral, which was the best of

all the three, was the first who refused to fight.

However *Morat* could not forbear expressing his resentment in warm terms; after which, parting with them, he steered his course towards the coasts of *Puglia*, where he furiously engaged and took a large trader of 30 guns; but, finding the cargo to be chiefly salt, he only took the guns, men, and ammunition; and by that means was the better enabled to overtake and engage the *Maltese* galley, which made all the sail it could to escape him; for the captain, under the notion, or perhaps pretence, that *Morat* had more ships following him, could not be prevailed upon to slacken his flight, notwithstanding his watch still assured him, that

was reckoned so considerable an exploit, that he was received with joyful acclamations; and the Basba himself, who was no stranger to his character, sent a guard of *Janissaries*, and his own horse, to conduct him to the palace, where he was received with great pomp and triumph; whilst the news of so bold an action, considering the superiority and bravery of the enemy he had engaged with, made no less a noise all over *Christendom*. The reputation which he gained on this occasion not a little mortified admiral *Memmi*, who, arriving a little time after from his cruize, in which he had but a slender success, was every where upbraided with the loss he had sustained, by not following *Morat's* advice ⁿ.

In the mean time a noted fanton, named *Sidi Chayah*, en- *Arevolt*
couraged by the king of *Spain*, and the grand master of raised by
" *Malta*, had raised a terrible revolt in *Tripoli*. He had al- a fanton
ready raised a considerable number of forces, which were to at *Tripoli*.
be augmented by large reinforcements from *Spain* and *Sicily*,
together with a supply of warlike ammunition. The city of
Tripoli was in a manner invested, and kept in continual
alarms, besides being almost reduced to a famine for want of
provisions; whilst the promised supplies, which were to set
up our fanton lord paramount of that kingdom; or, in truer
English, a tributary viceroy to the *Spanish* king, were daily
expected. But all that he could obtain from his catholic
allies, to support him in his rebellion, was a *Maltese* brigan-
tine, laden with powder, ball, and other such provisions. In
the mean time the *Porte*, being informed of what passed
there, had ordered the admiral, *Hassan Basba*, to repair thi-
ther with 60 gallies; who accordingly set out of *Constanti-*
nople in the month of *July*, and had sent orders to all the cor-
vair captains of *Tunis* and *Algiers*, to join him with their ves-
sels. His letters to those of *Algiers* were directed to *Morat*
Rais, without taking notice of the rest; however, both they,
and those of *Tunis*, joined him with their squadrons. He
landed his army, which consisted of 12,000 *Turks*, besides

1590

■ HÆDO, MORGAN, &C.

" that there were no more than one after him. At length, his being nearly overtaken by him, and no other ship appearing, he thought fit to face about in his own defence. He made, how-
ever, a gallant and obstinate
one; nor did he yield, till all

his gunners, and other service-
able men, were either disabled
or killed, and the few survivors
obliged to surrender themselves to
that dog *Morat* (as our author
stiles him), and to exchange seats
with the *Turks* and *Moors*,
there chained to the *car* (36).

(36) *Hædo, Morgan, ubi sup.*

thoſe

those of his two auxiliaries, and of *Achmed*, *Basha* of *Tripoli*; but, finding the season too far advanced to stay much longer on those seas with the Soltan's galleys, he contented himself with leaving there a considerable band of the *Janissaries*, with the *Algerine* and *Tunisian* forces, and set out for *Constantinople* in the month of *October*. He had not been long gone, before they came to a general engagement with the revolted, in which they gave them a total overthrow ¹. *Sidi Chayah* was not only abandoned by his partizans, but had his head treacherously taken off by some of them, and brought to the *Turks*, which soon put an end to that revolt. Since which time they have continued to this day under the dominion of the Grand Signor, as will be further shewn when we come to the history of *Tripoli*. But to return to *Algiers*, from whence we were forced to digress so far, as the history of those kingdoms, as well as the *Baschas* that commanded in them, was so interwoven. The succour which the *Basha Hidir* had been obliged to send to *Tripoli*, had so far exhausted him of men, that, for want of soldiery, he could not send abroad above four corsairs that year, to the great mortification of the rest.

Hidir engages a warlike Arabian prince.

NOR was this all, for he had been obliged to take the field against the Soltan, or tributary prince of the *Beni Abbas*, a brave *Arabian* tribe, inhabiting the mountainous parts of *Algiers*, some of which are almost inaccessible. As he therefore knew how difficult it would be to reduce him by main force, he thought fit to try what might be done by stratagem; to which end he raised a high kind of fortrefs, of earth, stones, and trees, to defend his camp from surprizes, and, at the same time, prevent the enemy's being supplied with provisions from other parts, whilst he strove to destroy all the olive, date, and other fruit trees. Whilst things were in this position, and nothing else considerable acted between them, except their frequent skirmishes, a *Marabout*, in high veneration, found means to pacify both sides, by shewing them the absurdity of people of the same religion taking up arms against each other, which might be more properly employed against their common enemies the Christians. Which arguments, joined to a sum of 30,000 ducats, which the *Arabian* prince obliged himself to pay to the *Basha*, soon brought them to a pacific treaty, and put an end to all farther hostilities. *Hidir* returned to *Algiers* after two months absence, as highly pleased as if he had gained a victory; a war being seldom known to be so easily terminated with that martial nation, on whose friendship the tranquillity of all the eastern provinces

¹ *Idem* *ibid.*

so much depends. But whilst he had such good success at land, his small and meanly equipped squadron met with a quite different fate at sea: they being chiefly manned by *Moorish* swabbers, and other such unexperienced sailors, instead of such brave veterans and expert renegadoes, met with such a violent storm near the coasts of *Sicily*, that two out of the four were driven on shore and lost; one near the city of *Augusta*, and the other against the rocks of the island of *Goza*: the other two, indeed, by gaining the Cape of *Pasfaro*, had the good fortune to out-weather the storm, and to bring away from the coasts of *Puglia* and *Calabria* a considerable number of slaves, and what other plunder they could bring with them into *Algiers*.

In the following year *Morat Rais*, and admiral *Memmi Morat* had much such another squabble in their joint cruize, as they *Rais*, and had had two years before: the former, ever venturous and admiral bold, was for engaging eight *Sicilian* galleys, near the island of *Memmi Luftria*, about twenty leagues from *Sicily*: the other, ever fall out as cautious and fearful of buying a victory too dearly, as war only sea. opposing it; so that they parted without a blow; whilst the *Sicilians*, though superior in number and strength, were glad to let them go off scot-free, when they might easily have taken them, as our authors think, had they had the courage to engage them. So that they had the good luck to get safely to *Algiers* in *August* following, though without any other success than that of a narrow escape.

In *October* following happened that notable escape of fourteen corsair captains out of the castle of *Naples*; one of whom, called *Mustagha Arnaud*, was a very considerable *Algerine* Rais, nearly related by marriage to admiral *Memmi*, who had been there confined twenty-six years, and never could obtain his liberty, either by exchange or the largest sums; another was the famed *Jaffer Rais*, a *French* renegado, taken near the island of *Ivica*, an. 1586; the third was *Hamza Rais*, a native *Turk*, in high esteem at *Byzetta* and *Tunis*, where he was admiral of all the corsairs, and taken in his own galley in *April*, 1590, by the prince *Doria's* son, then coming from *Naples* with eleven galleys, on the *Roman* coasts. These three being the most considerable of all the fourteen, had been guarded with the greatest strictness; whilst the other eleven had the liberty to walk about within the walls. All these having obtained leave to sup together, it being the feast of *Biram*, or passover, sawed their fetters, got over one of the walls with cords, broke through another with crows and leavers, and seized a pleasure boat of six

Hidir re-
called;
1592.

boats belonging to the governor, and rowed away for the island of *Lusitania*; where they were taken up by an *Algerine* cruizer that casually came that way, and arrived safe at *Biserta*, the residence of *Hamza Rais*. Great rejoicings were made both there and at *Algiers*, and other places, for the happy escape of so many of their brave captains; whilst it alarmed not only all the city of *Naples*, but all *Italy* and adjacent kingdoms, who were apprehensive that something worse than the strength and industry of those captives had been the means of their release. Nothing happened remarkable during the remainder of *Hidir's* government, excepting that he was recalled on the year following, to the great joy of all the *Algerines*, by whom he was hated, on account of his haughtiness and tyranny, he being an old gouty, petulant, and griping officer, and insolent tyrant; who, nevertheless, found means, after his return to the *Porte*, to be sent thither once more in the same capacity ^b.

succeeded
by Shaa-
ban, Ba-
sha.

HE was succeeded by *Shaaban*, who arrived at *Algiers* in the month of *August*, and fell immediately upon a strict scrutiny into his predecessor's conduct, against whom great complaints were made, both by the soldiery and people. A grand *Dowan* was forthwith convened, wherein it was proposed to send a deputation to the *Porte*, accompanied with proper presents, in order to obtain some severe punishment against him. All this clamour was soon over-ruled by the address of the new *Basha*, who contented himself with laying a considerable fine upon him, and giving him a severe reprimand; but the soldiery would not suffer him to come off upon so easy terms, and agreed to depute admiral *Memmi Arnaud* to carry their complaints to the *Porte*, which he readily undertook, being now grown weary of the piratical trade, wherein he had lately escaped being either sunk or taken, and had had a favourite nephew killed. He, therefore, took his leave of *Algiers*, and embarked for *Constantinople* towards the latter end of *August* in his own four galliots; two of which carried the family and equipage of *Hidir*, and the third the rest of the deputies: but, to their great surprise, when they came to the *Porte*, though their presents were accepted, yet they could obtain no audience against him, and so were forced to return *re infecta*, to the great mortification of the mutinous soldiery.

NOTHING material happened during the two first years of *Shaaban's* government, except some captures, as usual, and some ships lost and sunk at the mouth of the harbour, he behaving all the time with great moderation and prudence.

^b HARDO, & al. *ibid*.

The History of Algiers

Among other prizes was that of Don *Piedra de Lirio*, general of the *Sicilian* galleys, whom that *Basha's* galliot surpris'd, and brought away from the island of *Luftrica*. On the next year *Morat Rais*, who, by this time, had succeeded *Memmi Arnaud* as admiral of *Algiers*, set out with his four galleys as usual; and, meeting with two *Tuſcan* galleys near the coast of *Barbary* (one of which was the *Capitana*, and the other called the *St. John*), he made uſe of this ſtratagem, of cauſing *Morat* two of his own veſſels to take in their ſails and let down their masts, and to be towed as prizes by the other two, till he was got near enough to his prey; which he eaſily did, they making all the ſail they could towards him, as to a prize they were ſure of; when, on a ſudden, he ordered his other two galliots to equip with all ſpeed, and ſet on them with ſuch fury as threw them into the utmoſt confuſion; and, after an obſtinate engagement, carried them both off, and brought them into *Algiers* about the middle of *July*.

FLUSHED with ſuch conſtant ſucceſs, he ſet out the following year on the ſame errand, and had the confidence to lay in wait for five *Malteſe* cruizers, lying in the port of theſe *Syracufe*; and whom he knew to be not only moſt inveterate enemies, but ſo much ſuperior to him. Whiſt he lay perdué at *Cape Paſſaro*, the *Malteſe* admiral, having had intelligence of him, and the poſition he was in, immediately ſlipped his cables; and, with the other, made all the ſail towards him, and ſurpris'd him as he was in purſuit of one of their own brigantines. They quickly knew each other, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night. *Morat* betook himſelf to flight, but the *Malteſe* ſo cloſely chas'd him, that the *Capitana* ſoon overtook and engaged him. The fight was furious while it laſted; but the *Turks* play'd their fire ſo hotly upon it, that moſt of her gunners and ſoldiers were either ſlain or diſabled, which gave him a fair opportunity to diſengage himſelf from her, not without great loſs, as well as imminent danger from the other four, which were crouding likewiſe all their ſails after him; ſo that all his ſpeed could not ſave him from the *Luftrona*, which was the next, peppering him in the rear; for they all levelled their aim chiefly at him. “But her,” ſays our author, “he and his *Turks* were no leſs ſucceſsful again, and made ſuch effectual diſcharges againſt her, that they forced her to retire, as they did afterwards all the others, after they had, one after another, tried their chance againſt *Morat's* galliot. So that, after having received five, not dangerous, wounds, and a conſiderable damage, he eſcaped from the paws of thoſe lions of *St.*

* HAEDO, MORGAN, ubi ſup.

“*John’s order*.” They did not, however, return to *Algiers*, till they had made a considerable number of prizes, and were enabled to enter that city laden with riches and captives, which they did in *September* next. This is the last tidings we meet with concerning that bold and fortunate corsair; who, at his arrival, found *Shaaban* Basha departed for *Constantinople* about two months before, after having governed that state somewhat less than three years with credit, and a general contentment of the people.

Mustapha governs only four months, and is succeeded by Hidir, who came to Algiers full of resentment.

His successor, *Mustapha*, was a near relation of his, and no less courteous and upright; but had not continued four months in his government, before he found himself supplanted by the late *Hidir* Basha, whose interest with the *Porte*; had prevailed upon the Soltan to nominate him a second time to that advantageous post, to the great grief and mortification of all the *Algerines*; who, as they had conceived great hopes from the generous *Mustapha*, so had they much to fear from the resentment of his surly and vindictive successor.

AND, indeed, it was no less with a view of being revenged on them for their late clamours against him, than his avidity for that gainful government, that he had set all his engines at work to obtain it. And this was no more than what he had threatened their deputies to the *Porte*, bidding them to assure the people of *Algiers*, that they might depend upon his quitting scores with them, whenever occasion should offer. Accordingly, upon his arrival in *October* following, his first step was to extort a fine of 15,000 ducats from their favourite, *Mustapha*, under pretence that he had neglected to keep the mole in repair; which, he said, he would immediately do with that very money; though the sequel plainly shewed, that he had no other view in extorting it than to sink it into his own pockets, and to mortify him and the *Algerines*. *Mustapha* having, with no small chagrin, satisfied his extortionate demand, set sail forthwith for *Constantinople*; but with a full resolution, at all hazards, to regain that government, and deliver *Algiers* from a petulant tyrant, whom they had so much cause to detest. Nothing material happened during his short reign, except the frequent instances he gave, both to the militia and people, of his resentment and rapacious disposition; till, to his great mortification, and their excessive joy, news was brought to him, that his much abused predecessor was recommissioned for that vice-royalty, and on the point of entering that port. *Mustapha* had, indeed, made such successful use of his interest at the *Porte*, and had displayed *Hidir’s* character in such true colours, that his new

patent ran in a manner absolute. Nevertheless, the only revenge he took of him, was to ease him of a good part of his ready coin, the only profitable commodity, he well knew, such a miser could carry into the *Levant*, as well as the most effectual engine he could play at the *Porte* against him; and this he did, first, by condemning him to pay 30,000 ducats, instead of the 15,000 he had extorted from him; saying, *he knew no reason why he, who had neglected a whole twelve month to repair the mole, should not pay as much towards it as he had forced him to do only for a four months neglect.* The next was, by forbidding all persons, of whatever rank, under the severest penalties, to purchase any slaves or moveables from him; by which he prevented his securing his pockets with a fresh supply of cash; and for that reason we need not fear that any *Algerine* would transgress such an order. On the contrary, they all cried out, that he was too mildly treated, who had set such an example of extortion and revenge.

HIDIR departed soon after, full of envy and resentment; and from that time we hear no more of him. As for his successor, he became, by the contrast, more and more the darling of *Algiers*, by his courteousness and generosity, though nothing remarkable happened during his government, excepting his setting himself immediately about repairing the mole, fortifications, and other public buildings: and, with his easy and amiable government, we shall, with our two authors, bring this 16th century to a period.

S E C T. VI.

The History of Algiers from the Beginning of the 17th Century to the Conclusion of their last Treaty with, and Death of, Haly Dey, An. 1718.

BEING now deprived of our excellent, exact, and curious *Squire of the history of Algiers*, guide, whose long abode and acquaintance with this state had enabled him to furnish us with such a regular list of us of *Algiers*, *Bahay*, and most material particulars of them, we shall be now forced to shorten our method, and confine ourselves chiefly to their transactions abroad, which are the only ones that have been transmitted to us with any certainty; those that have been acted since are, for the most part, unknown to us, for want of such another faithful compiler of them: but here, perhaps, the loss is not so much to be regretted, upon just recollection, as might appear at the first sight. If we consider all the domestic affairs that have been transmitted

to us, from the foundation of it by the two *Barbareffas*, to the close of this century, we shall find them (except the reigns and surprising conquests and tyrannies of these two famed corsairs) to be made up chiefly of jealousies, supplantments, cruelty, revenge, murmurings, revolts, oppressions, and bribery, both at home and at the *Porte*, and such like disasters, which afford but small improvement, or even amusement, if not rather disgust and weariness, to the reader: for which reason we endeavoured to relate them in the most concise manner we could.

NEITHER can we reasonably suppose, that matters are mended much since that time, especially since that state hath been governed by Deys, or kings of their own chusing, and hath shook off its dependency on the *Ottoman Porte*, as we have elsewhere seen*. On the contrary, we must expect to find little else but a continued series of the most horrid and cruel tyrannies, assassinations, revolts, dethronings, fightings, contentions, briberies, jealousies, and tumults, among the great; and misery, oppression, and slavery, among the low; intermixed with instances of the most inhuman resentment on all or most of the unhappy relations and partizans of a butchered monarch; confiscations, imprisonments, fines, and other persecutions, on those who are suspected to be in a different interest from the reigning tyrant; till at length, perhaps, in less than a year, a month, and sometimes a week, some dreadful fate justly falls on him, and is attended with all the same scenes of rage and fury, tyranny and bloodshed. These, we say, joined to their usual piratical excursions and depredations at sea, would make up the most considerable transactions of every reign; and a regular and continued history would be no better, bating some difference, perhaps, in the various ways and stratagems by which the actors have supplanted and massacred one another, than a continued repetition of the same scenes of treason and bloody revolutions.

WE have already taken notice, in a former section*, of a deputation which their militia sent to the *Porte*, about the beginning of this 17th century, to complain of the misconduct and horrid oppressions of the *Turkish* viceroys, who sunk all the public revenue into their own coffers; and to whom avarice it was owing, that the state forces were so miserably paid, accoutred, and kept up, that they were in continual danger of being overpowered by the *Arabians* and *Moors*; who, by the assistance of some Christian powers, would quickly be in a condition to shake off the *Ottoman* yoke, and against whose united force, the now extenuated and discon-

* See before, p. 191.

* See before, *ibid*.

tented soldiery would be able to make but a poor defence. By which means they obtained leave of that court to chuse their *The Alg.* own Deys; who, as they alleged, would of course take more pains *ob-* care, that the revenue was applied to the keeping of the *tain have* kingdom in a better state of defence, and that the usual tri- *to chuse* bute should be more faithfully transmitted to the *Perte*, in- *their own* stead of requiring new supplies from thence, as had been *Deys.* lately the practice of those rapacious viceroys. These deputies did moreover engage themselves still to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their Sovereign, and to be ready on all occasions to assist him with their forces and shipping, to pay a due respect to his Basnas, to lodge and maintain them and their retinue, in a manner suitable to their dignity, at their own charge, provided they were for the future excluded from assisting at any but their general Dowans, unless invited to it; and from having the liberty of voting in them, unless when their advice was asked, or the interest of the *Perte* was likely to suffer by their silence: but that all other concerns, which related to the government of *Algiers*, should be wholly committed to the direction of the Dey and his Dowan*.

THE deputies, having thus far succeeded, returned highly satisfied to *Algiers*, where they failed not to notify to the then *Turkish* Basna the privileges granted to them by his court; to which he had nothing to do but to submit. The great Dowan immediately proceeded to the election of a Dey from among their own body. They compiled a new set of laws, and made several regulations for the better maintenance and support of this new form of government; to the observation of which they obliged all their subjects to swear; and the militia, navy, commerce, &c. were settled pretty near on the same footing which we have described in a former section †; though the subsequent alterations, which happened since between the Basnas and Deys, the first to recover their former authority and influence, and the latter to curtail it, still caused such frequent complaints and discontents at the *Ottoman* court, as made them repent of their untimely compliance to that proud and untractable body, which the sequel will quickly shew.

THIS new century did likewise begin with a fresh attempt of the *Spaniards* on the capital of this kingdom, under the conduct of the famed *John Andr. Doria*; but which proved no less unsuccessful than the two former we have elsewhere spoken of^b, excepting only, that it did not make such dreadful havock among their armada as the former had done.

* MARMOL, TASSY, MORGAN, & al. sup. citat. before, p. 181, & seq.

^b See before, p. 285, & seq.

† See

1601.

This fleet, which had luckily entered the bay on the 5th of *August* unperceived, being only forced, by contrary winds, to leave it quickly after; though, had it been otherwise, the place was then provided to give them such a warm reception, that this attempt, abortive, as it was, may be justly looked upon as the most fortunate they ever made against that place, as that in which they got off with the least damage. We need not repeat here how much worse that fleet fared, which they ventured to send two years after on the same errand, and in which the elements seem to have been in league with these common disturbers of public commerce.

The Spanish Mo-
rescos
cause their
own ex-
pulsion.

NEITHER need we observe here how much the joy, which the *Morescos* in *Spain* expressed at these frequent disappointments, may have contributed to hasten their expulsion out of that country, *an. 1609, & seq.* But one thing seems very evident, that these frequent attempts against the *Algerines* were the chief motive that put them upon providing themselves with a strong fleet of sailing ships, instead of placing their main strength on their galliots, and lesser vessels, altogether unfit for winter expeditions, or for any long ones at any season, especially as they were then at war with all the *European* powers, except their old friends the *French*, and of late years the *English*: though they have been since bold enough to bid even these open defiance, notwithstanding their being in alliance with the *Ottoman Porte*; and which is still worse, considering their openly acknowledging them both, and us in particular, as their chief benefactors and instructors, both in the construction of those large square sailed ships, and in the art of rigging and steering them: in all which they not only became very expert in a little time, but were followed by their friends and neighbours of *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, even from the earliest part of this 17th century^d, that the expulsion of the *Morescos* abovementioned, many of whom were, doubtless, very great sailors, and flocked in shoals to the *Algerines*, joined to the help of many of their Christian renegadoes, must have greatly contributed both to this quick increase of power at sea, as well as to that skill in navigation, which they had learned from the *English* and *French*, cannot be denied, since we find their navy, as early as *m. 1616*, to consist of forty sail of tall ships, between 200 and 400 tons, their admiral 500 tons, and divided into two squadrons, one of eighteen sail before the port of *Malaga*, and the other without the *Streights*, at the Cape of *Santa Maria*, between *Albon* and *Seville*, and both falling foul on all Christian ships indifferently that came in their way, *English* and

^c Ibid. p. 273, & seq. 287, & seq. ^d See MORGAN's *Algiers*, vol. ii. c. 14.

French, as well as *Spanish Portuguese*, &c. by which means they were now become formidable, not to the *Spaniards* only, their most inveterate enemies, but to most other Christian states (A).

THE *French*, however, were the first who dared shew their resentment for their breach of friendship, and contempt to their alliance with the *Porte*; whilst the *Spaniards*, more insulted by, and in greater danger from them, were seeking for

(A) This plainly appears by a letter sent by Sir Francis *Knolly*, king *James I.*'s ambassador at the court of *Madrid*, to the duke of *Buckingham*, then secretary of state, dated thence October 1, 1616; wherein, among other things, he acquaints them with the height of power and insolence they are grown up to, and what prizes they had made in both stations, as well on the *English* as other *Europeans*. To which he adds, that they had few or no Christians on board them, but all either *Turks* or *Moor*s; (he should have added renegadoes) and that the most part of the latter consisted of those that were lately expelled out of *Spain*. They moreover gave out, that they lay in wait for the *West India* fleet, which was expected to arrive in a short time.

His excellency expresses his fears, that Don *Francisco Faxardo*, who was sent to convoy them, and fight those pirates at all adventures, would be able to do them little hurt, as his ships were of so heavy a burthen, and so easily out-failed by the enemy, especially as their other squadron within the *Streights* could so easily secure their retreat; and, on the other hand, says he, if they return safe this year to *Algiers*, especially if they

should take any of the fleet, it is much to be feared, that the *Spanish* forces by sea will not restrain them hereafter; so much sweetness do they find by making prizes of all Christians whatsoever.

In consequence of which, the *Spanish* council of war was very pressing with him, to use his utmost to obtain from that king, his master, a reinforcement of some of his *British* men of war, to assist his catholic majesty in suppressing the power and insolence of that piratical tribe.

The last particular of consequence in that letter we shall give in the writer's own words:

"I may not forbear to advertise your honour of what the secretary told me withal, that the states desired leave of his catholic majesty last year for certain ships of war, which they had armed to sea against pirates, might have safe recourse to these parts, which was accordingly granted them: but that, instead of offending the pirates with them, the same ships sold in *Algiers* as much powder, and other warlike provisions, as served to furnish the above-said fleet now at sea; a thing which is here, he said, very ill taken" (1).

(1) *Cabala*, vol. 1. p. 206, & seq. *op. Morgan*, ut. sup.

Beaulieu
sent admiral
against
the Algerines.

help from *England*, the pope, and other states, without success. We are not told what gave occasion to this rupture between *France* and *Algiers*, which is the very first we meet with between them, except that the coasts of *Provence* were grievously infested by the *Barbary* pirates; some of whom, in their cruising, might, perhaps, have seized indiscriminately upon some *French* vessel. However that be, in the very next year, Mr. *Beaulieu* was sent against the *Algerines* with a fleet of no less than fifty sail of men of war and gallies; who, having taken one of their corsairs in his way, failed forthwith in search of the main squadron, which had done incredible damage on the *Spanish* and *Catalonian* coasts. He attacked one of them in person, which was commanded by a renegado of *Rochelle*; who, after a stout and desperate resistance, sunk his own ship and crew, rather than fall into the enemy's hands; another renegado, left his to his mercy, and got away in his boat; and a third was sunk; but the rest had the good fortune to get clear off, and the admiral returned to *Marseilles* with those two prizes. He was no sooner gone, but the *Algerines* returned to their old depredations on the *Spanish* coasts: which, being best known by the expelled *Morescos*, were exposed to all the barbarity and resentment of those exasperated infidels, who burnt, plundered, ravished, and carried off all they could come at.

1617. KING *James* was strongly solicited by the *Spanish* court to contribute his assistance towards their suppression and abolishment; but, though *Gondamar* had so great an influence over him, and most of his ministers, and made use of every argument he could think of to prevail upon him, and represented to him in the strongest terms how much his own trading subjects suffered by those corsairs, yet all he could obtain from him was, to have the matter debated before the council; in which Sir *William Monson's* opinion being asked, that consummate sea officer's answer was to this effect; viz.

THAT such an expedition, being not only of a general concern to all trading Christians, but likewise of a difficult, long, and expensive nature, ought to be carried on at the general charge of all parties concerned, in proportion to their respective share in the *Mediterranean* trade; for the settling and carrying on of which, he gives a good number of directions and cautions, equally judicious and worthy of so old and experienced an officer and statesman. He goes on with his reasons against attempting the taking of the city of *Algiers*; shews the expence and difficulty of keeping it, and the small advantage accruing from it; and concludes with the properest means for suppressing its pirates, by the joint forces and expence of each trading nation: and his memorial had such an effect

effect on the council, that it cooled his majesty of his extraordinary warmth of obliging his great friend the king of Spain; whilst many of that honourable board looked upon the whole design as no other than a Spanish quarrel. However, Gondamar found means to carry his point so far^c, that a fleet was ordered to be equipped with all expedition, which was sent accordingly into the Mediterranean, about three years after, *An English Squadron sent against the Algerines.* 1620. consisting of six ships, and two pinnaces of the royal navy, and twelve other stout vessels, hired and fitted out by the king, and set sail for the Straights on the 12th of October of the same year, and arrived safely at the bay of Gibraltar the 1st of the same month, under the conduct of Sir Robert Mansel, admiral. We shall not trouble our reader with an account of this ill-concerted expedition, as it proved at the end, than by telling him, that if the admiral, and other officers concerned in it, were really in earnest to put it in execution, their design was to have sent some fire-ships, and other proper boats into the harbour of Algiers, and to have set all their ships on fire. This is what Sir Robert Mansel affirms in his letter to the duke of Buckingham, "It was with some difficulty performed, after the four vessels which carried the combustibles had been delayed several days, either by calms or contrary winds; the men sailing boldly on, with shouts of, God bless king James, &c. even at the mouth of the cannon and small shot, which showered upon them like hail, maintaining their ground to his great content, and that of all the spectators, till they had fired their ships in many places, and spent all they had in their bandoleers, and striving all the while who should have the honour of coming off last: the which, at length, they resigned to their brave commander, captain Hughes, as a reward for his intrepidity in leading them on. They retired at last in due order, with the same cheerful repetition of, Long live king James, and the loss of twenty men, either slain or wounded, and leaving the fire flaming up in several places, which continued in some of them long after their retreat, and being got on board his majesty's ships."

He goes on with acquainting his grace, "That the cowardly Turks, who, before, dared not shew themselves to so small a force, but from their walls and tops of their houses, no sooner perceived all their boats, than they opened their ports, and sallied out in thousands, and, by the help of such great multitudes, and a sudden shower of

^c BURKET'S JOURN. MORGAN'S Algier. vol. ii. c. 19.
 Ibid.

^f Id.

“ rain, seconded with a calm, which then happened, the fire was afterwards extinguished, without doing any more hurt than making two of their ships unserviceable.”

SOME other service, as he files it, the fleet did ; such as sinking or taking three or four ships, which we shall not mention at length, but go on with the sequel of their first design ; which, to give nearly in his own words, is to this effect : “ I attended, ten days after our first attempt, for an opportunity to send in the ships with the fire-works, to finish the service began with the boats, but not a breath of wind favoured us all that time ; notwithstanding the ships were always ready to advance as soon as they received any directions. At length, understanding by some escaped Christians how the pirates had boomed up the mole with masts and rafts, doubled the guards of their ships, planted ordnance upon their mole and walls, and sent out their galleys and boats, eastward and westward, to forewarn all ships upon the coast from coming during my abode there ; and so losing all hopes of doing any farther service, in regard of the daily complaints of the king’s ships, as well as the merchantmen, who complained of their want of victuals, I resolved, by the advice of a council of war, to sail away for this place, *Leon*, where my brother brought me your grace’s letter, with his majesty’s pleasure, in regard to his recalling four of the ships under my command.”

He concludes his long letter, with telling the duke, “ how dangerous it may prove, after so bold and open an attempt upon the pirates, to recall those four ships, before the arrival of others in their stead, and what encouragement the bereaving of the fleet of so considerable a force might give to the pirates, to set some equally pernicious stratagem on foot against them. Such as he is well apprised of, they have already taken into consideration, and which he will send his grace an account of by the first opportunity.”

THIS long detail, artfully palliated as it is, being the only one we have of the particulars of that expedition, except the journal of it, we thought proper to extract the substance of, out of the letter above-mentioned, and, as nearly as could be, in his own terms ; by which the reader may infer how formidable the *Algerines* were become by that time. But, as he hath thought proper to suppress some other causes, equally productive of this disappointment, though not quite so honourable to him and his armada, we shall conclude our account of this unsuccessful expedition in the words of the judicious Sir *William Monson* abovementioned.

*Algerines
grown formidable to
Europe.*

“ THIS

" THIS fleet, by contract, was to receive some assistance from the king of Spain, at its first appearance on his coasts : but such was the misgovernment of those ships, and the negligence and vanity of some persons to feast and banquet in harbour, when their duty was to clear and scour the seas, that they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates, as appears by a pamphlet printed at their return ; except their bare passage, they spent not twenty days at sea during their stay in the *Streights*, but retired into the harbours, where the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates." Thus says Sir William ; to which we may add, what another, no less exact, says further of this expedition. " The commander, Sir Robert Mansel, appeared before *Algiers*, but he had not much reason to be satisfied with the success he there met with ; and, in return for the civility of his visit, his back was scarce turned, but those corsairs picked up near forty good ships belonging to the subjects of his master, and infested the *Spanish* coasts with greater fury than ever."

THIS author is not the only one that hath given us this dismal account of the *Algerines* high resentment at this open attempt upon their city and navy. We could produce several others of equal credit, who have given us various melancholy instances of it, were there a necessity for it, in a case where our merchants were such great and constant sufferers, that there was nothing to be heard for a considerable time but complaints and outcries ; the one against the continual prizes made upon us by those corsairs, and the other against our open breach of friendship, both with *Algiers* and the *Porte*. Accordingly, we find them, the year after this unsuccessful attempt against them, at open defiance with all the *European* powers, the *Dutch* only excepted, to whom they sent a proposal, directed to the prince of *Orange*, that, in case they would fit out twenty sail of ships against the following year, upon any good service against the *Spaniards*, they would join them with sixty sail of their own^k ; which, had it once taken effect, might have proved no less ruinous to our commerce, than fatal to *Spain* : for howsoever the *Dutch* might have behaved towards us, the *Algerines* would still have looked upon us as *Spanish* allies ; so that it was not without good reason, that our ambassador at the *Hague* (Sir Dudley Carleton) sent immediate advice of it to the king, and advised him, by any means, to procure a truce with the *Algerine* state^l.

1625.

^s Naval Transactions, ap. MORGAN, vol. ii. c. 19.
Journal. Vid. & MORGAN, ub. sup.

CHAS and the Cabala, vol. i. p. 341.

^l MORGAN, ub. sup. c. xx.

^h BURKET'S

ⁱ Vid. BURKET'S PUR-

^k Cabala, ibid. & seq.

The Cou- In this next year, under the government of *Maharan*, *Ba-*
liolies con- sha, happened a most dreadful conspiracy, which was raised
spire a- by the *Collogies*, vulgarly called *Caulolies*^m; who, having
gainst the seized on the citadel of *Algiers*, wherein were repositied all the
Algerine public treasury and warlike ammunition, had well nigh made
State. themselves sole masters of that state. In which, it is thought,
 the *Moors* and *Arabs*, tired with the tyranny of the *Turkish* go-
 vernment, would not have failed to assist them. This plot,
 however, was timely discovered, and suppressed by the *Turks*
 and their fast friends the renegadoes, who defeated them with
 a terrible slaughter. Several *ones* of them were executed;
 and their heads are still to be seen in heaps upon the city
 walls without the eastern gate. Part of the citadel was blown
 up; but the treasury escaped. From that time the *Caulolies*
 were discarded from the militia, and none admitted to the
 pay of it during a great number of years; though they were
 again readmitted into it, with some restriction, as we shall
 see in the sequel.

ABOUT two years after this conspiracy happened that me-
 morable change in the *Algerine* state, formerly hintedⁿ; by
 which they became soon after able to shake off the *Ottoman*
 yoke, and to become an independent state under their own
 Deys. What gave the first occasion, or handle for it, was
 the peace, or rather twenty-five years truce, which the Soltan
Morat, or *Amurath* IV. (then engaged in a hot, though un-
 successful, war against *Persia*, and much embarrassed by other
 commotions in *Asia*) was, in some measure, obliged to clap
 up with the emperor, *Ferdinand* II. to prevent his being over-
 matched by two such potent enemies. This truce, which did
 not a little affect the piratical trade, was universally disliked by
 all the *Barbary* corsairs, who were all equally under the Sol-
 tan's protection; but by none more than the *Algerines*, who
 were, by this time, become too haughty and opulent, by the
 continual depredations they had made on the Christians during
 the last three years, to bear with any temper so considerable
 an obstacle put to them. Upon which they soon came to a
 unanimous resolution, whilst the *Porte* was entangled with
 so many difficulties, to set up for three independent states,
 and to look upon themselves from thenceforth as wholly un-
 concerned with any treaties made by that court with any
 Christian power. So that whoever thenceforward desired to
 be at peace with them, should be obliged, distinctly and sepa-
 rately, to apply to their respective governments^o. This re-
 solution was no sooner taken, than the *Algerines* began to

^m See before, p. 212
 continuation of MARIAN.H.

See before, p. 191, & seq.
 MORGAN, ub. sup.

^o Conti-
 make

make prizes of several merchant ships, belonging to powers at peace with the *Ottoman Porte*; they even pursued some to the very port of *Rhodes*; and, in spite of the fire which the castle made against them, boarded and carried them off. They did much the same at the port of *Salamis*, in the isle of *Cyprus*, where they attacked two large *Venetian* ships, which were both consumed by fire; one by the enemy, and the other by themselves. They carried their insolence still further at *Scanderoon*, or *Alexandretta*, where, after having seized on a *Dutch* ship, and a polacre, they ventured on shore; and, finding the town abandoned by the *Turkish* Aga and the inhabitants, they plundered all the magazines and warehouses, and then set them on fire. Much about the same time the *French* king, *Lewis* XIII. depending on his league with the *Turks*, undertook to build a new fort on their coasts, instead of that which the *Massilians* had formerly erected, but had been demolished by the *Algerine* forces, as hath been formerly related*. This new one was to be called the *Bastion of France*; and an expert engineer was sent thither for that purpose. But the foundations were scarcely finished, before the *Moors* and *Arabians* came and demolished them, and drove the *French* away. The king, unwilling to abandon a design that would prove so advantageous to commerce, attempted a second time some few years after, and succeeded in it; and a new *French* colony was settled there. But the situation being found inconvenient, on account of its harbour, the company of the *Bastion of France* did afterwards agree with the *Algerines* for the port called *La'Calle*, formerly described †, and have obtained leave of the Dey for a trade with the *Moors* and *Arbians* ‡. But to return to the *Algerine* depredations; the great number and variety of prizes they continued making on all nations indifferently that came in their way (the *Dutch* not excepted, from whom they took a ship, richly laden, from *Alexandria*), could hardly be looked upon at the *Porte*, but as so many open instances of defiance to its authority. On the other hand, the daily complaints and representations made to that court, by foreign ministers at peace with it, against those daring pirates, might, one would have thought, prevailed upon that court to have found some means of suppressing and punishing so flagrant an insolence. And would, doubtless, have had that effect, had not the Grand Signor at that time been so greatly embarrassed with the *Persian* war, and other eastern disturbances, which would not permit him to look so curiously after so low a branch of his honour and

* See before, pass.

† See before, p 225.

‡ TASSY'S

Hist. of Algiers, lib. i c. 9. Dutch English, 1750, p. 108.

interest

interest, which gave an opportunity to his Grand Vazier, and courtiers to compound the injury, with those pirates, by sharing with them the war-spoils they had made; those of the *English* alone being computed to amount to 40,000 dollars. However, for form's sake, the *Porte* sent them a severe reprimand, accompanied with threats; to which they were bold enough to answer, *that these depredations deserved to be indulged to them, seeing they were the only bulwark against the Christian powers, especially against the Spaniards, the sworn enemies of the Mollem name.* Adding, *that if they should pay a punctilious regard to what could purchase peace, or liberty to trade with the Ottoman empire, they would have nothing left to do but to set fire to all their shipping, and turn camel-drivers for a livelihood* &c. With much the same, if not greater insolence they treated their *Bashas*, who were, by this time, become so weak and insignificant, that they dared not offer to oppose them; and, if any had the courage to do so, he was sure to come off still worse with them.

It was much about the same time that four young brothers, of good family, ventured to try their fortune against those corsairs in a small frigate of ten guns, which they had equipped at *Rebelle*: they had obtained a *Maltese* commission, and bore the colours of that order, which had engaged near a hundred of volunteers to accompany them in that expedition, besides an able master, and other officers, and thirty-six mariners. They had the good fortune, on the very first engagement, to take a ship laden with wine on the *Spanish* coast, which they looked upon as such a good এমন, that they ventured three days after to engage two large *Algerine* corsairs, one of twenty four, the other of twenty guns, both well manned, and commanded by such expert officers, as would lose no advantage they had over them, and seeing them make all the sail they could after them, slackened their own to wait for them. The *French* gave them the first salute with a broadside from their ten guns, and received the like from the two corsairs; who, taking her in the middle between them, plied her so furiously with their great shot, that one of them took off her mainmast. Notwithstanding which accident, as well as the disparity between ten and forty-four guns, our young *Frenchmen* made still a gallant defence, till the noise of their fire brought in five more *Algerines*; by which means she was so peppered and shattered, that the water gushing in on all sides, and having disabled her from swimming, she was easily boarded, carried off, and condemned: for, though *France* was at that time at peace

with *Algiers*, yet she was allowed a lawful prize, both on account of her being the first aggressor, and of her carrying *Maltese* colours. The result of which was, that our young adventurers, after a dreadful seven years captivity, did at length redeem themselves, at the price of 6000 dollars, in the year 1642⁹.

FROM this time we find nothing material in their history, saving their impunely carrying on their piratical excursions at sea, and depredations on the *Spanish* coasts, till about ten years after; at which time the *French*, then at war with *Spain*, receiving intelligence, that the *Comde de Monterrey* was embarked, with all his effects, at *Naples*, in some *Neapolitan* vessels, lay waiting for those transports in fourteen large galliots, which they had dispatched for that purpose from their fleet on the coast of *Monaco*; when, at the end of seven days, they were dispersed by a strong easterly wind, which drove the greatest part of them to *Algiers*. Here the impatient *French* admiral sent immediately to demand a release of *French* all the captives of his nation; which, being as sternly refused by the regency, he, in revenge, seized on the *Turkish* treachery viceroy and his Cadi, or judge, just arrived from the *Porte*, to the *Algerines*. with all their equipage and retinue, and forthwith put to sea, and carried them all away. The *Algerines* were not, perhaps, so provoked at the capture of those two ministers of the *Porte*, as on the insolence of the *French* admiral; and, therefore, instead of complying with his demands, in order to obtain their release, suffered him to sail with them: but resolved soon after to shew their resentment against him and his nation; and, having equipped eight of their best gallies, went, by way of retaliation, and surprised the *Bastion of France*, a fortress upon the *Algerine* coast, which they had held for some time on account of trade, and contained about 600 inhabitants; all whom, with their whole effects and ships, they carried off to *Algiers*. An odd way of carrying on their friendly correspondence, as our author observes¹; for which the admiral was so provoked, that he sent them word, he would pay them another visit by the next year with his whole fleet.

His threats did not, however, deter them, but that they made a much more considerable excursion the very next year, with a fleet of sixteen gallies and galliots, excellently well manned and equipped, under the command of *Hali Pechinin*, their admiral. The juncture was altogether favourable, because Soltan *Morat* was at that time closely engaged

⁹ *Ibid. ibid.*
of Spain.

¹ The Continuator of *MARIANA's* History

at his reduction of *Baghdad* : so that they had all the scope they could wish for to range the seas, and seized all the Christian shipping they could come at. But their chief design was upon the treasure of *Loretto*, which would have proved a vast prize indeed ; but, unluckily for them, the wind being contrary, would not permit them to sail so high into that gulph ; upon which they agreed on a descent in *Puglia*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they ravaged the whole territory of *Necotra*, carried off a vast number of captives of both sexes ; and, amongst them, some huns, whom they failed not to prostitute to their own lust. From thence, steering towards *Dalmatia*, scoured the *Adriatic* ; and, after having loaded themselves with immense plunder, left those coasts in the utmost consternation and resentment ; whilst all this time the *Maltese* and *Spaniards*, who should have protected them, were employed ; the former in getting of prizes in the *Archipelago*, and the latter were loitering away the summer in making preparations, after their slow way, for their defence *. All which gave a fair opportunity to our corsairs to bring their immense plunder home, without any opposition, had they been contented with what they had got : whereas their greediness after more occasioned the loss of a considerable part of their booty.

The Venetians equip a large fleet against the Algerines.

FOR, by this time, the *Venetians* being alarmed at their wide depredations, had equipped a powerful fleet of twenty-eight sail, under the command of admiral *Capello*, with express orders to him to burn, sink, and take all the *Barbary* corsairs he met with, whether on the open seas, or even in the Grand Signor's harbours, pursuant to a late treaty made between that republic and the *Porte*. On the other hand, the Captain *Basha*, who had been sent out with the *Turkish* fleet to chase the *Florentine* and *Maltese* cruisers, who, as we hinted a little above, were pursuing the same piratical trade in the *Archipelago*, understanding that the *Algerine* squadron was so near, sent express orders to the admiral, to come and assist him in chasing those Christian robbers, as he styled them, out of those seas. *Hali Pechinin* readily obeyed ; but, before he took leave of the *Adriatic* coasts, resolved to make a descent upon the island of *Lissa*, or *Lisina*, belonging to the *Venetians*. He was, however, overtaken by *Capello's* fleet before he could reach it, which obliged him to retire, and shelter his squadron under the castle of *Valona*, a sea port belonging to the Grand Signor. *Capello* followed him thither, and first saluted the castle with a gun, and sent

* See before, vol. xii. p. 460, & seq. † Contin. of MARIAN. MORGAN'S Algiers, ub. sup.

an officer with the white flag, to demand of the Aga who commanded there, that those corsairs might, according to the articles of the late truce, be ejected out of their shelter. His salute and demand were forthwith answered with a real cannon shot, which gave him to understand, that he designed to protect, instead of rejecting them; upon which he withdrew at some distance, and cast anchor, with a view of blocking them up. At length, after a mutual watching upon each other some days, *Pichinin*, weary of his restraint, ventured one morning to give the enemy the slip; but, being perceived by the vigilance of the *Venetians*, just as they got out of the harbour, *Capello* divided his fleet into two squadrons, and gave them a full broadside, which was as bravely answered by the *Algerines*. An obstinate conflict ensued, which lasted near two hours, notwithstanding the continual fire which the *Turks* made from the castle upon the *Venetians*; a shot of which took off the mast of one of their galleasses; the commander of which was wounded by a splinter. At length, the *Algerine* squadron was so shattered by their continual shot, that five of it were become disabled; the rest were glad to betake themselves to their old shelter, after having lost 1500 men, *Turks*, and Christian slaves, who were either wounded or slain, besides 1600 gally slaves, who regained their liberty by this rencounter. *Capello* had not long lain at his old anchorage, before he received an order from the senate not to make any further attempt on those Algerine miscreants, for fear of causing a fresh rupture with the *Porte*; which was followed by a letter from the governor of the town, much to the same purpose, advising him to beware, that he did not incur the Soltan's resentment by such insults. However, before he obeyed the senate's order, he resolved to take such leave of them as he thought they deserved; and observing how they had reared their tents, and drawn their booty and equipage along the shore, he made towards them with his whole force; and, whilst he kept firing against their tents, ordered some well manned galliots and brigantines among their shipping, who attacked them with such bravery, that, without any great loss, they towed out their sixteen gallees, with all their cannon, stores, arms, &c.

DURING this rencounter, a shot from one of the *Venetian* galleasses chanced to strike at a *Turkish* mosk, which still more aggravated the action; insomuch, that though some warm spirits commended it as a brave exploit, yet the more grave part of the senate condemned it, both as an insult

^u MORGAN, TASEY, & al. sup.

Algiers in
great grief
at the
news.

on the Soltán, and as a breach of their command; to palliate which, as well as they could, they sent him orders to sink all the *Algerine* ships, except the admiral, which was to be conducted to *Venice*, and laid up as a trophy. *Capello* came off with a severe reprimand; but the republic was glad to buy their peace with the *Porte*, at the expence of 500,000 ducats. This was the end of that expedition, the fruits of which were lost by the too greedy avarice of the admiral. To compensate which the Grand Signor offered to fit out ten galleys for them at his own charge, upon condition they should continue in his service till the end of the ensuing summer. But *Pisbinin*, who well knew how little the *Algerine* state cared to have any such obligations to him, civilly declined the offer, and set two galleys on the stocks upon his own account ^w. In the interim, the news of this defeat and loss filled *Algiers* with inexpressible grief and confusion; there being scarcely a subject that did not, in some measure, feel the loss of so many ships, men, and plunder. The whole city was just upon the point of a general insurrection; when the *Basha* and *Dowán*, foreseeing the danger, issued out a proclamation, expressly forbidding, not only complaints and outcries, under the severest penalties, without exception, but likewise all persons whatsoever to take their thumbs from within their girdles, whilst they were deliberating on that important point. This precaution had so far the desired effect, that it prevented the general discontent from breaking out into an open revolt; but, as it was no less proper to assuage their grief, or make amends for their losses, both the *Basha* and *Dowán* were moved to apply to the *Porte*, for an order, that the *Venetians*, settled in the *Levant*, should make up that great loss to them. But the Grand Signor, who had already received 500,000 ducats from them on that score, and was, perhaps, not a little affronted at the refusal which the *Algerine* admiral had made to his late offer, refused to comply; and left them to repair their losses, and build themselves new ships, as well as they could. However, it was not long before they had the comfort to see one of their corsairs land, with a fresh supply of 600 slaves of both sexes, which he had brought quite from the coasts of *Iceland* (B).

They

^w *Ibid. ibid.*

(B) This extraordinary, and scarce credible excursion, so far beyond what any other *Barbary* corsair had ever ventured, was owing to a miscreant native of that northern island, who had been taken captive in a *Danish* ship, by an *Algerine*. This traitor, whose master had roved the *Mediterranean* all that season

They did not continue long in that low and defenceless state; *The Algerines re-* neither would the united preparations of the Christian states *build a* against them permit them to do so; and we find them, accordingly, so unanimously bent upon the repairing their navy, *new fleet;* during the two following years, that they were able, at the end of them, to appear at sea with a stronger and more numerous fleet than ever they had done; and which, according to a *Spanish* author, then a slave at *Algiers**, amounted to no less than sixty-five sail, besides other galleys and inferior vessels, which they probably had in port; so that it is rightly supposed to have been the æra in which they arrived to the zenith of their glory. Among other exploits this huge fleet performed, on several parts of the *Mediterranean*, which it would be tedious to enter into a detail of, seeing it was their custom to divide themselves into squadrons, greater or smaller, according to the nature of their respective courses, one encounter we read of, which befel *Hali Pichinin*, that we think well worth relating.

WE took notice that that admiral, after his sad disaster at *Valona*, had caused four galliots to be built at his own charge; *The ad-venture of their ad-* and these he had brought to *Algiers*, together with such officers, mariners, and other equipage, as had been saved from *miral Pichinin* the fire and fury of the *Venetian* admiral. Some time after his arrival at that metropolis, came in likewise the *Chiayah* of the *Basha* of *Tripoli*, to treat about the buying of 250 *Spanish* and *Italian* slaves, for the use, and by the express order, of the Grand Signor. This officer, who was come in an ele-

* Vid. D'ARANDU. Ap. MORGAN, ubi sup.

son without any success, and was ashamed to return home empty handed, with some difficulty persuaded him to sail to that island, where he would not fail of a considerable booty in slaves, though he would hardly meet with any thing else there worth carrying off. Those poor islanders, who had hardly ever had any other enemies to encounter than cold and misery, were so wholly unprepared to make head against such strange visitors, that they were easily dragged away from their frozen climate, into the torrid one of

Barbary. But how to accustom them to it, so as to make them serviceable, or even how they could keep them alive, under such a multiplicity of changes, or whether many, or any, long groned under this new kind of misery, we are not told. But, base and detestable as this action of the islander's was, it is no more, than what we find was practised by captives of much more polite nations, as *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, &c. of which we have given some instances in the course of this history (2).

(2) *Morgan Algiers*, vol. ii. c. ult.

gant galley, finely set out with steamers, standards, and other ornaments, and extremely well manned with *Turks* and renegadoes, finding that his negotiation was like to detain him longer than he expected; and, being unwilling to be so long idle, proposed to *Pichinin* the going out with him on some cruze; to which he readily agreed. They had been scarcely four days out at sea, before they met with a stout *English* merchantman of 40 guns, whom *Pichinin* was eager to have engaged, but was hindered by his captains; who, it seems, by no means liked the *Englishman's* aspect. They afterwards ranged several days, without meeting with any thing considerable; at which they began to be very uneasy, and out of humour; upon which *Pichinin* sharply told them, that had they wanted a rich prize, they would not have let the *Englishman* go; which stinging rebuke nettled them to such a degree, that they all swore they would set upon the first Christian ship that came in their way, at which the admiral was not a little pleased.

ACCORDINGLY, two days after they had come to that resolution, they met with a *Dutch* merchantman of 28 guns, and 40 men; which, by reason of the calm, could make no riddance with her sails. Being got within gun shot of him, *Pichinin* dispatched a brigantine to acquaint the master, that he was the commander of that squadron, and that he would engage to set him and his crew on Christian land, if he quietly delivered up his ship and cargo; but that, if he refused, he must take what followed. To this message the *Dutch* master sent him word, that he had known him formerly at *Algiers*; but had now a cargo under his care, which belonged to other owners; but, added he, if he hath such a mind to it, let him come on board, and I will try what can be done to satisfy him. This answer failed not to exasperate the admiral; who thereupon drew up his five gallees and two brigantines in form of an half-moon, in order to discharge his whole artillery at once against his poop. But, before he could well do it, the *Dutchman*, by the help of a lucky breeze, turning his ship the quite contrary way, put his gallees into such a confusion; that, instead of keeping in their due order, they ran foul of each other. Upon which *Pichinin*, steering his galley close by the *Dutchman's* side, threw about 70 of his soldiers into it; who, with their drawn swords, took possession of the upper deck, where some of them began to slash the rigging, whilst others plied the hatches with hand-granadoes, but were quickly diverted from it by the *Dutchmen*; who, having secured themselves within their close quarters, began to pepper them with small shot from two cannon, which they had planted against them. The admiral made several

He attacks
a stout
Dutch-
man;

several efforts to rescue his men, whilst the other galleys tried to surround the ship; but they all found their stations too hot for them, by reason that the ship, being heavy laden, lay so deep in water, that every shot made terrible execution amongst them, and obliged them to remove farther from him. At length the *Dutchman*, being ready to take his leave *is defeated* of them, caused his guns to be loaded with cartouches, and *with great loss by him* gave them such a volley at parting, as killed 200 of their men, besides the wounded, and sent them back to *Algiers* in a most dismal plight; to the no small grief and mortification of the proud *Algerines*, as well as of the four corsairs. The *Tripolitan* Chiavah died soon after of his wounds, and the repowned *Pichinin* was forced to own, that he had met with a tartar in that brave and experienced *Dutch* captain.

BUT whilst this small squadron had the mortification to return to *Algiers* thus shattered and soiled, the town had quickly after the pleasure to see others come in, fraught with rich spoils of the Christians, and with great numbers of slaves; insomuch, that they quickly became more powerful and formidable than ever to the *European* powers, and made *England, France, and Holland*, buckle to them. As for *Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c.* they absolutely determined never to make any peace or alliance with them, as being sworn enemies to the *Mohammedan* religion, and consequently the properest to carry on a perpetual war against; seeing that was the chief support and strength of the *Algerine* state, as hath been elsewhere observed². When they were once got to this height of power and grandeur, that they could make *English, French, and Dutch*, glad to purchase their friendship at any rate, and the rest of *Europe* stand in dread of them, it was natural for that proud and turbulent nation to make one bold push more, to rid themselves of the only check they had left to their aspiring views, their dependence upon the *Porte*. We lately took notice of some bold steps they *The Bahad* already made towards it, and what disregard they had *his power* already shewed, not only to its alliances with some Christian *or cur-* princes, but likewise to the authority of its viceroys, which *tailed* was now dwindled into a mere compliance with whatever the *Deys*, and their *Dowan*, were pleased to ordain, without which they must have been exposed to continual mortifications and insults from that quarter. On the other hand the *Porte*, ever watchful and jealous of its own power and interest, could hardly brook so sensible a diminution of them, which still decreased in proportion to their success, and increase in wealth and strength; which obliged it fre-

¹ MORCAN, ubi sup. ² See before, p. 254, & seq. & alib. passim.

quently to exchange those mercenary and inactive *Bashas*, for others more strenuous, active, and intrepid, who might watch all opportunities of recovering their pristine authority. Their commissions were not only made more extensive, but some of them even empowered to dethrone and put to death any of those *Deys* that opposed the *Soltan's* will, and to nominate others to that dignity^a. Such violent proceedings, we may easily imagine, could hardly be carried on, without throwing the whole realm into the most desperate convulsions, that were seldom, if ever appeased; but by the expulsion or massacre of those bloody ministers, and all their adherents. This mutual contest between the *Turkish* viceroys, and the *Algerine* *Deys*, makes the most considerable part of their domestic history, till the beginning of the following century, when the latter found means to persuade the *Porte* to unite those two dignities into one; and to consent, that whosoever was chosen *Dey* by the *Algerine* *Dowan*, should be likewise invested with the title and dignity of viceroy, or *Basha*; as we shall see in its proper place. But, not to dwell any longer on those intestine and less interesting broils, let us now proceed to that part of their history which most concerns us.

The *Algerines* make a treaty with England. 1682.

WE may remember how much the *Algerine* state resented the ill advised, as well as unsuccessful attempt, which our admiral *Mansel* had made on their capital and navy; from which time they hardly ever ceased annoying us at sea, and wreaking their revenge on as many of our vessels as fell into their hands, in spite of all the friendly and generous means our nation had taken to regain their friendship. It was not till towards the latter end of the reign of king *Charles II.* that we obtained from them that lasting alliance; which, with some renewals, additions, and alterations, hath subsisted between us ever since; and for the further particulars of which, we shall refer our readers to what shall be said of it in our English history^b. What is worth our notice here is, that the readiness they shewed on this occasion to come into such friendly terms with us, was principally owing to the distress they were then in, and the great need they stood in of our assistance and friendship; when we might, perhaps, at any other juncture, have prayed and bribed in vain to them. The occasion of this was as follows:

THEY had, for some time, committed such grievous outrages on the coasts of *Provence* and *Languedoc*, that *Lewis XIV.* had ordered a considerable fleet to be fitted out, on the

^a TASSY, Hist. de Algier. cap. 1. sub fin. Algier. Append. p. 1, & seq.

^b MORGAN,

year before this treaty was concluded, in order to suppress and crush them, and revive the commerce, which their depredations at sea, in conjunction with the corsairs of *Tripoli*, had in a great measure destroyed. The marquis *Du Quesne*, vice admiral of *France*, whose name was already become formidable to all the piratic crew, was at the head of this expedition, and began it with the chase of several *Tripolitan* galleys, who had the good fortune to out row him, and shelter themselves in the island of *Scio*, which belonged to the *Turks*; yet this did not prevent him pursuing them thither, and making such terrible fire upon them, as quickly shattered and sunk fourteen of their vessels, besides battering the walls, and other works of the castle.

- It seems, by his falling thus strenuously on these, that he only wanted to deter, and not fall out with, the *Algerines*; but when he found, that they still continued their outrages on the *French* coasts, he sailed to their capital in the month *Du* of *August* of the following year, and fell immediately can- *Quesne* nonading and bombarding it with such fury, that the whole *bombards* town was in flames in a very little time. The great mosque and *remonades* was battered down, and the greatest part of the houses reduced into a heap of ruins; in such, that the affrighted in- *Algers.* habitants were upon the point of abandoning the place; when, on a sudden, the wind chopped about, and obliged him to return to *Toulon*. As soon as the storm was over, the Dowan assembled themselves in a tumultuous manner, and forthwith ordered as many of their galleys and galliots as could be got ready, in spite of the roughness of the sea, to sail forthwith for the coasts of *Provence*; where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning, and destroying, all that came in their way, and brought off a vast number of captives. As soon as the news of this fresh insult arrived at the *French* court, a new armament was ordered to be got ready with all expedition, at *Toulon* and *Marseilles*, against the next year; of which the *Algerines* having got timely notice, the Dowan immediately ordered the walls of the town, and other fortifications, to be repaired, and the mosque and haven to be put into the best state of defence, that the shortness of the time would allow.

In *May* following the *French* Squadron cast anchor before *Algiers*; where the vice-admiral *Du Quesne* was joined by *set in* the marquis *D'Affranville*, at the head of five other stout *flames by* vessels; upon whose arrival, a council being called, they re- *the French* solved to bombard the town the next morning; which was *bombs.* accordingly done, and a hundred bombs were thrown into 1683. it on that day, which made terrible execution, whilst the besieged made some hundred discharges of their cannon

against them, without doing them any considerable damage. On the following night the bombs were thrown into it again in such number, that the Dey's palace, and other great edifices, were almost destroyed; some of their batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port. This swift and dreadful havock quickly determined *Hassan*, the then Dey, and the whole soldiery, as well as the *Turkish* *Basha*, to sue for peace; upon which father *Vacher*, who acted then at *Algiers* in the quality of *French* consul, was immediately dispatched to the *French* admiral, and with him a *Turkish* delegate, with the latter of whom the admiral readily treated, but refused to admit the former. In this conference the marquis insisted before all things, upon an immediate surrender of all Christian captives, that had been taken fighting under the *French* flag; which being readily granted, 142 of them were brought to him on the next day, with a promise of sending him the remainder, as soon as they could be got together from the different parts of the country, whither they were dispersed; which being accordingly done, he consented to treat with them about a peace. Accordingly he sent, a few days after, the commissary-general of his squadron, and one of his engineers, into the town; but with express orders to insist upon the delivery of all the rest of their *French* captives, none excepted, and of all the effects they had taken from the *French*, and upon their sending the famed *Mezomorto*, there then admiral, and *Hali Rais*, one of their captains, as hostages to him.

THIS last demand failed not to embarrass the Dey; who thereupon assembled the Dowan, and acquainted them with it. Whereupon *Mezomorto* fell into a violent passion, and told that assembly, that the cowardice of those that sat at the helm had occasioned the ruin of *Algiers*; but that, for his part, he never would consent to deliver up any thing that had been taken from the *French*. He went immediately from thence to the soldiery, whom he acquainted with what had passed, and so exasperated them against the Dey, that they unanimously resolved to murder him; which they accordingly did that very night, as he was going his round. On the next day *Mezomorto* caused himself to be elected Dey by the soldiery and people; immediately after which he cancelled all the articles of peace, that had been agreed on, and ordered the bloody standard to be displayed on the city walls. The hostilities were thereupon renewed with greater fury than ever on both sides; and the *French* admiral kept pouring in such volleys of bombs, that, in less than three days, the greatest part of the city was reduced to ashes; and the fire burnt with such vehemence, that the sea was enlightened with

The
French
almost de-
stroyed
1744

with it above the length of two leagues. *Mezomorto*, unmoved at all these disasters, and the vast number of the slain, whose blood ran in rivulets along the streets, or rather grown furious and desperate by them, sought only how to wreak his revenge on the enemy; and not content to have caused all the *French* that were in the city to be cruelly butchered, ordered their consul to be tied hand and foot, and fastened alive to the mouth of a mortar, and thence shot away against their navy, instead of a bomb.

THIS unheard of piece of inhumanity so exasperated the *French* admiral, that, the winds proving still favourable to him, he did not leave *Algiers*, till he had utterly destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings, and, in one word, almost all the lower part, and above two thirds of the upper part of the city. He was no sooner sailed away, than the *Algerines* began to think seriously on the most effectual means for procuring a peace with *France*. This motion was quite disrelished by *Mezomorto*; who, to avoid his predecessor's fate, disappeared on a sudden; whilst the rest of the Dowan unanimously agreed to send an embassy to *Paris*, to excuse and beg pardon, among other things, for the murder of the consul, which they all disavowed, and to persuade the *French* court, that the populace alone were the authors of that atrocious deed, being enraged at the prodigious damage their admiral had done to their city, by the vast number of bombs he had caused to be thrown into it. Of which commission their envoy *Hagi Giaffer Aga Effendi* acquitted himself in the best manner he could, as the reader may see by the speech he made to that monarch on his last audience; and which, being a curious piece in its kind, we have given him a literal version of in the margin (C). The result of which was,

An embassy
sent into
France to
sue for
peace;

(C) " Most high, most excellent,
" most powerful, magnani-
" mous, and invincible, *Lewis*
" XIV. emperor of the *French*,
" whom God preserve, and
" make thy reign happy.
" I prostrate myself at the foot
" of thy sublime imperial throne,
" as the messenger of the joy with
" which our republic, and the
" Dey my master, have con-
" cluded a peace with thy lieu-
" tenant; and of their impa-
" tient desire, that thy sublime
" majesty will be pleased to put
" thy ratifying seal to it. The

" force of thy ever victorious
" arms, and the strength of thy
" sword, have made them sen-
" sible of the fault which *Baba*
" *Hassan* committed, in declar-
" ing war against thy subjects.
" I am deputed hither to beg
" thy pardon for it, and to as-
" sure thee, in the sincerest terms,
" that henceforth our conduct
" shall be such, as may deserve
" the friendship of the greatest
" emperor of the disciples of
" *Jesus*, and the only one we
" stand in dread of.

" The

which is
concluded.
1684.

the ratification of the said peace at Paris on the following year; after which, the next care of the Dey, and his Dowan, was to repair, as fast as they could, the dreadful dilapida-

"The atrocious violence committed against the person of thy consul is such, as we should judge, would prove an invincible obstacle to a peace, if thy light, which, like that of the sun, penetrates all things, did not easily conceive, how far an enraged and ungovernable populace can carry their furious resentment, in the midst of multitudes of their fellow citizens crushed in pieces by thy bombs; of which number they beheld their parents, brethren, and children, deprived either of life, effects, or liberty, and the privilege of being exchanged.

"But whatever their motives were, the violence of which we are far from excusing or extenuating, I come to beg of thee to turn for ever away thy sacred eyes, from beholding a deed detested by all good men among us, especially those in power; who cannot therefore be justly charged with it.

"We hope, mighty emperor, great as *Gemskid*, opulent as *Kraour*, magnificent as *Safeyman*, and magnanimous as *Ahemptus*, that thy clemency reject not these our earnest prayers; and the high opinion we have of thy unparalleled generosity, gives us a kind of assurance, that thou wilt order all our brethren, who wear thy chains, to be

"set at liberty, as we ourselves have done, not only to thy subjects, but likewise to those who were under the shadow of thy august name, that the joy for this peace may become equal and universal; and that a much greater number of mouths may be thereby opened, to celebrate thy praises. That, when thy subjects return to their country, they may thankfully come and throw themselves at thy feet, while our own proclaim thy praise throughout the vast countries of *Afric*, and imprint in their children a veneration for thy incomparable virtues, and a due regard for the *French* nation.

"This will prove the happy foundation of an eternal peace; of which we do promise an exact and religious observance on our part, in all its articles; not doubting but thy subjects, from whom thy authority claims an unlimited obedience, will be equally friendly and equitable observers of it.

"May the almighty and gracious Creator give a blessing upon this peace, and maintain a perpetual union, between the most high, most excellent, and most magnanimous Emperor of the *French*, and the most illustrious and magnificent *Basha*, Dey, Dowan, and the victorious armies of the republic of *Algiers* (3)."

(3) *Hist. of Algiers*, 1750. p. 259, & seq. *Boulot, Hist. des Cherifs*, p. 176, & seq.

tions which the *French* cannon and bombs had made in that metropolis ^c.

THE joy which reigned through *Algiers* at the conclusion of this peace with *France* was so much the greater, because, till that was obtained, the Grand Signor, who was at peace with *France*, was obliged, at least outwardly, to resent the outrages they had committed upon their coasts, and could not give them any assistance towards the repairing of their city and navy, without offending that monarch. But, being now at full liberty to do as he pleased with them, it was his interest to send them what succour they needed, not only on account of the service they could do him against other Christian powers, but likewise, as that gave him a fair opportunity of binding them more strictly to their obedience to him, than they had been of late, and to raise the authority of his *Turk-Basbas* to its pristine height; which, as we observed a little *ish Basbas* higher, was dwindled into a mere servility to their Deys and *grous in-Dowan*. For which reason it is more than probable, that *solent*. he was far from being displeased at the severe method which *France* had taken to humble them thus far.

HOWEVER that be, the *Porte* took care from that time to send them such strenuous viceroys, and with such extensive powers, as should make them deserve the supplies they received from them. Whilst, on their side, the *Algerines* failed not to express the most submissive regard to them, till they found themselves so well recovered from their late disasters, as to be able to resume their old course. We need not there-*Algerines* fore wonder at their unusual readiness to enter into an alliance *conclude a* with us, at such a crisis as this; nor at our *English* admiral's treaty of obtaining such advantageous terms from them, at a juncture *peace with* when our friendship and assistance was become at least as ne-*England* cessary and beneficial to them, as theirs could be to us. This 1686. treaty, which hath been the ground-work of all those that have been since made with them, was renewed four years after, *mutatis mutandis*, in the 2d year of king *James* the second's reign, by Sir *William Scam*, in his way to *Constantinople*, whither he was sent ambassador by our court. It bears date *April* the 5th, and without any other alteration than that of names, and of some literals. The same may be said of that, which was renewed between *Chaaban Chojiah*, the then Dey of *Algiers*, and Sir *Thomas Baker*, five years after, in the 2d year of king *William's* reign. But all this while we must not suppose that the *Algerines*, especially the *Rais*, or captains of their corsairs, were such strict observers

^c BOULET, Hist. des Cherifs, p. 168, & seq. Hist. of Algiers, p. 259, & seq. TASSY, ibid. p. 321, & seq.

Captain
Beach de-
stroys seven
of their
ships.
1700.

of those treaties, as to let any of our ships escape them, whenever they could conveniently make a prize; for which they never wanted an excuse or pretence, whenever a complaint was made to the regency. Nor was it easy to obtain a restitution or redress from the Deys or Dowan, whose interest it was to encourage those piratic practices, upon so many accounts; so that the only remedy was making reprisals upon them; and it was upon some such infringement of it, that captain *Beach*, about nine years after the last conclusion of that treaty, fell foul on seven of their flag-ships, which he drove on shore and burnt. The result of which was a fresh revival of it with that republic, by captain *Munden*, and *Robert Cole*, esq; with the addition of three articles, which will explain the occasion of it. They are to this import:

1. That the peace concluded in 1682 be confirmed; and more particularly the eighth article, wherein it is expressed, that no ship belonging to *Algiers* shall cruize in sight of any port or place belonging to *Great Britain*, or in any way disturb the peace or commerce of the same, nor shall any *Algerine* vessel enter the *English* channel.

2. No passes shall be required from any *English* ship, till the last day of *September* 1701. But after that time, if any *English* ship shall be seized, not having a pass, the goods of such ship shall be prize; but the master, men, and ship, shall be restored, and the freight immediately paid to the master.

3. Whereas captain *Munden* hath complained, that he was affronted some years past by some rude soldiers at the mole, it is promised, that, at all times hereafter, when any *British* man of war shall come to *Algiers*, order shall be given to an officer to attend at the mole, during their stay, to prevent any such disorder, and if any such shall happen, the offender shall be punished with the utmost severity.

THIS treaty, which bears date *August* 20, 1700, is thus prefaced, *He the most excellent and most illustrious lords, Mustapha Dey, Hali Pascha, and Mustapha Aga, governors of the most famous and most warlike city and kingdom of Algiers, do, by these presents, renew and confirm the peace we so happily enjoy, with William king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the Christian faith, and his subjects, in the year of Jesus 1682, &c.* by which most pompous titles we may reasonably conclude, that the *Algerines* had, by this time, that is, in about 17 years since the dreadful bombardment lately mentioned, regained in a great measure their pristine strength and grandeur, as well as of their native pride and insolence, seeing they have added the title of most excellent to

to that of illustrious, with regard to themselves; and that of most warlike to that of most famous, with respect to their city and kingdom, which were in that of 1682; and which would, at that time, have been very unsuitable to their forlorn and ruined state. We may farther observe, from the *Turkish* Basha or viceroy being named in it as the second person in that government, they had regained their privilege of assisting and opining, if not of voting, in the Dowan, since their late disaster, of which they had been deprived some years before, when the *Algerine* state was in its most flourishing condition. And what most confirms this observation is, that, in less than ten years from this present date, they were grown up to such an height of insolence and tyranny again, as to obstruct the Dey's election, with such strenuous opposition, as occasioned the total suppression of that dignity, as we shall see in the sequel.

As for *Mustapha*, the present Dey, he continued still a *Mustapha* friend to the *English* nation; and renewed the old treaty grants with Sir *George Byng*, afterwards lord *Torrington*, being England queen *Anne's* admiral, with the addition of the two following *two more articles*. viz.

1. "That whereas by those of the old treaties it was agreed, that subjects of *England* should pay 10 per cent. custom for the goods they should sell at *Algiers*, or in the dominions thereof, for the better settling and maintaining a good commerce between the subjects of those two nations, the *English* should from thenceforth pay no more than five per cent. custom for such goods; and that such as were found to be contraband, should not pay any custom, as had been before concluded.

2. "That all prizes taken by any of the subjects of the said queen of *Great Britain*, and all the ships and vessels built or fitted out in any of her majesty's plantations in *America*, that have not been in *England*, shall not be molested on account of their not being furnished with passes; but that a certificate in writing, under the hands of the commanding officers, who shall take any prizes, and a certificate under the hands of the governors or chiefs of such *American* colonies or places, where such ships were built or fitted out, shall be sufficient passes for either of them. And our faith shall be our faith, and our word our word. Signed at *Algiers*, October 28, in the year of *Jesús* 1703, &c.; which was the second year of queen *Anne's* reign."

BUT it was not till after the taking of *Gibraltar* and *Port* *Gibraltar* *Mahon* by Sir *George Rooke*, that we could have a sufficient and *Ma-* check upon them to oblige them to the observation of those *honorable* articles; viz. *to Algiers*.

articles; and if we have since had a greater influence and awe upon them, than ever we had before, it is plainly owing, as we have elsewhere observed, to the neighbourhood of those two places that we are beholden for it; else the frequent chicaneries, which we have been obliged to have with them, and the late infringement of some of those articles by their scoundrel Rais, who are most of them, as well as great part of their crews, renegadoes of the vilest character, and which our government hath, for wise reasons doubtless, thought fit to put up with, sufficiently shew, of what a small advantage the most friendly and solemn treaties would be to us, if we had nothing else but their faith and honesty to depend upon for the observance of them.

1708. FOUR or five years elapsed since the ratification of the articles above-mentioned, during which nothing material happened, excepting their usual excursions abroad, and hard struggles between the regency and *Turkish* viceroys at home. But the sixth proved a very remarkable one, for their retaking the famed city of *Waran*, or *Awan*, from the *Spaniards*, which proved a considerable loss to them, on account of vast numbers of slaves, and quantities of grain, oil, leather, and other commodities, which they yearly drew from thence, as well as of the singular advantage of its convenient and spacious harbour; the strength and importance of that fortress, which not only kept the *Algerines* in awe, but stood excellently well situated for the execution of any design against them. And of such importance hath it been reckoned by these ever since, that they immediately made it the residence of the western Bey, or governor of the western circuit, which till then used to be at *Tremecen*; and who, besides a stout garrison, keeps up a little army of 2,000 *Cologlies*, or *Coulolies*, at his own charge, and a guard of 1,500 *Moors*, to accompany him in his circuit ^a. Notwithstanding all which precautions, as well as the several fortifications they added to it, in order to keep it in their hands, the *Spaniards* retook it from them with great difficulty, in the year 1737. We have elsewhere given a description of that famed fortress, its harbour, and various fortifications ^b; the greatest part of which had been added to it by the *Spaniards*, after their becoming masters of it, *an*. 1505 ^c. Since which time they had kept possession of it, in spite of the several efforts of the Deys to regain it. However, though the reduction of it by the *Algerines* be ascribed, by most Christian writers, to the treachery and cowardice of the governor, as well as to the grievous war which *Philip V.*

^a See before, p. 234.
p. 234.

^b Ibid. p. 233.

^c See *ibid*.

had then upon his hands, which would not permit him to send a sufficient succour to it^d, rather than to the martial skill and bravery of the enemy's troops, as great rejoicings were made at *Algiers*, as if it had been won by dint of strength and valour; and the remainder of that year, and the greater part of the next, were chiefly employed, either in repairing the old, and making new fortifications to it, or in the conveying into it a vast quantity of artillery, and all other warlike stores, in order to secure it, as much as possible, against all future attempts either from *Spain*, or any other Christian power.

THE next year was still more remarkable and prosperous *This proves to Algiers, upon several accounts; as 1st, of the assassination a memorial of their worthies Dey Ibrahim, surnamed the madman, ble year to*
 2. of the election of the brave *Hali* to the throne; and *Algiers.*
 3dly, the execution of the *Turkish* *Basha*, and excision of 1710.
 that dignity, by the courage and address of the new Dey.

As to the first of these transactions, it is of such a nature, as to deserve to be related with all its principal circumstances; since it will afford our readers a lively notion of the dangers and disasters which such an uncontroll'd authority is apt to bring, both upon the possessor, and those that are under him. *Ibrahim* had some noble qualities, though not such as *Ibrahim* were very agreeable to his subjects. He was a severe punisher of all kinds of knavery, thefts, frauds, and other such pilfering rogueries; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, *his chosen Dey*
his cha-
racter.
 are so common all over these parts. He had, moreover, a special knack at discovering them, and would spare no pains to find out the authors of them (D), and the truth of a fact: But

^d See before, p. 234.

(D) The reader will not perhaps be displeased, if we give one instance, among many, by way of specimen. A retailer of grocery having been represented to him, as using sundry knavish practices to his customers, *Ibrahim*, resolved to know the truth, disguises himself in the habit of a slave, and, taking another with him, goes one morning to his shop, and tells the man, that he and his companion were sent to their country work, but wanted to buy some rice and raisins of him, to make a dish after their

country fashion, before they set out; but desired him not to speak a word of it to their surly master, lest he should severely punish them for loitering so long in town. The shop-keeper promised secrecy; but, at the same time, took care to sell them the rice and raisins at a dearer rate than had been settled by authority, not dreaming of any ill consequence from two despicable slaves.

Ibrahim, being returned to his palace, and dressed himself in his usual habit, caused the grocer to

His excess-
five lust.

But was given so wholly to women, that he would procure them by the most illegal means, and such as are, even among them, reckoned unpardonable. His custom was, as soon as his panders had informed him of any extraordinary beauty, to take his time, when their husbands were at sea, or absent, to come and visit them at unreasonable hours, and either by threats or bribery to introduce himself to them; and by the same means to work them into a compliance to his wishes. Among the rest the wife of one *Mahmut* Rais, having been attempted by him, in one of his nocturnal rambles (her door-keeper, a deformed eunuch, having let him in during his master's absence), instead of giving him the reception he expected, either from his caresses or menaces, repulsed him with the utmost indignation and stinging reproaches, and obliged him to go off, which he with some reluctance did, though without any apprehensions of her further resentment.

HER husband arriving soon after, she failed not to acquaint him with the insult that had been offered to her; but finding him very fearful to encounter the Dey on so tender an occasion, and rather willing to conceal the attempt than to revenge it, she told him, in a violent passion, that she found she had been married only to some patient Christian, and not, as she thought, to a brave *Mussulman*, and would not be long before she got herself divorced from him. Her next step was to communicate the matter to several Rais, or sea captains; and by representing to them the dan-

to be brought before him, and his companion to lay the accusation against him; which the other boldly denied, alleging, that the rogue of a slave only used this stratagem to get his money again; after he had bought his goods. Upon which *Ibrahim*, without taking notice to him of his being a party concerned in the sale, ordered him to remain and caused a proclamation to be made, that if any *Turk*, *Moor*, *Jew*, or *Christian*, had any complaint against such a grocer, they should immediately repair to the Dey's palace for redress, provided they came before the hour of prayer. It was not long before several

persons appeared, and convicted him of fraud and extortion. The consequence of which was, that he condemned him to receive 500 bastinadoes on the soles of his feet, and to pay 500 piasters into the public treasury, as a present punishment, for having dared to assert a falsehood in the Dey's presence, and till a more adequate sentence should be pronounced against him. Which last sentence, when debated, by the plurality of votes, was, that he should be forthwith hanged, as being the first prevaricator that had been detected, since *Ibrahim's* election to the Deylick (7).

(7) *Taffy's Hist. Algiers*, lib. ii. c. 26. *Hist. of Algiers*, 1750. p. 99, & seq.

ger they were in of being made the slaves of *Ibrahim's* lust, who had ventured to give such early tokens of disregard to all religion, and to the honour of their sex, easily animated them to engage their husbands in the common quarrel. These soon after persuaded *Mahmut* to listen to his wife's counsel, and promised to assist him to rid the country of that worthless monarch; at which she was exceedingly pleased, and advised her husband to order the deformed *Negro*, who had introduced him to her apartment, to give him the first mortal stroke. The whole junto soon after agreed to assassinate him upon the first opportunity; and, accordingly, as he was one day coming from the mole, the *Negro*, whom they had posted at the water-gate, discharged his piece at him; but, in the hurry and fear, missed him; at which the Dey turned pale, but kept on his pace, without daring to ask any question about the matter, not knowing who to trust on such an occasion; neither did his attendance offer to stir in his defence, for fear of incurring the same fate. They had scarce reached the *Pattistan*, or slave market, before the *Negro*, who had newly charged his piece, and taken a shorter way, fired upon, and missed him a second time; which made him hasten to his palace with all the speed he could; whilst the conspirators, who had intermixed themselves with his retinue, followed him, crying aloud *Char-alla*, justice for God's sake. These were quickly joined by the populace, some of which cried out, that he should be dethroned, and others, that he might be dispatched.

THE affrighted Dey had, however, the good fortune to reach his apartment, and barricade himself in his chamber with two Christian slaves, his pages. The place being adorned with variety of fire arms, which had been presented by Christian princes, he ordered those pages to take them down, and fire among the assailants at every breach they made in the door, by which several of them were killed and wounded; so that, finding the attack too hot at the door, they ran up to the terraces, over his chamber; and, having made a large aperture in it, kept pouring hand-granadoes into it, till they had quite dispatched him, after he had reigned a little above a month. Such was the fatal end of *Ibrahim* Dey, as we have it related by Mr. *De Tassy*, who was then residing at Algiers; and such is the precarious and hazardous state of that elective dignity, and arbitrary government. The next reign will give us another pregnant instance of its malignancy with regard to the subjects.

• Hist. D'Algiers, lib. li. c. vi. p. 215, & seq.

Baba Hali
chosen
Dey.

THE Dowan, after the murder of *Ibrahim*, immediately proceeded to the election of a successor, and *Baba Hali* was the person, who, without any great opposition or bloodshed, was raised to that dignity; yet, though a person of known valour and merit, had not been long seated on his throne, before he discovered that a most powerful faction, consisting chiefly of the friends and partizans of the late Dey, was forming against him; so that, to keep himself steady in it, he was obliged to put to death above 1,700 of them, on the very first month of his reign. This extreme severity, as it was thought by the rest of his subjects, rather aggravated, than suppressed, the public murmuring and discontent, and proved the source of several other conspiracies against him, which yet his good fortune and vigilance, joined to an intrepid bravery and artful conduct, enabled him to nip in the bud. Among other popular acts, which he did in order to appease the resentment of *Ibrahim's* relations and friends, he caused the body of that unfortunate prince, dragged and mangled as it had been by the insulting populace, to be taken up, and honourably buried; and ordered a stately mausoleum to be erected over his grave.

BUT the most politic, as well as popular act of his reign, and which hath most endeared that æra, as well as his memory, was the delivering that state from the tyrannical check of the *Turkish* *Bashas*, or viceroys. The person, who then resided in that quality at *Algiers*, whose name is not mentioned by our author, had, it seems, been very busy, and intermeddling in matters of state, which were to be wholly out of his province. He had particularly had a great influence in the election of the late Dey, as well as ventured to oppose that of the present. This insolence, which had hitherto been indulged to them by the government, could hardly escape the resentment of *Hali* Dey, who made no scruple to get him arrested soon after his election, and ordered him to be embarked in a trading vessel that was bound to *Tunis*, with a severe threatening, that he would surely put him to death, if ever he dared set his foot in *Algiers*, to raise any fresh commotions.

Hali's em-
bassy to the
Porte.

THE next step our politic Dey took, was to send an embassy to the *Porte*, with rich presents for the *Vazier*, the *Soltnesses*, and chief officers of the court, with a detail of complaints against the *Basha*, and represented to the *Grand Vazier*, that, though his turbulent misconducts were risen to such a height, they deserved death; nevertheless, out of his deep regard to the *Grand Signor* and him, he had only contented himself with banishing him. He added, that the *Turkish* militia was so exasperated against those *Bashas*, that, if any for the

the future should give them the same cause of discontent, they would not fail of massacring them, which would be a great insult, and an irreparable affront to the sublime *Porte*. He closed his representation with observing, how much more it would be for the honour and interest of the Soltan, since those *Bashas* were so useless, obnoxious, and chargeable, not to send any more of them to *Algiers*, but to confer that dignity on the *Deys* for the time being. This proposal was so well relished at the *Constantinopolitan* court, that it was immediately agreed to; and from that time *Hali*, and his successors, have looked upon themselves as sovereigns, and acted *basbep* with a plenary power, and the title of *Bashas* or viceroys of *conferred* the *Ottoman Porte*, excepting only, that, upon some particular *on the Al-* occasions, this last sends his *Capigi Bashas*, or envoys extra-gerine ordinary, to *Algiers*, to transact or settle matters with the *Deys*. Dowan; yet do they there meet with but a cold reception, not only on account of their being maintained at the public charge, but much more so for their haughty deportment, which is the more odious to the soldiery, as it is a kind of reproach on their meanness, and their dependance on the *Porte*; for which reason they make all the dispatch they can to dismiss them, and with as little ceremony as common decency and policy will admit of.

In the 4th year of *Hati's* reign happened another remarkable occurrence, which well deserves a place here. Mr. *Thomson* *Thomas Thomson*, our *English* consul at *Algiers*, as he was *insulted by* going to the hall, where the captains of ships usually meet, a young was insulted by a young *Moor*, supposed to have been in *Moor's* liquor, by jostling him on the mole, which is very narrow, instead of giving him the way; and, upon his being asked, whether he intended to shove him over it, and whether he was not an odd spark to dispute the way with him, answered him, with great insolence, that no dog of a Christian was above him, and gave him a box on the ear; and, throwing him upon his back, clapped his knee furiously upon his breast. The captain of the port, who happening to be in sight, called out to him; upon which he left him and fled, whilst he helped the consul up, and led him to the assembly of the sea officers. The admiral being there apprised of what had happened, expressed his utmost concern at the insult, and went forthwith and complained of it to the *Dey* in the strongest terms; but, having a regard for the young offender, whose father was a noted merchant, endeavoured to extenuate the fault, and begged that he might not be punished with death. The *Dey*, though he promised to spare him so far, yet insisted

See before, p. 341, & seq. & alib. pass.

that some punishment should be laid on him, for the satisfaction of the consul and the determent of others.

A BASTONADO being agreed on between them, Mr. *Thomson* was sent for to see justice done on the offender; and the young *Moor* was brought in by the Grand Provost, to whom the Dey sternly said, *Thou villain, what hast thou done?* To whom the young fellow, with little or no concern, answered, *What have I done! I have only beaten a Christian dog for taking the wall of me, and giving me abusive language.* The Dey, in a passion, asked him, *Whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner complained of?* which he as impudently acknowledged; and asked him, *Whether that was all he was brought before him for?* At which the Dey was so exasperated, that he condemned him to receive 2200 bastonadoes, which were accordingly given him before the consul.

his dreadful punishment and death.

THE first 1000 strokes, which were given him on the soles of his feet, brought them so far off, that they only hung by a small ligament: but as a greater number would soon have dispatched him out of his misery, the Dey, to make as severe and deterring an example of him as possible, ordered him back to prison to recover himself; and, on the morrow, by nine of the clock, the remaining 1200 strokes were given him on his posteriors; upon which he lost his speech and his senses: but, as he was not quite dead, he was remanded back to his prison, there to be left, without any relief, to expire in the most dreadful agonies for his drunken folly, as a determent against such future insults.

The treaty with England renewed.

IT was also in this same year that admiral *Baker*, being sent by his Britannic majesty, king *George I.* to renew the treaties with *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, visited the two former kingdoms in person; but deputed captain *Coningsby Norbury*, commander of the *Argyle*, and captain *Nicholas Eaton*, commander of the *Chester*, in conjunction with Mr. *Thomas Thomson*, who, in the absence of his brother *Samuel*, acted as consul, to ratify all the former treaties with the *Algerine* republic, and to add to them the four following articles; viz.

1. THAT, if any demand or pretensions shall be now left depending between the subjects, or others, of either party, they shall be amicably redressed, and full satisfaction made to each other, according to the truth and justice of their claim; nor shall any of the same be cancelled, or made void by this treaty.

2. THAT, as the island of *Minorca*, in the *Mediterranean* sea, and the city of *Gibraltar*, in *Spain*, have been yielded

* Id. ibid. l. i. c. 8, p. 104, & seq.

and

and annexed to the crown of *Great Britain*, as well by the king of *Spain* as by the several powers in *Europe* engaged in the late war, it is now hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca*, and the city of *Gibraltar*, shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government and people of *Algiers*, to be part of his *Britannic* majesty's dominions; and the inhabitants thereof to be looked upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of the *British* territories. And they, with their ships and vessels, wearing *British* colours, and being furnished with proper passes, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the dominions of *Algiers*, without any molestation whatsoever; and shall have the same liberties and privileges that are stipulated in this, and have been made in any other treaties, in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects; and, therefore, none of the cruizers shall, at any time, cruize within sight of the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar*.

3. THAT, if an *English* ship shall receive on board any passengers, or goods belonging to *Algiers*, the *English* shall defend them both as far as lieth in their power, &c. and to prevent any fraudulent demands being made on the crown of *Great Britain*, &c. all goods, &c. stipulated by the subjects of *Algiers* on *British* vessels, shall be first registered in the office of *Cancellaria* before the *British* consul, together with their weight, value, &c. before it depart.

4. THAT, if any *Algerine* cruizers shall meet with any *British* ships provided with scollop passes, of either ships or gallies, that shall fit with those delivered to them by the *British* consul, they shall pass free and unmolested. Given at *Algiers*, October 29, 1716.

THUS far the additional articles, concluded with *Baba Hali Dey*, who had the good fortune to die quietly in his bed, after a reign of almost eight years. He was raised from the dignity of *Basha*, or Grand Provost, to that of Dey in June, 1710; and died April 13, 1713, highly esteemed and regretted, and was interred with great pomp, as is usually done to those Deys that die a natural death. However, to prevent all tumults and bloodshed about the choice of a successor, the officers of his household, in conjunction with those of the *Dowan*, took care, as soon as his physicians had given him over, to agree upon one privately amongst themselves, namely, *Mehemed*, who was then *Cazenar*, or high treasurer. So that as soon as the breath was gone out of *Hali's* body, he was immediately invested with the *Caftan*, or royal robes;

and, as soon as day-light appeared, was proclaimed by the firing of the artillery, and other usual ceremonies ^b; and with this period we shall conclude the *Algerine* history.

C H A P. IV.

The History of Tunis, or Tunes.

The kingdom of Tunis, whence so called. **T**HIS kingdom hath its name from its famed metropolis, one of the antientest cities in *Africa*, and once the second in rank next to *Carthage*, as may be seen by the description which we have given of it, and its various changes, in our *Antient History*^a. Both the city and kingdom hath undergone a much greater number since the expulsion of the *Romans* out of *Africa*; an account of which will be seen in the sequel: at present we shall content ourselves with observing, that, in its more modern state, that is, before *Barbarossa* stripped it of some of its provinces, it was of a much larger extent than it hath ever been since its being established in its new form of government by *Sinan Pasha*, though still a very powerful and opulent city under its new set of monarchs; and, we may add, more civilized than any on the *African* coasts; inasmuch that, from being once as famed for its corsairs as that of *Algiers* last spoken of, its inhabitants have, of late years, given themselves wholly to traffick, and cease to be a terror to the fair trader on those seas.

S E C T. I.

A geographical Description of the Kingdom of Tunis.

Four out of five of its former provinces dismembered from it; its boundaries and extent. **T**HIS kingdom did once comprehend the provinces of *Constantina*, *Bujayah*, or *Bugia*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Zaab*, vulgarly *Ezzab*. At present the two former belong to *Algiers*, the third, viz. *Tripoli*, forms a republic of itself, and *Zaab* is become dependant on it; so that only *Tunis* Proper is all that is left of it to its present Beys. Its boundaries, therefore, are now the *Mediterranean* on the north and east, the kingdom of *Algiers* on the west, and *Tripoli*, with part of *Biledulgerid*, on the south. The length of it, from north to south, or from *Cape Serra*, in lat. 37° 12', to the island of *Ferba*, in lat. 33° 30', is 220 miles; and its breadth, from west to east, or from the city of *Sbekka*, the

^b TASSY, ubi sup. MORGAN's Append. Hist. of Algiers, 1750, pag. 179, & al. ^a Vol. xvii. p. 233, & seq.

most advanced towards the west, and lying in east long 80 00' to that of *Clybea*, the farthest towards the east, under 11° 20' east longitude, about 170° (A).

THE kingdom of *Tunis* hath been variously divided; viz. 1. into seven provinces; four of which, *Carthage*, *Goletta*, al. *Guletta*, *Bizerta*, *Susa*, and *Almedea*, or *Africa*, were stiled maritime; and the other three, *Kayr-wan*, *Urbs*, and *Beggia*, together with a tract of land, one half in *Numidia*, and the other in *Lybia*, were called inland. Again: into the eight following districts or governments; viz. 1. *Tunis Proper*; 2. *Byrsa*, or *Carthage*, and *Goletta*, which are now joined to the first; 3. *El-Medea*, or *Africa*; 4. *Susa*, or *Souja*; 5. *Kayr-wan*, or *Cairwan*; 6. *Hamamet*, al. *Mahometta*; 7. *Bizerta*; 8. *Porto Farino*; all which take their names from their respective capitals. At present the whole kingdom is divided into two circuits; viz. the summer and winter, which the Bey takes in person through his dominions at those two seasons, as will be seen in the sequel. We shall, however, for order's sake, follow the second division in our subsequent account of those capitals and their districts; each of which had, moreover, a number of cities and towns; the greatest part of which have been since destroyed by the *Arabians*, who are here very numerous and powerful, and who will not suffer them to be rebuilt, that they may have the greater freedom to range the country with their vast herds, and enjoy the pleasures and product of that fertile country in greater ease and plenty. So that the inland part is now hardly any other than a vast spacious champaign country, most of the cities being situate along the coasts, and these not above fourteen

* SHAW'S Travels, p. 139, & seq.

(A) We have here followed one of the latest and most accurate writers (1), whose observations, if right, plainly shew how greatly some modern geographers have erred, particularly *Damifer*, who places Cape *Bona* in lat. 34° 15', and Cape *Gabs* in 30° north; that is, above three degrees too far southward. *Moll* likewise brings it a few minutes only too far north, but extends it to the southward beyond the parallel of *Tripoli*. *Delisle* hath

done almost the same in his royal map of *Africa*; whereas, as our author observes, there is a remarkable chain of mountains in the same parallel with the island of *Jerba*, which forms the boundaries of *Tunis* and *Tripoli*. So that, of all the other modern geographers, *Luyts* seems to have been the best acquainted with the extent of this kingdom in general, who allows it three degrees of longitude, and four of latitude (2).

(1) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 139.
Shaw, ubi, sup. p. 140.

(2) *Introd. ad Geogr. scilicet*. iv. c. 19, p. 679.

in number, and but few of them either large or populous. Those in the inland parts are still fewer, and in a worse condition, being but eight in all; that is, seven in *Tunis*, and one in *Bisuldgerid*^b. However, as the division of this kingdom into provinces hath been set aside long since, and the whole is under the immediate government and inspection of the Bey, who collects the tribute and whole revenue in person, we shall content ourselves with giving their names in the margin (B), and follow the present established division of the kingdom, which is into the two circuits that the Bey takes through the principal part of it with his flying camp, the one in summer through the fertile country, in the neighbourhood of *Keff* and *Barjab*, the other in the winter, through the several districts betwixt *Ken Kayr-wan* and the *Jerecde*, or *Elgerid*, that is, the dry country; which part of the *Sahara*, or desert, we have had occasion to speak already in the history of *Algiers**. By this means we shall have an opportunity of describing such of those cities as have any thing worth notice, without troubling our reader with the rest; as likewise the capes, principal islands, rivers, mountains, and other particulars, as they occur in each circuit; and this division of the kingdom into those two circuits will appear the more convenient, as it corresponds as much as possible to that of the antients into *Zeugitana* and *Byzacium*, spoken of in the *Antient History*^c; according to which, the former or summer circuit will include that part which spreads itself northward of the parallel of *Hamamet*, or *Hamam-ul*, and the winter one, answering to the old *Byzacium*, or *Livyphane*, will contain all that lieth south of that parallel^d.

The Bey's annual circuits thro' the kingdom.

THE summer circuit, or northern district, is by far the most pleasant, fertile, and populous, and hath the much greater number of cities, villages, *Dowars*, or *Adowars*, and carries the fairest appearance of plenty, prosperity, and cheerfulness of the two; which is, doubtless, owing to the mildness of its government, and its being freer from tyranny and oppression, than that of *Algiers* last spoken of. And, as it is

^b LEO AFRIC. l v. MARMOL, l vi. c. i & seq. GRAMMART, lib viii c 3. & seq. DAPPER, DAVITY'S AFRIC. TUNES. SHAW, ubi sup. Vid & LUYR's Intr ad Geograph, sect. iv. &c. * See before, p 182. ^c Vol xvii p. 231, & 237, & seq. ^d SHAW, ubi sup.

(B) The cities along the coast run in the following order, from east to west; viz. 1. *Tabarka*; 2. *Bizerta*; 3. *Porto Fasino*; 4. *Goleta*; 5. *Tunis*, from north to south; 6. *Hamamet*; 7. *Herkla*, al. *Herguela*; 8. *Susa*; 9. *Munaster*; 10. *Africa*, now ruined; 11. *Capouda*, or *Cabondia*; 12. *Eisakes*; 13. *El Hama*, al. *El Hamait*; 14. *Gabb*, al. *Gabus*.

bounded by the river *Tusca*, now called *Zaine*, tho' by *Guadil-Barbar*, which divides it from the *Algerine* provinces of *Constantina*, may be properly looked upon as the *Africa Propria Minor* and *Carthaginensis*, and the *Provincia Vetus* of the antients, and the *Proconsularis* of the *Notitia* *. Its most fertile parts are about the *Keff* and *Bai-jab*, and *Dachet*, which abound with arable and pasture grounds. The rest are much inferior to them in fertility; and are interspersed with plains, hills, and marshes, which scarce admit of any cultivation or improvement †; altho' the inhabitants here are more industrious, and have better encouragement for it, than they have under the other *Turkish* governments.

THE principal rivers of this circuit are, 1. The *Zaine*, Principal which, we observed in the last chapter, divides the *Tunesian* rivers. kingdom from that of *Algiers* *. 2. The *Guadil-Barbar*, which several authors make the boundary between those two kingdoms; to which they add, that it hath its spring as far southward as the city of *Urbs*, or *Jerbus*, whence, running in a winding course north-west, empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, near the port of *Talarka*. This river, we are told, winds itself along in so many meanders, that those who go from *Tunis* to *Bona* are obliged to ford it above twenty times, there being neither bridges nor ferry-boats to carry one over it ‡ (C). 3. The *Mejerda*, vulgarly *Mejerada* and *The Mejerda*;

* I 50 AFRIC. ubi sup. GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat. † SHAW, ubi sup. p. 141, & seq. * See before, p 182, & seq. ‡ LEO AFRIC. l. iii p. 287. MARMOL, DAPPER, & al.

(C) Doctor *Shaw*, the latest writer on this subject, denies there being any river of the name of *Guadil-Barbar*, or of its springing so far from the sea; and allows of none but the *Zaine* to divide *Tunes* from *Algiers*. This last, he tells us, hath its fountain no farther off than some of the adjacent mountains, and falls into the sea near *Thabrica*, now *Taharka*; the ruins of which are spread over the western banks of it; among which is a fort, and a *Tunesian* garrison; together with some broken edifices, and other antiquities (5).

It is strange so great a number of authors should have given us

the name, spring, various meanders, and other particulars, of a river which is not in being; or, if it is, that so accurate an observer should not have found it out. We can determine nothing about it, till some new traveller brings us some clearer account of it; but that the *Zaine* abovementioned is the boundary of the *Tunesian* state, on the *Algerine* coast, is hardly to be questioned; and, that this description we meet with of this river, doth in no ways answer to that which those authors give us of the *Guadil-Barbar*, any more than it doth in name, is no less apparent (6).

(5) *Shaw*, ubi sup. p. 99. *Dewey*, *Dapper*.

(6) See *Leo Afric.* lib. iii. *Marmol*, lib. ii.

its channel
changed.

Attagiordaeca, the famed *Bagrada* of the antients; on the banks of which *Regulus* is said to have killed a monstrous serpent^a. The description of it is in our *Antient History*; to which we shall only add, that it hath often changed its channel, and hath left in many places, where it formerly ran, evident marks of its overflows; and that an open creek, into which it discharged itself, little more than a century ago, is now circumscribed by the mud, and become a large pond, or a kind of anti-harbour to *Porto Farino*¹. The cause of which is supposed to be the height of the shore, from the port last named to *Carthage*, above the level of the sea; which, being exposed to the east and north-east winds, may have choaked up the mouth of it, as hath happened to many other rivers: so that there is reason to apprehend, that the channel will, in a few years, return again to the southward; the pond formed by it being every day more and more choaked with mud; and the mouth, or bar of the river, which, till lately, admitted vessels of the greatest burden, being become now too shallow to receive a cruiser of thirty guns, unless it be first discharged of its lading^k. 4. The *Miliana*, supposed to be the *Catada* of the antients^l, and a branch of the *Guadil-Barbar*; about a mile from which is the noted hot bath, called *Hammam Leef*, much resorted to by the citizens of *Tunis*^m. It is remarkable only for forming the bay of *Tunis*, and having that metropolis situate on the mouth of it. 5. The *Gabbs*, or *Caps*, or *Capes*, supposed to be the *Triton* of the antients, hath its source three or four leagues only to the south-south-west of the city of its name, and falls into the sea to the northward of the old city, forming the ground, on which it was built, into a kind of peninsula. This last, more properly, belongs to the winter circuit; tho' the gulph, to which it gives its name, be in the summer one. We have given an account of it, and the lake which is formed by it, in our *Antient History*ⁿ; and shall only add, that the waters of the *Gabbs* are said to be so hot, that they cannot be drank till an hour after they have been taken out of it; and that those of the lake are likewise affirmed, when drank, to be a remedy against the leprosy^o. Thus much may serve for the *Tunesian* rivers. To which we shall only add that of *Me-jerda*, or *Old Bagrada*, which is the most considerable of the whole kingdom, and divides itself into two, al-

^a Vol. xii. p. 178, note (Y). v. xvii. p. 242. ¹ SHAW, ubi sup. p. 242. ^k Id. ibid. p. 148. ^l Antient Hist. vol. xvii. p. 141. ^m Ibid. p. 243. SHAW, p. 157. LEO AFRIC. lib. v. p. 225, & seq. ⁿ Vol. xvii. p. 241. ^o LEO AFRIC. lib. ix. DAFFER, & al.

most from east to west, and receives the greatest number of rivers into its streams : and that of *Zaine* hath a small island lying over-against the mouth of it, which is now possessed by the *Gnoses*, who pay a yearly rent for it to the Bey, on account of the pearl fishery ; but the little advantage they have made of it of late, will, in all likelihood, oblige them to abandon that settlement in a little time ; though they have a pretty good fort in it, capable of defending them, either against any surprize from the *Ze-nati*, and other *Arabs* on the continent, or from the insults of any of the *Algerine* or *Tripolitan* cruizers ^p.

THE most considerable islands belonging to this state are,
1. *Cape Negro*, five miles to the north-east of *Tabarka*, which hath a settlement of the *French African* company, who pay a considerable sum of money to *Tunis* for the liberty they enjoy at *La Calle* (D), and for keeping up a fort here to protect them from the insults of the neighbouring *Mogodri*, and other *Arabians* ^{Porto Negro.}

2. *JALTA*, the *Galata*, or *Calathe*, of the antients, is a high rocky island, six miles north of *Cape Negro*, and ten to the north-east of *Tabarka*. There is a very dangerous shoal, unknown to our sea charts, lying about five leagues from it to the west-south-west ¹. The *Cani*, which are two little flat contiguous islands, where the *Italian* row-boats lie frequently in way for the *Tunefians*. These islands are about four leagues to the north-north-west of the *Cape Pil-loe*, and very nearly in the middle way to *Cape Bianco*. The capes of note are, *Cape Terra*, five leagues north-east of *Cape Negro*, and the most advanced to *Afric* towards the north ; four leagues beyond which, northward, are the *Tres Frates*, or three brothers, which are three rocky islands near the continent, about half way to *Cape Bianco*.

THIS cape is supposed, from its whiteness, to be the *Promontorium Candidum* of *Pliny*, and *Promontorium Pulchrum* of *Livy*, where *Scipio* made his first descent into *Africa* ; it being of a chalky substance, and from thence called by the *Moors* the *White Cape*.

^p R. SHAW, ub. sup. p. 142.
p. 132.

¹ Id. ibid. Vid. & TASSY,

^r SHAW, ibid.

(D) This place, though under the *Algerine* government, the *French* pay a kind of tribute, also to that of *Tunis*, for the quiet possession of it. We have given an account of their removing from the *French* bastion hither, on account of the unwholesomeness of the air (7).

CAPE Zibeeh, so called from the great quantities of raisins, that are made upon it, is likewise remarkable for the whiteness of some of its cliffs on the eastern side, and for having what they call the *Pil-loe*, a high pointed rock, in the shape of that favourite dish of theirs, situate just below it. That Cape Zibeeh is the *Promontorium Apollinis* we have formerly shewn*. The reader may see some farther proofs of it in Dr. Shaw's Travels†.

THE last cape of note is that of *Bon*, called by the *Moors Ras Addar*; and is the *Herculean Promontory* of the antients. It stands eleven leagues east-south-east of that of Zibeeh; and is of such a height, that one can see the *Sicilian mountains* from the summit of it.

Gulph of Bizerta. THE principal gulphs are, 1. That of *Bizerta*, the *sinus Hipponensis* of the antients‡; a very large one it is, and hath its name from the town of *Bizerta*, or, as the *Africans* call it, *Ben-sherdt* (E), situate upon the western banks of it. This gulph, having a communication with the lake of the same name on the south, and with the sea on the north, forms a kind of canal between them; through which a constant stream is alternately discharging itself from the one to the other, in the same manner as the *Atlantic Ocean* is observed to do in the *Mediterranean*, and back again¶; so that what the lake loses by exhalations, is again recruited by the sea; which, at such times, runs very briskly into it in hot seasons, to keep up an equilibrium. This gulph is formed by the Capes *Blanco* and *Zibeeh*, lately mentioned, and is a beautiful sandy inlet, near four leagues wide, and once admitted the largest vessels into the great pier of *Hippo*; of which there are still some traces remaining, projecting out into the sea, to break off the north-east wind; so that it appears to have been one of the beautifullest and safest havens upon those coasts. The misfortune is, that the *Turks*, al-

* See Antient Hist. vol. xvii. p. 237.
 † Antient Hist. vol. xvii. p. 236.
 ‡ See Antient Hist. vol. xvii. p. 144.

§ Pag. 146.
 ¶ Philosophical Transactions.

(E) Which they derive from their situation, *Ben-Sherdt* signifying the offspring of the canal, which etymon is not only natural and ingenious, and bids as fair as least for being the true one as that substituted for it by others, who will have

Bizerta to be a corruption of the *Hippo Diarrhitai*, or *Zarytus*, of the antient *Greeks*, which *Pliny* translates, *Aquarum Irrigua* (8). *Bochart* thinks the *Hippo* there to be only a corruption of the *Phanician Ubbo*, which signifies a gulph (9).

(8) See Antient Hist. vol. xvii. p. 236.
 (9) See also Shaw's Travels, p. 144.

(9) Bochart de Calvu Phanic.

ways ever to repairs, have let it go so to ruin, that it will receive none now but small vessels, and is in danger to be in a little time totally destroyed.

THE other gulph of note is that of *Tunis*, situate between the Capes *Zibib* and *Bon*; the former making the western, and the latter, at eleven leagues distance, the eastern point of it. *Zawa Moore*, the *Egimurus* of the antients, and the *Zimba* of our sea charts, lies between these promontories, but nearer that of *Bon*, in the very mouth of the gulph. The island of *Gamelora* lies a little way eastward of Cape *Zibib*; and, four miles to the west, within the cape, stands *Porto Parina*, called from an antient salt work hard by it *Gar-el-meliab*, or the *Cave of Salt*, by the inhabitants of it. Other particulars, relating to this *Tunesian* gulph, will be better seen when we come to speak of the metropolis situate upon it.

Gulph of Tunis.

THE chief mountain of this kingdom, worth notice, is the *Zewaan*, al. *Zagwan*, or *Zagoan*, a very high and famed one; from whose summit one hath a prospect of the greatest part of the kingdom; and from which *Agathocles* is thought to have been entertained with a view both of the country of the *Adrumetines* and *Carthaginians*. It is likewise remarkable for a town of its name, situate at the foot of it, in great repute for dying of scarlet caps, and for bleaching of linen; vast quantities of both being daily brought thither from all parts of the kingdom. The stream, which serves for that purpose, and runs from the top of the mountain, was formerly carried by a noble conduit to *Carthage*. Over the fountain was built a temple, the ruins of which are still to be seen. It hath, likewise, both on the declivity, and about the foot of it, several *Roman* antiquities; such as towers, castles, forts, &c. with inscriptions cut in marble. It stands about a league and a half south-south-east of *Tunis*, and is mostly barren and desert, except a few spots, which bear here and there some barley, but there are, almost all over it, proper places where they shelter vast quantity of bee-hives. The rest of the territory round about it is almost a continued champain country; thro' which mount *Atlas* opens a spacious way from that of *Zaab* into *Numidia*. Other mountains of this country are, the *Gueslet Beni Isfen*, and *Nufusa*; the former, about three leagues from *Kayriwan*, hath likewise several *Roman* antiquities; the two last, one about seven miles from *Zerbi* and *Asfacus*, have little worth notice, except the poverty of the inhabitants, who yet maintain their

Chief mountain.

Roman antiquities

* See *Antient Hist.* vol. xvij. p. 449. & seq. *MARMOL*, l. vi. c. 35. *DAPPER*, p. 189. *SHAW*, p. 184. & seq.

liberty, by means of the ruggedness of their abodes. But, as many of them are forced to go to *Tunis*, and other parts, to get a livelihood, they run great risk of being ill treated by the *Tunesian* Alfaquis, or doctors; because they alone, of all the people of this kingdom, are of the sect of *Ah*, which is here detested; so that they are forced to conceal that part of their religion from them, as well as they can^a, wherever they go. The lakes of this kingdom, having been described in our *Antient History*^b, we shall refer our readers to it, to avoid needless repetitions. We need only add here, that that of *Tunis*, which was formerly deep, and capacious enough to contain a large fleet, is, since then, especially as it hath been in the possession of the *Turks*, become so shallow, particularly in the summer-time, by receiving all the common sinks of the city, that the middle of its chanel is hardly above six or seven feet deep of water; whilst the rest of it, for the space of a mile or more, within its banks, is become both dry and nauseous; though, in other respects, its prospect receives no small beauty from the numerous flocks of *Flamants* that frequent it; and is no less famous for the number and largeness of its mullets, esteemed the sweetest upon the coast of *Barbary*; the roe of which, being afterwards dried and pressed, is reckoned a great dainty, and known by the name of *Bo-largo*^c. Let us now take a view of the principal cities of this summer circuit.

Tunis the capital;

WE begin with the metropolis, whose origin, antiquity, situation, and former splendor, have been already taken notice of in our *Antient History*^{*}; but which is now become still more considerable, by being the capital of a powerful kingdom. *Diodorus* gave it the epithet of *Λευκον*, white, probably on account of the white chalky cliffs which seem to surround it, when viewed from the sea; and between which it spreads itself upwards, from the western banks of the chanel, lately mentioned, of *Goletta* (F), in form of an oblong square,

^a LEO AFRIC. lib. v. ad fin. MARMOL, lib. vi. cap. 57, DAPPER, &c. ^b Vol. xviii p. 241. ^c SHAW, ubi sup.

pag. 154, & seq. ^{*} Vol. xvii. p. 233.

(F) So called from the *Arabic*, *Halck-el-wed*, or *throat of the river*; which name the inhabitants give it, by reason of its being a chanel of communication between the lake of *Tunis* and the sea, as we observed a little above. The *Italians*

first gave it that name of *Goletta*; which, in their language, answers to that. The *Tungians* have a castle on each side of it, tolerably strong, for the security of that narrow passage, as well as of the road east and south-east (9).

(9) *Marmol*, l. vi. c. 16. See also *Shaw's Travels*, p. 254.

about

about a mile in length. The whole town, suburbs included, extends no farther than three miles^d; though some authors have given it a much larger circuit, without any foundation; its walls having still the same compass, though its suburbs are very much lessened to what they were, *an.* 1520, when they were computed to contain 1600 houses, mostly inhabited by tradesmen of all sorts, besides those within the walls, which, in *Grammay's* time, amounted to 10,000 more. But at present it is far enough from being so populous as *Algiers*, though living under a milder government, neither are the buildings so lofty and magnificent. The fine prospect likewise that it yielded towards the sea, comes also far short of what it did, the forts, castles, and other works on the adjacent hills, which added much to it, having been demolished by the *Turks* almost as soon as they became masters of it^e.

TUNIS labours under three very great inconveniencies; *viz.*

1. It is so much commanded by those hills, that, excepting its walls, which are about forty cubits high, and flanked at proper distances, with small towers, the whole strength of it seems chiefly to consist in the number of its inhabitants; the greatest part of whom are tradesmen.
2. The lakes and marshes around it render its situation much less healthy, notwithstanding the inhabitants endeavour to remedy it, by the great quantities of mastick, myrtle, rosemary, and other aromatic herbs, with which they daily heat their ovens, bagnios, &c. which of course communicate a corrective fragrantcy to the air. The third, and worst of all, is the scarcity of water, there being no springs or rivers near it; their wells are mostly brackish, and their cisterns but few; so that they are forced to fetch the greatest part of what they drink from *Bardo*, and other places at a mile distance. There is, indeed, one well in the city, whose water is barely drinkable; yet, even this is carefully reserved for the use of the Bey and his household. We are moreover told, that there is another well in the city, whose water is quite salt; and is, nevertheless, so far preferred to that of their cisterns, that they suffer it to be fetched and sold about for their common drinking, or, more probably, for their *pil law*, and other cookery, unless we suppose the preference to be owing to its saltness, as being more palatable to them than the insipid rain-water of their cisterns. We might add a fourth inconvenience still; *viz.* the dryness of the territory round about, which requires continual watering; so that there is hardly a corn field but

unhealthily
air, how
corrected;

^d *GRAMMAY'S Afric. Illust. lib. viii. ch. 1. DAPPER'S Afric. p. 190. SHAW, p. 156.* ^e *Id. ibid.*

what

what hath a well dug in some corner for that purpose, which makes it very inconvenient (G), and often raises the price of grain to an excessive height; add to this, their harvest being exposed to the incursions of the *Arabians* in harvest-time, which obliges the citizens to sow their wheat, barley, and rye, in or near the suburbs, and even to inclose those fields with stout walls^f: but, excepting these inconveniencies, no place enjoys a greater plenty of all necessaries of life; for, besides

fruit trees in great plenty; their gardens abound with variety of fruit trees; such as palms, figs, dates, citrons, lemons, olives, &c. and this last grows in such abundance, about a league's distance round the city, that they supply the inhabitants, as well as strangers, with oil, and even with charcoal, that being the only wood they have to make it with. This scarcity of grain is one cause why the inhabitants are, for the most part, poor, and are forced to live very meanly. They have, indeed, very good wheat, chiefly from *Urbs*, *Bujayah*, and other neighbouring places; and this they grind with a hand-mill, and sift through a fine sieve, and make a kind of fine cakes, and a flat kind of vermicelli: but this is only in use among the wealthy; the poorer sort being forced to take up with barley meal, which they make into a kind of dumplings, and eat, dipped into oil or butter, mixed with vinegar, or the juice of lemons, if they can afford it; whilst the still poorer sort will only stir it in water, and eat it raw, and without any sauce. They have a market in the city, where there is nothing sold but barley; of which they make that poor kind of food. However, they have plenty of honey, and fruits of all sorts, and pretty cheap, to mend their other fare; and, on some particular feast days, will afford themselves a little flesh, especially lamb. Their main streets are large, and crossed by narrow lanes, at proper distances; and the houses mostly built with stone, but meaner than those of *Algiers*, and but one story high, and flat at the top. There are very few

^f *Ibid. ibid.*

(G) This is done most commonly by the help of a crane, turned by asses or horses; the water, which is drawn by buckets, is emptied into a cistern, or small receptacle; from whence it is conveyed, by little rills, thro'

all parts of the field or garden: all which require an almost constant labour and attendance; without it, the excessive heat would parch up every thing that is thrown into the ground (11).

(11) See *Leo Afr. lib. v. p. 217, & seq. Grammoz, lib. viii. c. 2. Marmol, lib. vi. c. 16, Dapper, Davity, & al.*

buildings of any grandeur, except the great mosk, the Bey's palace, and some few others belonging to persons of rank; though they had heretofore a great number of mosks, and other public edifices; such as colleges, hospitals, baths, prisons for slaves, &c. The gates of the city are five in number; viz. that of *Vasouk*, of *Carthage*, of *El boar*, *Asser*, and *El-menar*; none of them very stately: without the walls, round the city, are the *Turkish* sepulchres, adorned with marble tombs, oratories, flower plats, and other embellishments.

THE Bey's palace is by far the most magnificent edifice in all the town. It hath four stately gates, one at each front; and high turrets at each end. The courts are spacious, the galleries rich and lofty; the gardens large, but not elegant; the halls and apartments are likewise very sumptuous, particularly that called the treasury; in which, among other valuable things, is kept the book of their law, written by their celebrated doctor *Al Mohadian*, from whom the Beys boast themselves to be descended; and, in virtue of that descent, set up for the sole judges of all controversies about religion. The rest of that sumptuous edifice, being much after the manner of the *Algerine* Deys, of which we have given a description in the last chapter, we shall refer our reader to it. Next unto it is the chief mosk, lately mentioned, and built likewise after the *Turkish* taste, so that it hath nothing remarkable or peculiar, except its bigness and stately tower; which, next to that of *Icz*, is allowed the highest in all *Africa* (H).

Id. ibid.

Near

(H) This mosk, we are told, was founded by *Zehariah*, king of *Tunis*, in honour of one of their great saints, named *Emeth-len aro*, in great repute amongst them. It stands on an eminence, at some small distance from the castle, and was formerly a sanctuary for criminals. On the top of its high tower are three balls of gilt copper, like that of the city of *Morocco*; of which we have given an account in a former chapter*. But of this of *Tunis*, their *Alfakis*, or doctors, give the following fabulous account; which, nevertheless, passes for current among all the *Tunessians*.

Jaacob Almankor, king of

Morocco, having taken a resolution to wander about the world incognito, one of his wives, who loved him above the rest, set out in quest of him, with a female child in her arms; and, having gone through great part of *Africa*, found him at length at *Alexandria*, where she lived with him, unknown to any one, till his death; and then set upon her journey back to *Morocco*. When she came to *Tunis*, the king's son became enamoured with her daughter, and pressed her so hard to obtain her, that she was forced to go and complain of it to his father; who, in a surprise, asked her, where could she better dispose of her

* See before, p. 69, & seq.

Mod. Hist. Vol. XVII.

C c

daughter

madmen in
great ve-
neration.

NEAR the heart of the city is a piazza of vast extent, which heretofore contained no less than 3000 woollen and linen drapers shops; all handsomely built, and furnished with great variety of those two commodities; besides a great number of others belonging to other trades and manufactures, and to dealers in all sorts of druggistery goods. The two chief manufactures of this city are the linen and woollen; both which it hath been ever famous for, above all others in *Barbary*, on account of the peculiar way their women had of spinning their thread; they letting down their spindles from the top of their houses quite to the ground; the weight of which makes it both finer and smoother^h. Here are several colleges and schools, and in them a good number of learned men, and doctors of their law; part of whom are maintained at the public charge, and part by the mendicant trade; all of them in high esteem, though not in so high a veneration as their real or counterfeit ideots and madmen, who wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, and are accounted by the people the greatest favourites of heaven, and maintained as such at the public charge. The *Janissaries* have their barracks very handsome, like those of *Algiers*; and their Aga, or chief, a

^h Vid. LEO, GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. lb. sup.

daughter than to his son? To this she answered, that she was ready to consent to his desire, provided the prince engaged to marry her, and give her the same dowry that she herself had received from her late father; to which she added, that she would soon convince him that she was better born than his son. The *Moorish* king agreed to the conditions; upon which she produced her marriage contract, and told him farther, that all the dowry, which *Almanzor* had bestowed upon her, she laid out in the three golden apples, or balls, which she had caused to be put on the top of the tower of the great mosque at *Morocco*. The king of *Tunis*, willing to satisfy her, promised to do the same there; but not hav-

ing a quantity of gold sufficient for the purpose, contented himself with putting up these three of copper gilt. Thus far the story, which one would rather think had been invented by some *Morocco* fabulist, in contempt of the *Tuneshians*. Our author adds, that the *Alexandrians* have still the anniversary of *Almanzor's* death in great veneration; though he tells us he has seen that prince's tomb in the city of *Menzala*, in the kingdom of *Fez*; but is not sure whether this last might not belong to another prince of that name, of the race of the *Benimerini*, equally famed for his valour; or, whether the relic of the former might not have been translated from *Alexandria* thither (11).

(11) *De hoc vid. sup. p. 31, & seq. Vid. & Marmol's Afr. l. vi. c. 16.*

palace or court, whither they repair for orders, and other affairs relating to them. The merchants and tradesmen have their public exchange; and the custom-house officers a large custom-house. The last public building we need mention, is the arsenal and dock, seated upon the banks of the canal; and in which they have materials enough in store to build several galleys. On the opposite side is the fort of *Goletta*, lately mentioned; about two leagues distance from which, and one-half from the city, is another castle, built on a small island in the lake. But, as there is no likelihood of the town being attacked from that side, that fortification hath been long since neglected. The chief fortification belonging to this city is the castle, situate on an eminence, which commands it all over, and makes a very good appearance at a distance, and hath some cannon mounted before the gate. But the jealousy of the government here is such, that it is very dangerous, for a Christian especially, to view it too attentively; and the safest way is to pass by as fast as one can; and it is common to give a stranger notice of it at his coming*. At some small distance from the castle is the *Bazaar* for woollen-drappers, which is a long wide street, with shops on both sides, the front supported by four pillars. In other respects the place answers exactly to the condition which it was in in *Abu'lfeda's* time, who tells us, that there was an island in the lake, on which the *Tunessians* used to take their recreation; but that every tide of it was no other than the common sink of all the filth of the city¹.

THE *Tunessians* in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of this metropolis, are like those of *Algiers*, a mixture of *Turks*, *Moors*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and Christian merchants and slaves, only with this singular difference, that they are here more polite and civilized, and wholly free from that haughtiness, insolence, and cruelty, for which the rest of the people in *Barbary*, and above all others the *Algerines*, are so justly branded. They are much more kind and humane to their slaves in general; though they treat the knights of *Malta*, who are reduced to that condition, with greater severity, chiefly to oblige them to buy their freedom at a dearer price: for these, besides the iron shackle which all are obliged to wear about their ancles, have a huge heavy chain fastened to it, which commonly weighs about twenty-five pounds, and which they must either twist about their leg, though it is very troublesome to walk or work with, or hang it to their girdle

* THEVENOT's Voyag. part i. ch. 91, & al. sup. citat.

¹ ABU'LF Geogr. ex traduit GAGNIER. Vid. & SHAW, ub. sup. p. 154.

by a hook, which causes a great pain in the side, or else toss it over their shoulder. They did moreover put them to the hardest labours; such as carrying of sand, stone, and mortar to builders; so that they were obliged to write to *Malta* for their ransom as soon as they could. The *Maltese*, on the other hand, were no sooner acquainted with their ill treatment, than they ordered all their *Turkish* slaves to be cruelly bastinadoed by way of return. The consequence of which was, that these were obliged to send to acquaint the *Tunefians*, that if they continued to make their *Maltese* slaves work at *Tunis*, they would be cudged to death at *Malta*; and this at length put an end to the additional hardship*.

In other respects, the *Tunefians* are very courteous to strangers; and all affairs with the regency are transacted in a very friendly manner: the consuls that reside here are treated with greater affability and condescension, justice and dispatch, than in any other court on these *African* coasts. In a word, this nation hath for many years been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of their manufactures, than upon plundering and cruising; upon which account it hath justly obtained the character, not of living like their neighbours in open war, and perpetual enmity with the Christian powers, but of cultivating their friendship, and coming readily into their alliances¹.

*Their dress
neat and
rich.*

THE dress of the *Tunefians* of both sexes is likewise more polite and fine, though much of the same fashion with that of the *Algerines*. The women are handsome, neat, and more familiar: they go, indeed, veiled out of doors, but are allowed to be seen and converse with strangers, their husbands not being tainted with jealousy to the degree that other *Africans* are. Those that are wealthy are very fond of rich ornament and perfumes, and are very constant in their visits

*Baths frequented by
both sexes;*

to the public baths belonging to their sex; so that the druggists and apothecaries shops are seldom shut up before midnight, that being their chief time for bathing; in which they use a good deal of odoriferous drugs and fine perfumes. The baths of this city, both those that belong to the men and women, are in great number; and, though inferior in largeness and beauty to those of *Fez* and *Algiers*¹, yet persons are here more handsomely treated and better accommodated, notwithstanding the city is destitute of running water. But these are chiefly furnished with that element from the cisterns on the top of their houses, which receive the rain water, and let

* THEVENOT's Voyag. part i. LEO, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

¹ Ibid. ibid. Vid. SHAW, ub. sup. p. 156, & seq. See before, p. 247, & seq.

down a certain quantity from every house by a common *bow sup-* pipe into one or two public reservoirs; from which this, and *plied with* other exigencies of the city, are supplied, tho' not in such a *water.* quantity as to be able to bestow any part of it towards the watering or cleansing of their streets, which, on that account, are always either dirty or dusty: so that it is very unpleasant to walk in them; especially as their houses have no windows in the front, which makes it look like walking between two dead walls.

THE men, as well as the women, resort much to these baths, their religion obliging them to frequent washings, particularly before the hours of public prayers, after every trifling defilement, and more especially after the matrimonial intercourse. The merchants, officers, doctors, and scholars, affect to appear neatly dressed when they go abroad, but with such sedate gravity and good manners, that, though their streets are much crowded with people, one may go from one end of the city to the other without fear of being insulted by the *Turks*, as one is sure to be at *Algiers*. One thing is, that, tho' the *Tunessians* do not allow of many such public taverns to be kept by some of their slaves, as is done at *Algiers*, yet those houses are much better regulated here, inasmuch that those very slaves have power to chastise or drub even a *Turk*, if he drinks too much, or behaves insolently, or even to pull off and keep their turbans, till they have paid their reckoning. They sell none but white wine, which is produced in great plenty in the country about, and is very cheap and good; but they most commonly mix quick-lime with it, to make it more intoxicating. It is likewise the custom in these houses, if one calls for a quart of it, to set before him three or four dishes of meat or fish, with salad and other sauces; and when he goes away he pays only for the wine at the common price*. In other respects, likewise one is sure here to meet with good usage, and to be free from any such insults from the *Turks* that one is exposed to at *Algiers*. However, though many of the *Tunessians* allow themselves the use of wine, yet very few drink it to excess; but there are some still so strict as to refrain from it wholly; and, instead of that pernicious liquor, as they stile it, make use of a compound drug, which they call *Harix*, or, according to others, *Laisis*; an ounce of which will inspire them with a surprising gaiety and intrepidity, that nothing can ruffle their mirth, or create in them either fear or discontent. This composition they pretend to have learned from the *Turks*; and, from its effects, seems to be much of the nature of their opium, if it is not the same with it.

THE Christian merchants, however, to avoid quarrels and contests with the rest of the inhabitants, have a suburb allotted to them for the convenience of trade. It stands without the gate that leads to the sea side, and about a musket-shot from the city walls; and here they have their magazines, warehouses, and dwelling-houses; some of them very large and handsome; the rest of the suburb consists of about two or three hundred small houses, inhabited mostly by persons employed by them in such servile works as packing, fetching, carrying, and some other necessary handicraftsmen.

*The religion, man-
ners, &c. of the
almost the same with
those of Al-* THE religion, customs, manners, languages, &c. of the *Tunefians*, being in all other respects much the same with those of the *Algerines*, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said upon those heads in the preceding chapter, and go on now with a short review of the other cities and remarkable places belonging to this summer circuit.

WE have already said something of the fortress of *Galetta* and its two castles; the one of which, since neglected, was built by the emperor *Charles V.* and the other, still standing, by *Achmet*, Bey of *Tunis*, to protect his capital from the *Maltese* vessels, which could ride along the gulph without being annoyed by the cannon of the former. Upon which account this last is built on a lower ground, and almost level with the sea, and of a round figure on that side, having about eight wide embrasures two or three feet above water, where the cannon are planted. Some further out-works and improvements have been added to it since by other Beys, together with a good number of handsome houses, which makes the place look more like a little town than a citadel. *Tunis* stands in lat. $36^{\circ} 45'$, east long. $10^{\circ} 26'$.^m

OTHER places of note, in the province of *Tunis Proper*, according to the old division, are,

Nabel, or Antient Neapolis. I. NABEL, or *Nebel Nabis*, the *Colonia Neapolis* of *Ptolemy*, and now called by the *Italians Neapolis de Barbaria*, stands in a low ground, a mile and a half off the sea shore, and about a furlong westward from the antient *Neapolis*, and about three leagues east of *Tunis*. It is still a thriving town, we are told, and hath been long since famed for its potteries; the rest of its inhabitants are either husbandmen or farmers. As for the ruins of the antient city, they are either so defaced or covered with mortar and rubbish, that they are not legible; and, on the other banks of the little rivulet that runs through it, is a wolf cut in basso relievo on a marble block, curiously carved. *Marfa*, or rather *El-Merfa*, which, in the

^m MARMOL, LEO AFR. DAPPER, DAVITY, GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 1. SHAW, pag. 154, & seq. ⁿ Ibid. ibid. SHAW, ubi sup. p. 161.

Arabic, signifies the port, stands where that of ancient *Carthage* did, and is affirmed to have been built by *Mehedi*, the Khalif of *Kayruan*, but was almost destroyed during the civil wars in *Barbary*, and some time after rebuilt by some husbandmen and fishermen: since which time it is become a populous and handsome city, being computed to have about 800 houses, besides a large college and a stately mosk, built by *Muley Mabmed*, the father of *Muley Hassan*; besides which, it hath some other noble buildings and houses of pleasure, where the Beys and persons of the better sort go to take their diversion, the air here being reckoned very healthy on account of the alternate sea and land breezes. The territory about it is likewise fertile in corn, fruits, and sugar canes°. Here once stood the famed city of *Carthage*, *Rome's* constant rival; *Carthage*, which, after three long and bloody wars, was reduced to the ruins ashes, and levelled with the ground, by order of the *Roman* of. senate. The reader will find a description of that once opulent city in our *Antient History*; of whose antique magnificence there remains little else, except the noble aqueduct which supplied it with water, and a heap of melancholy ruins, to be seen°.

NEAR those ruins, and about three leagues north from *Tunis*, stands *Kommart*, a walled and populous town, but inhabited chiefly by husbandmen and gardeners, who send the product of their fertile territory to the capital, particularly their sugar canes, which grow here in great plenty, and are there made into sugar. This place, we are told by an *African* author, was formerly called *Valachia*°.

ARIANA, formerly *Abderana*, is inhabited likewise by poor gardeners, who supply *Tunis* with fruit and herbs; it being but three miles distant from it (I).

ARRADEZ, the last town in this district, worth naming on account of its fine springs and baths, stands on the east side

° Id. ibid. ° Vol. xvii. p. 226, & seq. SHAW, ub. sup. p. 151. ° EBN RASH. MARMOL, lib. vi. ch. 17.

(I), This place, whose antient walls are still standing, was built, we are told by a *French* author, by the *Goths*, and had its name of *Ariana* from the famed arch heretic *Arius*, and was a suffragan bishoprick to that of *Carthage* (12). But *Marmol* will have it to have been built by the *Romans*, and to have been surrounded with those very walls which still encompass it (13); and it is not difficult to distinguish whether they are of the *Roman* or *Gothic* fabricature. However, the former may still be so far in the right, in his own opinion, that it took its name from the heretic, instead of its old one of *Abdirama*.

(12) *Baudrand's Dict. sub. voc.* (13) *Marmol, ub. sup. l. vi. c. 19.*

of the *Golettan* gulph, and on the road between that and *Tunis*. It was once a *Roman* colony¹, which the *Turks* dismantled great part of upon their abandoning it. The *Bey*s of *Tunis* afterwards repaired it and the castle; since which it hath gradually recovered itself, though still short of what it formerly was². And thus much may suffice at present for the cities and towns of *Tunis Proper*. We shall have in the sequel occasion of speaking of some other remarkable places in this and the other provinces, under the article of natural and artificial curiosities, and valuable antiquities, that the reader may have them all at one view.

THE next capital of the province of its name, is *El Medea*, according to others *Media* and *Mehedia*, called also *Africa*, and is situated on a small peninsula on the eastern coast of the kingdom. It appears to have been heretofore a place of considerable strength, though not above 230 paces in breadth towards the land side, but widening still more as it comes nearer the sea. The port, with an area of about one hundred paces square, lieth within the very walls of the city, with the mouth of it opening towards the south; but is now so shallow that it can hardly receive the smallest vessels; and, in *Thuanus*'s time, it was with great difficulty that a common galley could enter it³. It was a very strong place, surrounded with stout walls, high towers, arches, and other antient fortifications; which, together with the town, were all destroyed by the *Turks*, and continued in ruinous heaps till the reign of *Mehedi*, first *Khalif* of *Kayrwan*, who caused it to be rebuilt, and its fortifications repaired and much improved, and made it his chief residence; after which it became very populous and considerable. The walls which surrounded the place were strong and lofty, and flanked with six stately towers, besides others of a smaller size; two of which, that were bathed by the sea, were of a round, and the other four of a square form, all of them very strong and high, and had little gates platted with iron; and so low, that a man could not go in or out of them without stooping; and every one was a kind of separate fortress.

Mehedi's
strange
fortifica-
tions.

BUT of all the six, the second, which faced the east, and was the only one on the land side, was built with surprising strength, having a vaulted arch seventy feet long under it,⁴ guarded by six strong gates one within another; some covered with platted iron, and others made all of cross iron bars, fastened together by thick nails, and without any wood, with their portcats and portculisses all of the same metal and

¹ MARMOL, ubi sup. ² THUAN. Hist. lib. vii. Vid. & MARMOL, lib. ii. c. 28, DAPPER, p. 198. SHAW, p. 192.

make; all which, added to the length and darkness of the place, made the passage through it appear dreadful to a stranger, and may give our reader an idea of those kinds of *Arabian fortresses* *.

THAT prince took no less pains to beautify the place within with noble buildings, if they were really his; but a late judicious traveller tells us, that there is something too polite and regular in the several capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of ancient masonry, defaced as they now are, to suspect the founder of them to have been an *Arabian* *. However that be, the city, thus rebuilt, adorned, and re-peopled, is thought to have changed its antient name for that of *Mehedia*, in honour of that prince, if he did not himself cause it to be called by it: However, it hath since then undergone so many changes and revolutions, that there is little left of its former splendor, except the walls, and some other edifices run to decay. As for its other name of *Africa*, it was given to it, we are told, by some *Sicilian* corsairs, who had made themselves masters of it *. Doctor *Shaw* is of opinion, that either this place, or *Seleto*, the *Subleli*, or *Subleto*, of the middle age, and five miles south and by west of it is the *turris*, or country seat, of *Hannibal*, from which he is said to have embarked after his flight from *Carthage*. This last shews still the ruins of a very strong castle, not inferior in extent to the *Tower of London*, supposed to have been erected to guard the small creek, or port, that lieth below it †. *El Medea* is supposed by *Thuanus* to have been the *Adrumetum* of the antients; ^{not the an-} but the last quoted author hath shewn, that *Herkla*, situate ^{tient} on the gulph of *Hamamel*, above half a degree more to the north-west, bids fairer for being both the old *Adrumetum*, ^{tum.} and the *Heraclæa*, of the lower empire. We shall refer our reader to his book ‡, for what he offers in defence of his opinion.

Sousa, or *Susa*, another provincial capital, is situate on Soufa. the same coast, about five leagues south-east of *Herkla*, and about 30 north-west of *El Media*, and is one of the most considerable cities in this kingdom. It is the chief mart of it for oil, and drives a flourishing trade in linen, of which a great deal is manufactured in it. It trades likewise in wax, honey, sundry sorts of pickled fish, especially that called tunny, which is here caught and salted, and in great request. The town stands upon an high rock, or, as an old historian hath described it, on the northern extremity of a long range of

* MARMOL, DAPPER, SHAW, ubi sup.

† SHAW ibid.

‡ MARMOL, ubi sup. & al. † lid. ibid.

* Ubi sup. p. 186.

eminences, reaching as far as *Surfess*, the antient *Sarfusa* ^a. Behind the city is the prospect of an extensive plain. The ground about *Sousfa* is fertile in barley, and hath some good pasturage, olives, figs, and other fruits. It was once a very strong, populous, and wealthy, city. It is still the residence of the *Turkish* *Baïshas*, whose stately palace, and some fine mosks, and other edifices, were all standing in *Leo's* time, who was obliged to keep himself concealed four days in this place ^b; and adds, that it was by that time greatly decayed, and thinly inhabited, and had not above six or seven shops left. It hath recovered itself, however, since then, in both respects. The inhabitants, who are mostly seamen and cruizers, are courteous and civil to strangers; but, besides those, here are a good many merchants, tradesmen in the woollen way, who trade into *Turkey* and other parts of the *Levant*. The lower class are either potters, herdsmen, or husbandmen. It is still the residence of the governor of the province, to whom it pays a yearly tax of 12,000 ducats. It stands about 100 leagues distant from *Tunis*, and is divided into the upper and lower city. The port is commodious and safe, and here the *Tunesian* corsairs come to anchor ^c. This place is likewise remarkable for the defeat of prince *Philibert of Savoy*, and the loss of a great number of knights of *Malta*, who attempted to take it from the *Turks*, *an.* 1619, as we shall see in the sequel of this chapter. The other two places of note in this province are,

Monas-
teer.

MONASTEEER, an antient city, of *Roman* or *Carthaginian* extraction, but since called by that modern name, from a monastery of *Augustine* friars in the neighbourhood of it. It is now a neat thriving city, situate on the extremity of a cape, and surrounded with stout walls, according to our latest account of it ^d; by which one may suppose, that it hath mended itself much since *Leo*, *Marmol*, and other travellers, wrote of it, who represent it, excepting its walls and handsome houses, as a very beggarly place, whose inhabitants are coarsely clad, and forced to live upon barley bread, or meal mixed with a little oil, and ^e to wear, instead of shoes, a sort of slippers made of sea-rushes ^f. And no wonder they should then be in no better condition, considering how often they have been bombarded and plundered by the *Turks* and *Moors*, as well as by Christian cruizers. 2. *Heraclea*, an antient

^a HIRTIUS de bell. Afr. vid. DAPPER, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat. ^b LEO Afr. l. v. ^c GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 6.

MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, SHAW, &c. ubi sup. ^d SHAW ubi sup. p. 140. GRAMMAY, ibid. MARMOL, l. vi. c. 26.

^e DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

Roman city upon the sea coast, but since destroyed by the Heraclea Arabians; and erroneously supposed the *Aspis* of Ptolemy, as destroyed. we shall see in the sequel ^f. In this city *Codrus*, the famous king of *Asbens*, is said to have died; and that they shew at *Azarich*, a town not far from it, and near the sea, the sepulchres and epitaphs of that worthy prince, of *Ixibn*, king of *Corinth*, and of *Pbido* the philosopher ^g.

ABOUT 20 miles south of *Monastear* are the cape and vast Thapsus. ruins of *Demas*, the *Thapsus* of the antients; so that these two Bay of capes formed the antient and spacious bay of *Lempta*, which Lempta. must then have afforded variety of ports; for an island runs parallel with the northern shore from *Demas* almost to *Tobulba*, and another reaches from *Monastear* almost half way to *Lempta*; whilst those called *Jouries* and *Tarachia* lie just over against *Lempta* and *Tobulba*, and were thought considerable enough by *Julius Caesar*, to have stationary vessels appointed to secure them ^h.

THE next district hath its name of *Kayr-wan* from its ca- Kayrwan, pital, vulgarly called *Caravan* and *Caruan*, and supposed the by whom *Vic Augusto* of the itinerary, which was once the famed built. feat of the *Fatemit* dynasty ⁱ, and is still one of the chiefest places in the kingdom, both for trade, and the number of its inhabitants; though situated in a most barren plain, destitute of rivers or springs, and furnished with provisions, brought thither in carts, from the neighbouring towns, all of which are at least five or six leagues distant from it. It stands about eight leagues west of *Sousa*, and as many south-west from *Herks*, and hath a capacious cistern and pond about half a furlong distance, for the reception of rain-water, the former for the use of the inhabitants, and the latter for their cattle; but this last is frequently dried up about the middle of summer, or is apt to putrify, which occasions agues, and a variety of other distempers ^j. This city was rebuilt, we are told ^k, by *Hukba*, al. *Occuba Ben Nafic*, generalissimo of *Ottoman*, or *Hatmen's* forces, which last was the successor of *Mohammed* the third, *Khalif* of *Damascus*, an. 652, and had sent him from *Arabia* into these parts, to make what conquests he could in them. *Hukba*, having landed his forces in some of the neighbouring ports, made choice of this barren and desolate spot for the place of their rendezvous, and of the ruined city for his retreat, which he accordingly caused to be surrounded with lofty and strong brick walls,

^f MARMOL, DAPPER, &c. ^g TENET ap. GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 6. ^h Vid. SHAW, p. 191, & seq. ⁱ De hoc vid. vol. xiv. p. 244, & seq. ^j SHAW, ibid. p. 200, & al. sup. citat. ^k GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 8. LEO AFRIC. l. v. p. 223. DAPPER, DAVITY, MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 34.

The burial
place of
the Tune-
sian kings,
&c.

flanked with stately towers; and, among other noble edifices, built a most magnificent mosk, supported by an incredible number of stately columns of the finest granate, two of which were of so exquisite and lively a red, bespangled all over with little white spots like the porphyry, that their price was reckoned inestimable (K), and the whole structure the most magnificent in all *Africa*. It hath likewise a very considerable revenue and endowments, and the title and privilege of a head metropolis, as being the first *Mohammedan* mosk built in this part of the world; upon which account likewise it is become the burying place of the *Tunesian* monarchs, and not only they, but all the grandees and wealthy men of the kingdom, are ambitious of having their remains deposited in it, from a superstitious notion, that the prayers of the head pontif, and successor of *Mohammed*, will procure them a plenary pardon of their sins, and send them by the nearest way into Paradise. The very city itself is held so sacred among them, that those great personages usually pull off their shoes before they enter it, and cause some stately chapels and oratories to be erected over the graves of their dead relations, and settle a yearly sum upon them, not only to keep them in repair, but likewise to retain a certain number of idle priests and monks to resort thither at proper times¹. It is, most probably, upon the account of this superstitious concourse, and vast donatives, that this city is still so thriving, notwithstanding the dearth and scarcity of provisions, which is, in a great measure, increased by the *Arabs* resorting thither in shoals during the summer season (L), tho' they

¹ *Iidem ibid.*

(K) The number of these marble pillars, if one may credit the inhabitants, amounts to no less than five hundred; for Christians are not permitted to go into their mosks; and what is equally surprising is, that, among all that variety of columns and other ornaments, there is not one single inscription; and, if any are to be found in other parts of the city, they are either filled with cement, or defaced by the chissel; so that one can meet with nothing, among all those antiquities, by which one may guess at its ancient name,

and it is merely from its situation and distance from other places, and from the river *Mergaleel*, the *Aqua Regia* of the ancients, that our author conjectures it to be the *Vico Augusti* above-mentioned (14).

(L) And this may more probably account for its name *Kayrwan*, which is, in their language, the same as what we pronounce caravan, and signifies a concourse, than the conjecture of those, who derive it from the *Kairo*, or *Kabiro*, of *Egypt*, which signifies victory, and seems as lame as far fetched.

(14) *Shaw's Travels*, p. 200.

they bring abundance of flesh and dates to it. In other respects the inhabitants are here, for the most part, employed in dressing all sorts of leather, which they send into *Biledulgerid*, and other parts of *Numidia*, which can not otherwise come at the *European* draps; and upon this commerce they might live tolerably well, if they were not so heavily laden with taxes by the government^a.

OTHER places in this district are *Tobulba*, once a *Roman* *Tobulba*, colony, and in latter times, that is, under prince *El Agleb*, ^{now ruin-} who was then governor of it, it grew so very populous, that ^{ed.} the inhabitants built a new city near it, which they called *Restirta*; where *El Agleb*, and others of his court, erected some stately palaces for their residence. It hath been, however, so severely treated since, that it is now no better than a poor village, and hath only a few ruins left, as the forrowful witnesses of its former grandeur^a.

THE same may be said of *Gabbs*, or *Capes*, supposed to Gabbs be the *Epichus*, and *Takape*, of the antients, but now a gone to de- vast heap of noble ruins, particularly large square pillars of ^{cay.} the finest granate, such as are hardly to be met with in any other part of *Africa*. The territory about it hath several large plantations of palm trees, whose fruit is much inferior to those of *Fireed*, or *Biledulgerid*, both in bigness and delicacy. But the chief branch of trade for which this emporium, as *Strabo* styles it, was, and is still so famed, is the great number of *Albena* plants that are here cultivated in their

^a Idem ibid.

^a Idem ibid.

(15.) As to the motive that induced that general to make choice of so barren and sandy a spot for his residence, some authors have conjectured, that he did it the better to conceal and secure the treasure and plunder which he gained in *Afric*. But why he chose a sandy barren plain, accessible on all sides, rather than some rocky eminence, well fortified by nature as well as art, and better provided with all necessities by the happiness of its situation, is not easy to account for; unless it be, perhaps, by way of imitating *Mohammed*, their famed lawgiver,

concerning whom they have a received tradition, that, being in full march to *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*, and beholding its excellent situation, fine buildings, orchards, and other of its captivating allurements, was so taken with it, that, to the great surprize of his retinue, he immediately turned his horse about, and never could be persuaded to set foot into it, alleging, that, as there was but one paradise assigned for every man, he chose to have his in the next world, rather than in that delightful city (16).

(15) *Lee, Marmol, Shaw, &c.*

(16) *Life of Mohammed,*

gardens,

Jerba
island.Hama-
mel.

gardens, whose leaves, being dried and powdered, are dispersed through all the markets of the kingdom to a good advantage; and as this tree, as well as the palm, requires a deal of watering, the *Triton*, which runs at some small distance, is cantoned into a number of artificial channels, as it seems to have been in *Pliny's* time^o. *Leo* mentions likewise a kind of fruit, which the *Arabs* call *Hab-basis*, or *Halb baziz*, and cultivated in great quantities in this territory. It is of the bigness of a bean, and hath the taste of an almond, and is in great request all over *Barbary* &c. About four leagues south of *Capes*,^o or *Gabbs*, and three from *Tobulba*, is the small island of *Jerba*, or *Gerba*, the *Lotophagitis* of the antients, so called from its famed inhabitants, and they from the *Lotus* on which they chiefly lived^q, and is now the most southern boundary of this summer circuit. The three remaining provinces of it, which must lie north and west of those we have gone through, are called *Hammamel*, *Bizerta*, and *Porto Farino*, from their respective capitals. *Hammamel*, corruptly *Mabometa*, and supposed the *Siagul*, and not the *Adrumetum*, of the antients, as hath been conjectured by several writers, is a small but wealthy city, compactly built upon a low promontory, close to the sea, and fenced with such rugged hills towards the land, that an army would find it difficult to attack it on that side (M). It is thought to have its name from the *Arabic Hamam*, which signifies a wild pigeon, of which species there are vast multitudes bred in the cliffs of the adjacent rocks. *Leo* tells us, that it was in his time reduced to a miserable condition, tho' surrounded with good walls, and other works, by the *Tunians*; the inhabitants, colliers, and fishermen, are reduced to

^o SHAW, ubi sup. p. 196, & seq. ^p Afric. lib. v. p. 225.
GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 9. ^q De hoc, vid. Anc. Hist. vol. i.
p. 424. vol. xviii. p. 244.

(M) Hence arises the improbability of its being the antient *Adrumetum*, seeing it would have been of the greatest difficulty and danger to have approached it on that side, and much more so still to have been carried round about it, as *Cæsar* is said to have been round about that. Neither doth that supposition agree with the description of the prospect which that yielded, either of the road be-

fore it, or of the coasts of *Clybea*, nor with the distance which the Itinerary gives it from *Carthage*; viz. 85 Roman miles; and from *Neapolis*; viz. 440 furlongs. Whereas, if *Adrumetum* be placed at *Hammamel*, *Neapolis* will be 50 miles too near it in the one case, and *Carthage* will be 30 miles, that is, more than one third of the given distance in the other (17).

(17) See *Shaw's travels*, p. 161.

the lowest degree of poverty, thro' the cruel exactions of the government^a; those who have seen it since give us the same account of it, till the late Dr. *Shaw*, who calls it a small, but opulent city, and adds, that the flourishing state it now enjoys is of no longer date than the latter end of the last century^c. It stands about 17 leagues distant from *Tunis* by land, but above 60 by sea, and on a large gulph to which it gives its name. A few miles westward of *Hamamel* are the ruins of a port, formerly belonging to *Faradeese*, an old Roman city, which, from the affinity of its name to *Aphrodisium*, is probably the same with it. However that be, we are told, that the *Faradesians*, about a century ago, were the greatest cruizers, and most expert mariners, of this country; but that by the increase of trade, and greater conveniencies for navigation, at *Hamamel*, the greatest part of them were since drawn thither^d; and this might be a farther cause of the improvement it hath so happily felt of late years of its wealth and commerce.

BIZERTA, by the *Africans* called *Ben Sart*, that is, the Bizerta. son of the lake, from the lake which is formed near it by the sea, of which we have given an account formerly^e. *Bizerta* stands upon the canal that is made between them, about eight miles south and by west from Cape *Blanco*, and about 10 north of *Tunis* (N). It hath been formerly very considerable; and, though its compass be not above a mile about, is affirmed to have contained 6,000 houses; whereas both it, and the villages under its district, scarcely contain that number of inhabitants; so much are these once famed places subject to run to decay, both by the exactions of the government, and by the wars which have raged in those parts. It has still, however, some strong castles and batteries to defend

^a LEO, lib. v. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 22. DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

^c SHAW, ubi sup. p. 161, & seq.

^d SHAW, p. 164.

^e Anc. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 236.

(N) Several writers have taken *Bizerta* to be the ancient *Utica*, famed for the residence and tragical end of the great *Cato* (18). We have already shewn from Dr. *Shaw*, that it is more likely to be the old *Hippo-Zarytus*, and that the etymon of *Ben Sart* is frivolous (19); so that *Utica* must be sought for

somewhere else, and at some distance from it. But, to avoid repetitions, we shall refer our reader to what hath been said, with relation to the most probable conjecture about its true situation, in our Antient History (20), having nothing more probable to offer upon that head.

(18) *Grammay*, lib. viii. cb. 3. *Marmol*, lib. vi. cb. 7. *Davity*, *Tim.* p. 234. *Dapper*, *ibid.* p. 196. (19) *See Antient Hist.* ubi sup. (20) *Ibid.* xvi. p. 232.

it, especially towards the sea, besides two very capacious prisons for their slaves, a large magazine, or warehouse, for their merchandizes, and two towers, with some other out-works, to defend the mouth of the haven, which hath been already described *. The city, though so near the sea, is well supplied with fresh water from springs that surround it on every side towards the land. It is likewise well furnished with variety of fish from the adjacent lake, most of its inhabitants, and those that live on both sides of the canal, being chiefly employed in the fishing trade, which begins about the latter end of *October*, and ends about the beginning of *May*; for the rains then sweetening the waters of the chanel, make the fish come into it in vast quantities during that season, after which they either disappear, or grow lean, dry, and unfit to eat. The people here are extremely poor, and yet remarkably proud, ill-natured, and faithless; insomuch that *Muley Hascen Bey* used to say, that none of his subjects deserved his resentment so much as they, because neither fear nor love could keep them faithful; and indeed they were the very first that felt the effect of it, when he had recovered the town and castle from *Hayradin, Barbarossa's* brother, then king of *Algiers*, in whose favour they had revolted three times, and had murdered their governor, and received a *Turkish* garrison †.

Villages
about it
oppressed
by the
Arabs.

BIZERTA hath no cities under its government, but about eight villages, a large plain called *Matter*, or *Mater*, and the territory of *Choros*, the *Clypea*, or *Corobis*, of the antients, which is of a great extent, and very fertile, or at least would be so, were it not so exposed to the incursions of the wild *Arabs*. The people of this tract are very poor, live very meanly, and go worse clad. Their choicest dainty being their cousscou, that is, a sort of cake made of flour, eggs, and salt, which they dry and keep the whole year round. Their dress is nothing else than a coarse sort of cloth wrapped about their bodies, and another about their heads, instead of a turban, and most of them go barefoot and bare legged. The poorer sort have nothing but a few skins laid on the floor to sleep upon, but the rest have narrow couches fixed against the wall, about five or six feet high, to which they mount by a ladder. They are very expert horsemen, as most in these countries are, and ride mostly without saddle or bridle, and they never shoe their horses. They are still more miserable from the neighbourhood of those *Arabs*, who live it seems altogether upon plunder, robbery, and murder, and oppress

* See Antient Hist. ibid. † LEO, lib. v. GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 3. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 7. DAPPER, DAVITY, &c.

the poor inhabitants with their frequent inroads, and cruel exactions. The *Bisertines*, both of the city and country, are the most superstitious people of all *Barbary*, and neither go to war, nor scarcely any where, without hanging a quantity of amulets about their own, and, if they ride, about their horses necks likewise. These amulets are only scraps of parchment or paper, with some strange characters written upon them, which they sow in a piece of leather, silk, or other stuff, and wear about them, as preservatives against all accidents ^a.

PORCIO FARINO is the last district mentioned in the above-Porto Fagiven division, and is called so from its capital, whose port *rino* *not* we have already described ^a. This city, as well as *Bizerta*, *the old* hath been taken by some authors for the antient *Utica* ^b, *Utica*, but whereas it appears much rather to have been the port to *probably* which the *Carthaginians* retired the night before they engaged *the Rusci-* *Scipio*, near that of *Utica* *Livy* gives it the *African* name *nona*. of *Rufinona*, a word of *Phœnician* extract, and answers, in all likelihood, the import of it, the former part to its situation, as a cape, and the latter to the great quantities of corn that were shipped off from it; for it was formerly a very considerable city on that and other accounts, though it hath lain since under great discouragements, being only now remarkable for its beautiful cothon, where the *Tunefians* keep their navy, and where they *side* safe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the river *Mejerda*, which now *discharges* itself by this way into the sea ^c. The town stands between the two famed capes of *Bizerta* and *Carthage*, and at pretty near equal distance from both, and upon that called *Ras Libueb*, or promontory of *Apollo*. The natives call it *Gir el Moulab*, or cave of salt, from an antient salt work hard by it, and here it was, that the *French* king *St. Louis* died in his expedition to the holy land, and the emperor *Charles V.* landed his forces designed against *Tunis* ^d.

To these we shall add one or two more, which, tho' not *Bayjah*, capitals, are nevertheless worth notice, viz. *Bayjah*, vul- *al* *Begarly* *Baia*, and *Pegia*, supposed the antient *Vacca* of *Sallust*, *gia*, *a* and *Capulam Vagense* of *Pliny*, formerly, as well as at this *great mart* *day*, a town of great trade, and the chief mart of the king- *for corn*. dom for corn, of which the adjacent territories, particularly the plain of *Busdera*, situate along the banks of the *Mejerda*, produce such an abundance, that they can furnish more than

^a *Idem* *ibid*
DAVITY, *Afric* & al.

^a See before, p 381

^c See SHAW, p 146.

^b MARMOL,

^d MARMOL,

lib 6. c. 14. DAVITY, p. 234 vol. v. DAPPER, p. 196.

the whole kingdom with it; insomuch that the *Tunisiens* have a saying, that, if there was such another town in it as this for plenty of corn, it would become as plentiful and cheap as sand^e. They have likewise here a great fair every summer, to which the most distant *Arabian* tribes resort with their families and flocks. Notwithstanding which the inhabitants are very poor, and a great part of the ground about it remains uncultivated, through the cruel exactions of the government, and the frequent incursions of the *Arabs*, who are very numerous and powerful in those parts^f.

BAYJAH stands on the declivity of a hill in the road to *Constantina*, about 10 leagues from the northern coast, and 36 west-south-west from *Tunis*, and hath the conveniency of being well watered^g. On the highest part of it is a citadel that commands the whole place, but is now of no great strength (O). The walls, which are raised out of the materials of the old *Roman Vacca*, are still intire, and have some antient inscriptions.

Tuburbo,
vulgarly
Urbs.

THE next place of note is the city of *Tuturo*, vulgarly *Urbs* and *Torbus*, supposed the *Tuburbum Minus*, or *Toridis*, of the antients; it is pleasantly situated, in a healthy and fertile plain, which produces grain, fruit, &c. about 60 leagues south of *Tunis*, towards *Lybia* and *Numidia*. It was formerly destroyed by the *African Vandals*, but rebuilt since more like a large village than a city. It is at present chiefly inhabited by *Andalusian Moors*, and ^hprefers abundance of indices of its former splendor; such as statues, niches, inscriptions, &c. It has likewise a castle with some cannon, and a garrison, the inhabitants being no less oppressed with taxes, and apt to revolt, than those of *Bayjah*. Out of the ruins of a stately *Roman amphitheatre*, *Alaham Bey* caused a large massy bridge or dam to be made, with proper sluices and flood-gates, to raise the water of the *Mejerda* to a convenient height, to water a favourite plantation of his own, peculiar ordering, consisting of citrons, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, nectarines, peaches, apricots, &c. and

^e LEE, lib. v. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 31. DAVITY, GRAMMAY, & al. ^f Idem ibid. ^g See SHAW, p. 166.

(O) *Marmol* adds, that *Amida*, Bey of *Tunis*, had caused another to be built over against it, in which he had placed 14 pieces of brass cannon, and a good garrison, with a governor over it, to keep the inhabitants in awe, who, tho' poor, are

proud, and fond of change of government, and ready to revolt upon every opportunity that offers. If so, it is a wonder that so curious an observer as Dr. *Shaw* should have overlooked this new fortress (21).

(21) *Conf. Marmol, lib. 6, ch. 31. & Shaw's travels, p. 166*

a great variety of fruit trees, in which every kind was set to grow by themselves, and without the least intermixture of any other ¹. There ran also between the castle, and the two parts of the town which were the best inhabited, a fresh stream, through an alabaster conduit, whose water turned several mills in its way, and the spring of which was about a stonecast from the town, if it was not part of the same work ². But these were of too laudable a nature to subsist long in *Barbary*, and are now intirely gone to ruin ³. The inhabitants, both of *Bayjah* and *Urbs*, are, for the most part, husbandmen or weavers, but are so sadly oppressed by the government, and harrassed by the *Arabs*, that they are very poor, indolent, and ever uneasy under their yoke.

EACH of them hath a town under its jurisdiction; viz. *Casba* and *Casba* and *Ammin*, al. *Ain Zamet*. The former was Ain Sam- once a *Punic* colony, built in a large fertile plain, about min. 25 or 30 miles south of *Tunis*, and hath its walls still standing, though almost destitute of inhabitants, ever since it was destroyed by the *Turks*. *Ain Zammin* is a new town, lately built by the *Tunisian* Beys, about 12 leagues south of *Tunis*, and 20 from *Bayjah*. It stands on a fertile ground, pitched upon in order to be better cultivated, but the *Arabs* would not suffer it to continue, and *Muley Mohamed* was obliged to abandon it to their mercy, to prevent an insurrection. The walls are still standing, and the houses want nothing but the government, which is gone to decay. But the *Arabs*, who are numerous and powerful in this canton, will not suffer it to be inhabited ⁴.

WE have, by this time, gone through the principal places of the two circuits, and might have added a number of others, which, by the ruins they lie in, appear to have been very considerable, but, as these would be foreign to our modern plan, we shall refer our curious readers to what has been said of the most considerable of them in our antient history ⁵, and for the remainder to the learned traveller so often quoted in this chapter ⁶, and take notice now of their natural and artificial curiosities, among the latter of which we shall include such remnants of antiquity as are still extant, and worthy our notice.

AMONG the former we may be well allowed to rank the *The Syri- lesser Syriis* (P), so famed among the antients, as well as the the

¹ SHAW, *ibid* p 167. ² GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. *sup. citat.* ³ *Idem ibid* SHAW. *ibid.* ⁴ *Idem ibid.*
⁵ Vol. xviii. p. 225, & seq. ⁶ SHAW'S travels, p. 141, & seq.

(P) There are two of that name, distinguished by the antients by the epithets of *magna* and *parva*, the greater and the lesser.

the moderns, for its dangerous sand-bank, so fatal to mariners that sail along that coast. The greater, mentioned in the margin, will be spoken of in its proper place, it lying on the gulph of *Sidra* on the coast of *Tripoli*. The lesser, which belongs to the *Tunesian* coasts, between the island of *Jerba* and the promontory of *Capoudea*, that is, from latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$ to 35° . The antients, indeed, reckoned it to reach no farther northward than the islands of *Querkeynesi*; but since we find, that there is a long succotion of flat islands, banks of sand, and oozy bottoms (Q), extending themselves from the island of *Jerba* to the Cape of *Capoudea* above-mentioned. We need not question, but the *Syrtis* extends itself quite from the one end to the other of that huge and dangerous gulph. It is unnecessary here to inform our readers, that hydrographers give the name of *Syrtis* to any place, where the waters run at some times very high, and at others very low, and sometimes retire so far from it, as to leave the sand quite naked and dry. Our author adds, that, when he sailed along the coasts of this lesser *Syrtis*, the east winds were too violent to permit him to observe the flux and reflux, but was credibly informed, that the sea, about the island of *Jerba*, frequently rose twice a day a fathom or more above its usual height P.

Hot baths
of this
kingdom.

THE next natural curiosity of this kingdom is its hot baths, and sulphureous springs, of which it hath a great variety. Some of these are so intensely hot, as to be quite unfit for bathing; particularly those of *Méj* and *Meteega*, the former of which will boil a large piece of mutton very

P Idem ibid.

lesser *Syrtis*. This last is derived from the Greek word *συρπειν*, to draw, because the vessels, that come within their verge, seem to be attracted by the waves; or, as others will have it, from the vast quantities of sand and mud which their violence drags after them, both in coming and going (22) This maritime tract, however, was on that account called *Regio Syrtica*, as the reader will see in

the description formerly given of it (23).

(Q) It is on these kinds of shallows, that the inhabitants, from ancient times to this day, were wont to catch great quantities of fish, by wading a mile or two from the shore and fixing, in various windings and directions as they went, hurdles made of reeds, in which they seldom failed of enclosing a good number of them (24).

(22) *Vid. Eufat. Cluver, & al. ap. Shaw, ubi sup. p. 194, sub not.*
(23) *Ant. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 244, & seq.* (24) *Strab. apud Shaw, ubi sup. p. 194. & exercit. p. 8.*

tender in a quarter of an hour. Others again, as those of *Seedy Ebli* and *Elelma el Hammah*, are just of a proper heat for baths; and a third sort, as the *Ain Houte*, and most of the springs of the *Fereed*, *Cassa*, and *Zozar*, are little more than lukewarm, and nourish a number of fishes of the perch and mussel kind. Most of those of this latter sort, when cold, are clear, transparent, and fit to drink, and as soft to the palate as rain water; whence we may safely conclude, either that their sulphurous effluvia do quickly evaporate, or else that the virtues, ascribed to the bathing in them, consist chiefly in their genial heat.

AGAIN it is observed, that these intense ones of *Hammah* and *Meskouteen*, above-mentioned, do, in some measure, dissolve, or rather calcine, the rock through which they run, to the distance sometimes of an hundred feet. So that the substance of the rocks being become soft and uniform, the water, by making equal impressions, leaves them in the shape of cones or hemispheres, of the height and diameter of about six feet, more or less; and these the superstitious *Arabs* believe to be the tents of their ancestors petrified. In like manner, when the substance of the rocks contain some larger layers of harder matter, which resist the force of the water, their imagination immediately transforms them into sheep, oxen, horses, nay men, women, and children, whom they suppose to have undergone the same fate with their tents. There is still another singularity observed, with relation to the hot springs; viz. that the ground beneath them sounds and feels so hollow, that one is apt to fear sinking every moment through it; whence it may be reasonably concluded, that the air, which is pent up in those cavities, must form a great variety of sounds, more or less shrill and loud, according to the directions of the wind, and the motion of the ambient air, as it makes its way out along with the water of those hot springs; for, if any of them is either stopped or dried up in one place, it will soon after break its way through at another; which doth likewise account for the variety of cones and other traces, which we observed to be caused by the hot waters. These sounds the *Arabs*, however, believe to be the music of the *Jenounes*, or Gnomes, which they suppose to make their abode in these kind of places, and to be the agents in all these extraordinary phenomena †.

BUT to return to the other baths. We have already mentioned those in the neighbourhood of *Tunis*; as like-

SHAW, ubi sup. p. 231.

† See before, p. 388.

wife the river *Gabbs*, and its hot waters †. Other baths of the same hot nature there are, which, having nothing singular, we pass by, and only take notice of those called *El Hammah*, resorted unto from all parts of the kingdom, and situate about four leagues westward of *Gabbs*, which place is called *El Hammah Gabbs* from them, to distinguish it from another *Gabbs*. These baths are sheltered, however, from the weather, by nothing better than a miserable thatched hovel built over them. The basins are about 12 feet square, and four deep, and have, at a convenient distance from the surface of the water, some massy benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon †. One of them is called the *Bath of the Lepers*, and is much frequented by persons labouring under that, and other the like diseases, and below it the waters stagnating and forming a kind of pond, it is not improbable, that it may be that which *Leo* files the leper's gate, who tells us, that the water that forms it runs through the town of *El Hamina*, as he corruptly calls *El Hammah*, and adds, from his own experience, that the water is so impregnated with sulphur, that it will by no means quench one's thirst †. Of the same nature are the natural stews of *Bruzza*, the ancient *Bruzo*, about eight leagues westward of *Kay-rwan*. The natives file them *Hammam*, or baths, though they are no more than so many vaulted rooms, perpetually full of sulphureous steams, like the grottos of *Tuscoli*, and some others in *Italy*, and are chiefly frequented † for the benefit of sweating.

ANOTHER kind of natural curiosity of this kingdom is their salt lakes, some of whose waters are of interior salt water in their saltness; particularly that called *Shibbi-el-Low-Deah*, or *lake of marks*, so called from a great number of trunks of palm-trees, placed at proper distances, to direct the caravans in their march over it †. We have given an account of all other particulars, excepting this of its saltness, in our antient history, to which our curious readers may recur †. But besides this, and other lakes and marshes and oozy grounds, in which the salts either incrustate on the top, or settle like a pavement at the bottom, there is, at a small distance eastward from the *Marks* like above mentioned, a famed mountain of salt, named *Fibbel Hah*, which is, to all appearance, different from that of the other *Salinæ*. It is hard and solid like a stone, of a reddish or purple colour, and bitter to the taste; but, being washed

† Ibid. p. 378, & seq.
l. v. p. 225, & seq.
xvii. p. 241.

‡ SHAW, p. 213, & seq.

§ SHAW, p. 191, 212, & alib.

† Afr.

¶ Vol.

down the precipices by the dews, becomes soft and white as snow, and loses all its bitterness. There are indeed other such mountains, whose salt is of a blueish colour, and, without undergoing such accidental purifications are not only very palatable, but in great request, particularly that of *Lwotajab*, which we are told is sold in *Algiers* for a penny an ounce *.

THE artificial rarities found in this country, worth mentioning, are mostly of *Roman* extract. One of the most curious of that kind is the threecold mosaic pavement, each part contiguous to the other, near the place called *Seedy Doude*, or sanctuary of *David* (R), and each of them wrought with symmetry and exactness. Besides the general contrast and design, which is executed with all the artful wreathings, and variety of colours imaginable, there are figures of horses, birds, fishes, and trees, so beautifully intermixed and curiously inlaid, that they appear more lively and gay than so many tolerable good paintings. The horse, the *Carthaginian* insignia, is displayed in the bold open posture it is observed to be in upon the *African* medals. The birds are the hawk and partridge; the fishes the gulthead, called by the *Africans* *Firaba*, and mullet; and the trees are the palm and olive. The contriver of which is supposed, by that choice, to have designed to point out the strength, diversions, fishery, and plenty of dates and olives, for which this country is still remarkable as ancient.

THE *Amphitheatre* of *Jemme* is another noble piece of *Roman* antiquity; consisting originally of sixty-four arches, and four orders of columns. The upper order, supposed to be no more than an *Attic*, hath suffered greatly from the *Arabs*, and four of the arches were blown up from top to bottom by the *key* *Mohammed*, which the *Arabs*, then in a revolt, had made use of as a fortress; otherwise, as to the outside, nothing can appear more intire and beautiful, and within, the platform of the seats, and the galleries leading to them, are still standing, the arena is nearly circular, and in the center of it is a deep well of hewn stone, where the pillar that supported the *Velum*, or *Awning*, may be supposed to have been fixed.

* S. AW, p. 229.

(N) So called from *Doude*, so they pronounce *David*, a *Moorish* saint of these parts, whose sepulchre, as they pretend to shew it, is two yards long, but is, in

all likelihood, no other than a fragment of some *Roman Prætorium*, as our author conjectures, from the fine mosaic pavements above-mentioned (25).

(25) *Shaw*, ubi sup. p. 157.

D d 4

BESIDES

BESIDES that noble structure, there are still to be seen a multitude of other antiquities; such as altars with defaced inscriptions, variety of stately columns, trunks of marble statues, one of them of the coloss kind in armour, and another, a naked *Venus* in the attitude and dimensions of the *Medicean*, both by good masters, but without heads *.

The triumphal
arches of
Spaitla.

NOT inferior to this are the triumphal arches of *Spaitla*, or *Sufetula* of the antients, which is of the *Carthaginian* order, and consists of one large arch, with a lesser one on each side. From this quite to the city, that is about a furlong off, there runs a pavement of black stone, guarded on each side with a parapet wall, for the convenience, as may be supposed, of the triumpher's entrance into the city. At a little distance from the end of the pavement one passes through another arch, or portico, like the former, which leads into a spacious court, in which are seen the ruins of three contiguous temples, whose roofs, porticos, and façades, are broken down, but the walls, with their proper pediments, entablatures, &c. are still standing and intire †.

THE *Menara* upon the sea coast, about two leagues west by south of *Hammamul*, is a mausoleum, built in the form of a cylindrical pedestal, near 60 feet in diameter, and with a vault underneath. On the top of it, just above the cornice, are placed several small altars, which the *Moslems* think to have been designed for so many lamps for the direction of mariners (S). These altars had all a proper inscription; three of which now remain legible. The first hath these words; L. ÆMILIO AFRICANO AVGVSTO, the second C. SUELLIO PONTIANO PATRI, and the third VITELLIO QUARTO PATR. There are also a variety of these mausolea at *Hydra*, some of a round, others of an octogon figure; others again square, with a niche on one of the façades, or else a wide open place like a platform on the top; all of them supported by four, six, or eight, columns, and well preserved, only the inscriptions belonging to them are either defaced by time, or by the malice of the *Barbary*.

* SHAW, p. 206

† Ibid. p. 201.

‡ Ibid. p. 163.

• Ibid. p. 169, & seq.

(S) The *Tunessians* have several of these kind of watch-towers along the coast, particularly on the promontories of *Capoudia*, *Insbilla*, *Stax*, and others; but have nothing worth notice, except the use they are of in directing the vessels that sail along those dangerous coasts (26).

(26) *Les Marmel, Dapper, & al. sup. citat. vid. & Shaw, p. 17.*

THE last we shall mention of this kind, and that chiefly on account of the lasting nature of its materials, by which the reader may infer the true reason, why so many others of the same kind have escaped hitherto, is the cothon, or pier of *Demasi*, or ancient *Thapsus*, which being built in frames, like the walls of *Tremecen*, and other cities, mosks, castles, &c. of a composition made of mortar and pebbles, appear to this day so strong and well cemented, that the very solid rock cannot be more hard and durable; whence it is, that this great piece of antiquity is still remaining, in defiance of time, the sea, and the insults of the *Arabs* ^b.

THIS kingdom, as well as that of *Algiers*, and others ^{Tunis} along the *Barbary* coasts, are very subject to great earthquakes, which is easily accounted for, from what we lately ^{subject to} observed of the great number of hot springs and sulphureous ^{earth-}quakers. caverns; for we may reasonably suppose, that, besides the vast quantities of those effluvia which are continually discharged by those springs, there must remain an almost inexhaustible store of sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies behind, sufficient to cause those frequent and violent convulsions, some of which we have given an account of in the last chapter ^c, and these, without all doubt, have helped to increase the number of those devastations, which time, raging wars, and the malice of the *Turks* and *Arabs*, have made in all these parts. These earthquakes commonly happen after ^{autumn} rains, at the end of the summer, or in autumn, and they extend themselves a good way into the sea, and be felt at a great distance from any land, and the depth of water hath been above 200 fathom ^d.

In other respects the country is for the most part healthy ^{Its climate} and fertile as any under the same climate, excepting, that ^{and temper-} in the southern parts are many sandy and barren deserts, ^{ature.} and the heat excessive. But the northern ones, which lie mostly between 34 and 37 degrees of latitude, and are the best cultivated, enjoy a wholesome temperature, neither too hot, nor too cold and sharp in winter; inasmuch, that no part of the kingdom hath been visited with the plague these 70 years, though so frequent and destructive in most parts of *Barbary* and the *Levant*; to which we may add, that, according to the observations which were made by the ingenious *Dr. Shaw*, during his 12 years residence at *Tunis*, which is almost in the same parallel, all the revolutions of the weather throughout the year made no greater change in the barometer than one inch and three tenths,

^b *Ib.* p. 191. ^c See before, p. 245, & seq. ^d *SHAW*, p. 234. See also *LEO*, *GRAMMAY*, *MARMOL*, & al.

that is, from 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ °. The winds are mostly from the sea, and consequently are very refreshing; but those that blow from the southern sandy deserts are quite suffocating, especially as they mostly blow in *July* and *August*, and will continue five, six, or more days, in the same corner; so that the inhabitants are obliged to water the flooring of their houses to cool them. This wind is likewise apt to blow after the winter solstice, and then, if the snows be ever so deep on the ground, they quickly thaw and disappear, but this seldom happens. The sea winds, that blow west-north-west and north, bring dry weather in summer, and rain in winter; but the easterly, as well as the southerly, are for the most part dry, though attended with a thick cloudy atmosphere in most seasons. Their first rains commonly fall in *September*, and sometimes in *October*; presently after which the *Arabians* break the ground, sow their corn, and plant their beans, barley, lentils, and garvancos (T) about three weeks after. If they have any rains in *April*, as they commonly have, they reckon their crop secure. Their harvest usually begins in *May*, or the beginning of *June*, according to the quality of the preceding season. Their ploughed lands are generally of so loose a texture, that a pair of oxen may easily plough an acre, and the quantity of seed, whether of wheat or barley, is about two bushels and an half *per* acre, which, *communibus annis*, will yield about ten-fold, more or less, and some districts more. In other

* SHAW, p. 217, & seq.
& seq.

f Id. ubi ^{supra} p. 219,

(T) This kind is the *Acer* of the antients, and what we call *Chickpea*, and differs from the rest, in that it doth not soften into a pulp like other pulse by boiling, and therefore is never served up alone, but is strewed over their pillaw and cuscaſow; but they are most commonly eaten parched, and are then reckoned a delicacy by persons of all ages and distinction. Accordingly most places in *Barbary*, and other eastern cities, have pans or ovens for that purpose in every street, and, when thus parched, exchange their

old name for that of lebelby. Some of the learned have conjectured, that this pulse is the same which the holy scripture calls *Cali*, and ours, and other versions, render parched corn. (27) But we have shewed it more probable, from the likeness of their shape, that this kind was the *chironium*, as we render in dove's dung, mentioned in another place, and cannot therefore be the same with the *Cali*, whatever be the true meaning of this last (28).

(27) 2 Sam. xvii. 28. *vid Shaw*, p. 223. & in *al. loc.*
11th. vol. iv. p. 129, note (O).

(28) See *Ant.*

respects the product of this country, whether above or underground, being much the same all over *Barbary*, we shall refer our readers to our account of it in the foregoing chapter ^a, and conclude this section with observing, that the *Tunessians* are much more addicted to agriculture than their neighbours the *Algerines*, and are for making the most of every inch of their ground; so that one must expect no regularity, much less elegance, even in their gardens; fine walks, parterres, flower beds, and other such ornaments, would be looked upon as a waste of so much useful ground; and regularity in planting or sowing, or any other improvement, as a shameful deviation from the practice of their ancestors, which they therefore religiously adhere to, holding it trouble enough to sow and plant, without aiming any farther. Yet both *Turks* and *Moors* will readily lend their seats to Christians, on account of the great improvements they commonly make to them, and, with that view, will grant them the liberty of hunting, fowling, &c. without any limitation, provided they take a *Moor* in their company. Whereas in those gardens and orchards that are left to their own culture and management, one sees nothing but a confused mixture of trees, shrubs, and bushes, above, with cabbages, turneps, beans, pease, &c. growing beneath, and sometimes barley and wheat intermixed amongst them. As for mines of metals, minerals, and other subterraneous productions, they are still more negligent of them ^b; and the story they tell of Bey *Mohammed's* plowshares, is credible to both these branches of their natural philosophy. This prince, having been dethroned by his subjects, applied himself to *Ibrahim Hojah*, Dey of *Algiers*, who engaged to restore him to his throne, on condition that he discovered to him the grand secret of the *kymia*, or philosopher's stone, which he had the reputation of being master of, and, on his promise to comply, re-inthroned him accordingly. The method he took to perform it was, by sending to the Dey, with great pomp and ceremony, a great number of plowshares and mattocks, intimating thereby to the *Algerine* prince, that the wealth of his kingdom was to arise from a diligent attendance on the cultivating of the ground; and that the only philosopher's stone he could acquaint him with, was the turning of a good crop into gold ⁱ.

^a See before, p. 182, & seq.
^b See LEO, GRAMMAY, DAVITY, & SHAW, ubi sup.

See SHAW, ubi sup. p. 237.

S E C T. II.

*Of the Government, Laws, Language, and Commerce
of the Tunefians.*

*The Bey-
lik becomes
despotic
and here-
ditary,
though not
confined to
primogeni-
ture.*

THE government of *Tunis* at present, like that of *Algiers*, is altogether despotic, but with this difference, ~~that~~ it is elective in that; and here not only hereditary, but the Bey hath power to name which of his sons he pleases for his successor, without regard to eldership; or, in case he doth not think him worthy, he may raise a brother or a nephew to the throne after him. In all other cases likewise they are equally absolute and independant either on the *Porte* or the *Dowan*. They were once, indeed, under the protection of the former; and, after that, the rapacious extortions and tyranny of its *Bashas* had, in some measure, obliged them to shake off their yoke, and form a government of their own, they settled it in such a manner that their *Deys*, as they were then called, could do nothing without the advice and consent of the *Dowan*. But they have found means in time to rid themselves of this uneasy clog also, though they still retain a kind of form or shadow of both. The *Porte* hath still a *Basha* residing here, but his power and influence is a meer cypher, and serves only to remind the *Tunefians* that they were once subject to the *Turkish* Soltans, or ~~almost to prevent~~ the regency doing any thing prejudicial to their ~~own~~ and as to the *Dowan*, it being chiefly composed of friends and creatures of the *Beys*, they are rather assembled to give a forced approbation to their resolutions, than to consult them about the justice or expediency of them. At the first settling of this new form of government, the *Deyship* was the supreme dignity, as it is still at *Algiers*; and that of *Bey* was the next in rank, but wholly subordinate to it. However, having since built their power upon the ruins of the *Deys*, have by degrees raised it to the despotic height and independency that we see it now is, and, by making it hereditary, have prevented, as much as possible, those frequent depositions, rebellions, and massacres, which are the almost constant concomitants of the regal authority, wherever it is made elective, as ~~we have~~ we shewn it to be at *Algiers*. We say as much as possible, though far enough from doing it effectually, as to prevent jealousies and cabals, or sons from rebelling against even their fathers, much more against such of their brothers as are nominated to the succession by them: so that, in spite of all their precau-

* See before, p 193, & seq.

tions, the dignity oftener falls to the share of that son who has been able by his address to form the strongest party, than to him who hath been appointed to it by the father, or to him that is most worthy or best qualified for it. Hence it is, that whenever the throne becomes vacant, whether in the course of nature, or by open treason and rebellion, which is often the case, it is seldom filled up again without a great deal of bloodshed, rapine, and violence, in proportion to the number of competitors.

How, when, and by whom this new form government was first settled in this kingdom, and by what methods the Beys gained this despotic superiority over the Deyship, will be best seen in the history of it; which we shall give in the last section of this chapter. At present this last dignity is dwindled to such a degree, that it hath scarcely half the share in the government that the Beys enjoyed when they held the next rank under it: for these then were commonly appointed governors of the provinces, where they lived in great state and grandeur, and gained immense riches by the oppression of, and vast exactions on, the subjects, as well as by sinking some considerable part of the revenue into their own coffers; whereas, now the Beys, by dividing the kingdom into the two circuits formerly mentioned, taking the whole inspection of them into their own hands, and collecting the revenue in person, at the head of their flying camp, hath at once stripped them of the greatest branch of their wealth, grandeur, and authority, and left them only a meer dependance on the favour of the Beys, for such places and employments as might help them to keep up some shadow of their former state. Both they and the Dowan took great umbrage at this excess of power and arbitrary proceedings; and much more so at their enrolling the royal dignity on their descendants, and making it still more sure to them by the alliances which they contracted with the Arabian princes, their neighbours. And the noble and united struggles which they made to shake off that new and irksome yoke, make no inconsiderable part of the Tunisian history; though, instead of meeting with the success they deserved, they have rather helped to render it more heavy and durable.

It must be, however, that, with all this excess of power, they were vastly short of the wealth and magnificence of the former kings of Tunis; we mean those of the Lassis, the first who assumed the name of kings, and made that city the metropolis of their kingdom. These kept, indeed, a very numerous and splendid court in it, established the first officers of state, and committed the most important affairs to their inspection. Their Dowan, or grand council, consisted

consisted of 300 persons of birth, probity, and experience; their guard of 150 men, mostly renegadoes; and their force of about 40,000 men, with a revenue answerable to all that grandeur. This, however, ended with *Muley Hascem*, whom *Barbareffa* dethroned, and made himself master of that capital, and great part of the kingdom; and, tho' restored to it by the emperor *Charles V.* yet his becoming thereby tributary to him, would not permit him to restore it to that prime lustre in which his predecessors had maintained it, during the space of near 300 years. It went still more into decay during the time of their being under the protection of the *Porte*, or, more properly, rather under the tyranny and oppression of its *Basbas*. The *Deys* that succeeded them never were in a condition to raise it again; and the *Beys*, which afterwards supplanted them, whether through want of power or inclination, have still shewed a greater indifferency towards state grandeur than any of the rest, so they can but secure to themselves, and their descendants, the privilege of reigning with an uncontrouled sway^c.

*The Beys
in danger
from the
Arabs and
Alge-
rines;*

THEY have, indeed, some cogent motives to take off their thoughts from aiming at making such a high figure, as would rather create envy and jealousy, than awe and regard, either from their uneasy and oppressed subjects at home, especially the *Moors* and *Arabians*, or from their neighbours on every side, but more particularly from the *Algerine Deys* on their left, and the *Tripolitans* on the right; ~~that~~ ^{that} the latter have any great power to hurt them, unless it ~~be~~ ^{be} by joining with the former, or assisting some of the Christian maritime powers, as the *English* and *French*; with whom, therefore, the *Tunefians* must endeavour to cultivate a fair correspondence, by reason of the neighbourhood of their fleets.

BUT the *Algerines*, over whom they are obliged to keep a more watchful eye, for these being more addicted to the piratical trade than to that of merchandize, have gained a vast superiority over them ever since they left off the corsair employment, for the more peaceful one of ~~trade~~ ^{trade} and commerce; infomuch, that an *Algerine Rais* will suffer his crew to commit the foulest disorders without control, even in a *Tunefian* road or harbour; whilst these, afraid of bringing upon themselves a most savage militia, who they ~~know~~ ^{know} would wish nothing more than a pretence of marching into a country so much better than their own, are forced to put up with every insult and abuse from that haughty quarter. Hence it is, that they are never better pleased than when they see that state em-

^c LEO AFRIC. GRAMMAY, MARMOL, DAPPER, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

broiled, either with domestic feuds or some foreign war; though, in this latter case, the Bey of *Tunis* seldom fails sending them some ambassj, with offers of his assistance; which, nevertheless, if accepted, is sure to be delayed under some pretence or other; instances of which we have given in the last chapter. The truth is, the *Algerines* are no less superior to them at land than they are at sea, not only in wealth and strength, but their soldiery and sailors are more warlike, stout, and desperate; and, by their insolent behaviour, have, in a great measure, so intimidated them, that they content themselves with keeping a watchful eye over all their measures, without daring to take any steps that might give them any real umbrage, much less furnish so savage, rapacious, and formidable a neighbour, with a pretext for invading them afresh. For it is but too plain, from what we have seen in the latter part of their history, that it hath been one constant piece of their policy to foment divisions, revolutions, in ^{rebellions} ^{fomented} ^{by the} ^{Al-} ^{gerine} ^{Dys} ^{of} ^{their} ^{Beys}, and setting up new ones in their stead. And, on the other hand, whenever they have thought fit to come to an open rupture with them, whether justly or not, they never failed sending their hungry troops to ravage their territories, carry off their most valuable effects, and destroy what they could not take with them. Upon these accounts, it is the interest of the *Tunesian* Beys, first, to entertain a sufficient number of ^{Beys keep} ^{a great} ^{number of} ^{renegadoes} ⁱⁿ ^{their} ^{pay}, whole fortune, depending wholly upon them, will of course be both more faithful to them, and more vigilant in preventing the *Aralian* Cheyks from carrying on any secret correspondence, or entering into any combination with the *Algerines*. To keep a good understanding with the Bey of *Constantina*; and, indeed, it is their mutual interest so to do, for no longer than they are true to each other, and behave with spirit, can they ever be a match for *Algiers*. 3. We have likewise hinted, that *Tunis* ought to cultivate the friendship of the *English* and *French*; and that, not only for the sake of their advantageous commerce with them, but much more so, as without that it would be out of their power either to carry it off with any other nation, or to gain any advantage against the *Spaniards*, *Casians*, *Sardinians*, *Venetians*, and that hostile State, with whom they are always at war. So that upon the whole, as long as they attend to those three important points, they might have little to fear from their rapacious neighbours, could they but as easily put an effectual stop to that corruption and violence which commonly overrules all their elec-

^d See before, p. 254, & seq. & 110, 111.

tions; but whilst such a destructive practice is suffered to reign amongst them, they will hardly ever be out of danger of some fresh attack from that quarter; and that, perhaps, whilst their own swords are drawn against one another^e.

their revenues uncertain;

WHAT the revenues and land forces of the *Tunesian* Beys are is not easy to guess; the former, consisting chiefly in the tribute which the *Arabians* and *Moors* pay to him, and in the customs arising from imports and exports, are in a constant fluctuation; because, on the one hand, both *Arabs* and *Moors* often find means to elude the payment of it, by concealing the product of their land (for they generally pay in kind) in large repositories, either under ground or in caves, such as their mountains abound in, and removing with their families and cattle into some inaccessible places against the time of the Bey's circuit, and returning again as soon as he is retired with his flying camp; they being so poor, and so heavily loaded with taxes, that, without such frequent escapes, it would be impossible for them to subsist, even in their miserable way of living. And, as for the imports and exports, they are settled upon so sure a footing, that it would be, if not impossible, at least very difficult, as well as hazardous, to defraud him in them, as we shall shew under a subsequent head. Their forces mostly consist of renegadoes, and a few

forces not numerous;

militia: for they have no *Janissaries* in pay, as they have at *Algiers*; and this militia is chiefly kept in their garrisons and sea ports; but is neither so well paid, nor disciplined as the *Algerine*. The renegado soldiers, who chiefly compose the Bey's guard, and the garrison of his capital, are, indeed, better maintained and clothed; but without those singular privileges which are allowed to the *Algerine Janissaries*^f. So that, upon the whole, one would wonder at the paucity of their forces in time of peace, and how their Beys dare to trust their government and vast territories to so weak and inconsiderable a guard: they can, indeed, under all emergencies, command a powerful army of *Moors* and *Arabians*, both horse and foot, but have but small dependence on their fidelity, seeing the hatred between them^g, heightened by the exactions under which they groan, gives their tyrannical masters but little reason to expect any other than a forced and reluctant service from them.

shipping still less;

THEIR shipping is likewise much inferior to what might be expected from such a maritime trading nation, except what is employed in this latter branch; those that belong to the government are no more than four, and all of them but

^e Hist. of Tunis, ch. v. p. 303, & seq.
p 195, & seq.

^f See before,

poorly rigged; the largest not carrying above forty guns: they had, it seems, one of seventy guns; but which, through some defect in her building, could never be fit for service; besides about thirty galliots, carrying from 20 to 120 men; which are commonly commanded by a renegado, and manned partly with some of the same sort, and partly by *Turks* and *Couluglies*, or sons of married soldiers^c. The Christian *bow men* slaves work the ship, and the *Turks* are only concerned in the *ned* and fighting part. The four great ships that set out on the *maintain-cruise* twice a year are supplied with oil, butter, vinegar, and *ed*. biscuit by the Bey; but as those provisions are not sufficient, their captains, for two piasters more from every *Turk*, enlarge the allowance to a certain rate for forty or fifty days at most. Other galliots are likewise fitted out by private owners, who at their own expence, carry on their *cruise*, pay the ship's crew, and defray other charges, and are allowed the sole property of the prizes they take, except such perquisites as the Bey reserves for himself, much after the same manner as we have seen at *Algiers*^b. To these we may add a great number and variety of other mercantile vessels; of whose shape, rigging, and use, as well as of the four ships of the government, the reader may find the best account we can give him of them in the margin (A), as far as relates to their present state. For it is plain, from those authors who have formerly wrote of it, that it made a much greater figure at sea before the end of the last century, than they have in this^d.

WHEN any of the government's ships brings in a prize, *Prizes* the hull of the vessel, and half the cargo, after the ship's ex- *how dis-*
posed of.

^a See before, p 212. ^b Ibid. p 208, & seq. ^c GRAM-
MAY, MARMOL, DAVITY, & al. sup. citat.

(A) The *Tunise* vessels may be divided into ships, patachas, polachas, ketches, barks, pinkes, tartans, and canoes; all which have their respective uses and advantages; and are differently rigged and worked. The ships have four masts, the main, the fore, the mizen, and the bowsprit; the patachas differ only from the ships in having no mizen-mast; the polacha hath a square sail to her main-mast, a smack sail to her fore-mast, and a very small mizen-mast; the ketch hath several smack sails forward, her main-mast is higher than that of other vessels, but her mizen and bowsprit of the usual length; all the difference between the bark and the pink consists only in their head, which in the former is full, and in the latter sharp; both have a main, fore, and mizen-mast, rigged with smack sails: most of the tartans and canoes have but one mast, neither is there much difference in their sails (1),

(1) See Hist. of Tunis, 1750, p. 306.

pence hath been deducted, belong to the Bey, and the other half is divided between the Rais, or captain, and the company. The Rais hath six shares, the under Rais four, the pilot four, the gunner four, the clerk three, the quarter-master two, the cockswain two, and each private man half a share. As to the slaves, the Bey, besides his half, has the privilege of buying the rest at 100 piafters *per* head, which he seldom fails of selling for 300 or 400, only every tenth head belongs to the Dowan.

Christian ships how treated. WHEN a Christian merchantman comes into the road of Tunis, he hoists his colours, and salutes the castle of *Galetta* with three guns; after which, the master comes on shore to inform the Aga whence he comes. But when a man of war, belonging to a Christian state, comes in, he anchors at some farther distance from the castle than the merchantmen, and is first saluted from it according to his rate, which he returns with the same number of guns. All the time of his stay the flag is hoisted at the consul's house belonging to his nation; and all the merchantmen of the same nation keep their colours flying. Upon the arrival of any such men of war, their consul is obliged to give notice of it to the Bey, who immediately orders all the slaves to be shut up in their respective bagnios, lest any of them should find means to get on board of her; in which case there would be no reclaiming them. At their departure the Bey commonly sends the captain the usual present of oxen, sheep, poultry, and other refreshments.

Customs on imports and exports;



duty called consulship.

All trading vessels, which load or unload in this kingdom, are obliged to pay four duties; *viz.* anchorage, which amounts to seventeen one-half piafters for loading, and as many for unloading. The average on ships loading, being part of the public revenue, rises and falls according to the exigencies of the state. This duty, which ran high in the year 1733, amounted to twenty piafters for every ship, whether loading or unloading; that of the patachas, polachas, ketches, and canoes, to eighteen; pinks and barks to fourteen, and tartans ten; and double the sum, if they both loaded and unloaded. To these we may add the duty of two *per cent.* called the consulship, on every cargo taken on board at Tunis; and is for the salary of the consul and other officers. The passports granted to *French* captains are, at the desire of their own crown, limited to three years; at the end of which they are to appear before some admiralty court in *France* before they renew it, under severe penalties. But those granted to the *English* extend to fourteen years, without being confined to the obligation above-mentioned^k.

^k Hist. of Tunis, ch. vi. p. 306, & seq.

TUNIS exports to *France* corn, oil, beans, lentils, wax, *Imports* wool, hides, and *Morocco* skins; and receives in exchange and ex-¹ *Spanish* wool, *Languedoc* cloths, vermillion, sugar, pepper, *ports*. cloves, wine, brandy, paper, hard-ware, iron, and steel. The *Italian* trade is wholly carried on by the *Jews*, who send the same commodities to *France*, and import from thence *Spanish* cloths, damasks, several sorts of silk and woollen stuffs, gold and silver tissue, &c. The *French* pay three per cent. for all the goods they bring from, or into, *France*; and the *Jews* ten per cent. on their imports from *Italy*. The *Turks* and *Moors* expo. to the *Levant* woollen stuffs, lead, gold dust, and chequins, and a vast number of bales of caps; and bring in return silks, calicoes, iron, alum, and vermillion. They send much the same kind of commodities into *Egypt*; but the oil that is carried thither must be put up in jars, and not in casks, because the greatest part of it is designed for the lamps of *Mecca* and *Medina*; and the *Arabians* would think it polluted, as the casks might have formerly contained wine. They import in exchange from thence linen, coffee, rice, flax, and cotton. The number of *French* ships freighted at *Tunis* by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Jews*, amount yearly, we are told, to no less than 150 to the *Levant*, and 50 for *France* and *Italy*: as for those of the *English* their number is uncertain¹. One considerable branch of the *Tunesian* commerce is that of the caravan vessels, which trade to the *Levant*, not only on account of the half average they pay to the *Ball*, but of the vast concourse of people they occasion, and the tax on passports: but the most considerable of all the caravans are those from *Sallee* and the *Cadenfis*; the first of which arrives about three weeks before the *Ramadan*, and enriches the *Tunesians* with gold dust and chequins, to the value of 100,000 pounds sterling. The *Cadenfisian*, which comes in twice a year, likewise brings plenty of gold dust, besides a considerable number of negroes, which they exchange for cloaths, paper, *Venice* glasses, wire, coral, and other toys^m. In most other respects the commerce of the *Tunesians* is much after the same manner as we have seen at *Algiers*, and with this advantage, that foreigners, whether of Christian, or any other nation, are used here with greater humanity and equity than there. The *English*, *French*, *Imperialists*, *Dutch*, and *Genorse*, have their *Foreign* consuls, who are likewise treated with greater regard and esteem. They have not only their fine houses in the metro-² *polis*, but handsome villas, or country seats in the neighbourhood of it; in both which they live in a splendid man-

¹ Id. ibid.^m Id. ibid.

ner. We have already hinted, that theirs and their officers salaries arise from the duty of two *per cent.* on all vessels that take their cargo on board at *Tunis*. This duty is collected by a merchant of the greatest repute, who passes his account every year before the consul, chancellor, and four other merchants ².

Arabic
much cor-
rupted.

ALL public conventions and instruments are written in the Arabic tongue; which, by the introduction of the *Turkish* religion into all *Barbary*, and the intercourse with the *Moors*, is much corrupted from its antient energy and elegance. As for the public commerce, it is commonly carried on by the help of the *Lingua Franca*. The great number of renegadoes from *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, which are here greatly encouraged, on account of their abilities, usefulness, and professed hatred to all Christians, have likewise rendered their own languages so familiar in those parts, especially in *Tunis*, that it would be dangerous to talk of matters of state in any of them, before *Turks* or *Moors*. Many of those renegadoes find means to raise themselves to the most considerable employments, and to gain immense riches; and the *Turks*, tho' haughty towards the rest of mankind, yet pay a singular regard to these wretches, and shew them all possible marks of esteem to all outward appearance; but, in their hearts, envy, hate, and despise them. The *Jews* likewise swarm in this kingdom, on account of their usefulness in commerce; and, though no less despised in all other respects, are yet suffered to trade and flourish, and to live after their own manner in their separate quarters. They are reckoned to be nine or ten thousand in the city of *Tunis*; many of whom carry on a very considerable commerce; and, as they are much given to cheat in their weights and measures, making of fraudulent bankruptcies, adulterating of gold ³, and other commodities, they are commonly punished or fined more severely than any other foreigners, especially if they are caught in lessening or counterfeiting the coin, which is much the same here as is current at *Algiers* ⁴.

Jews very
numerous
in Tunis.

Punish-
ments.

THE punishments are here also much the same as there, and are executed with the same partiality, with respect to the *Turks*, in both ⁵; only here they are most severe against those renegadoes that turn Christians again: for these they either wrap up in a cloth dipped in pitch and set on fire, or else put them to a more painful and lingering death, by walling them up close all but their heads, and rubbing their heads and faces with honey, which exposes them to the bite and stings

² Id. *ibid.* p. 309.
before, p. 199, & seq.

³ Id. *ibid.* ch. iv. p. 302.
⁴ *Id.* p. 225, & seq.

⁵ See

of wasps and other insects ; by which they are tortured several days and nights before they expire. They are no less severe on their slaves who attempt to run away, but especially such as kill their masters, if *Turks* ; for which last offence they break the offender's arms and legs, tie him to a horse's tail, and drag him through all the streets ; after which they strangle him, and give his body to the *Franks* to be buried. But it most commonly happens, that the boys then (which our author tells us¹, there are none more wicked in the world) snatch the dead body out of the executioner's hands, in spite of the *Mezoar*, or *sub-basha* ; and, having dragged it about some time longer, will roast it with straw, and, after many other indignities, throw him at last into some ditch ; out of which the *Franks* must fetch him, in order to be buried.

S E C T. III.

The History of Tunis, from its Foundation by Sinan Basha.

THIS country had hardly seen an end of its subjection to the two foreign yokes under which it so long groaned, viz. that of the *Romans*, and that of the northern *Vandals* and *Goths*, but it saw itself involved with the rest of *Barbary*, under that of the *Saracens*, which was governed by viceroys, with the title of *Emirs*², who first established that form of government, under which it continued afterwards by different families during the space of near five hundred years. We have already shewn, in a former chapter, what a desperate expedient the *Khalif* of *Kayrwan* took to be revenged on his treacherous viceroy, *Abul-Hagax*, who had seized on his *African* dominions, and got himself confirmed king of them by the *Khalif* of *Babylon*, whilst he was busy to take possession of his new conquest of *Egypt* ; and in order to recover them from him. The traitor, *Abul-Hagax*, being defeated and killed by these plundering swarms of *Arabians*, which he had invited into *Africa* to his assistance, his two sons, to avoid their father's fate, fled for refuge, the one to *Tunis*, and the other to *Bujayah*, where they were received as princes, and took the sovereign power of those two principalities upon them ; but were quickly after forced to submit to *Techiesien*, al. *Texesien*, of the tribe of the *Almoravides*, who then reigned in the west of *Barbary*, who on their submission left them in possession of their respective new dominions³, which

¹ *THEVENOT*, Vid. part i. c. 93, &c.
& seq. *Id. ibid.*

² See before, p. 16,

they quietly enjoyed, until that tribe was dispossessed of their sovereignty by that of the *Almoravides*; who, upon a general revolt, obtained the same sovereign power, drove these two princes out of their dominions, and took upon them the same honours and titles that were given to the Khalifs^c. These resided at *Morocco*, and governed *Tunis* by their viceroys, till towards the decline of the *Almohedish* tribe; when the *Arabs* at *Tunis* raised a revolt against them, and besieged the king of *Morocco's* governor. This last soon received a reinforcement from him of a small army, and twenty vessels under the command of *Abuledi*, or *Abdul Hedi*, an officer of *Sevill*, of the tribe of *Mugamuda*; who, landing at *Tunis*, found the city almost ruined by the *Arabs*; but soon thought of means, by his address and conduct, to bring matters to an accommodation; and, upon certain conditions, obliged them to leave both the city and villages in peace. He governed that kingdom with the title and full power of a viceroy; and, at his death, left the government of it to his son *Abu Zechariah*, a person in no wise inferior in prudence and conduct to his father,

Abu Zechariah extends his territories. and who, to keep all things under him in quiet, built a citadel on the highest part of the city: after this, he extended his conquests as far as *Tripoli*, raised large contributions in *Lybia*, *Numidia*, and as far as the land of the Negroes^d; and left an immense treasure at his death to his son and successor *Abu Ferez*, after having held his government steady and prosperous during the troubles that reigned most of that time between the *Benimerini* and *Almohedes*.

Abu Ferez revolts from the king of Morocco; ABRAMHAM, or, as he is most commonly called, *Abu Ferez*, whose ambition was now equal to his overgrown wealth, and power, was not long in possession of his father's dignity, before he looked upon himself as too considerable to pay any farther submission to the king of *Morocco*. The dissensions that raged between the other powers of *Africa* had too far weakened them to permit him to overlook such a promising advantage; and, as he might justly look upon himself as their superior in strength and opulence, so it was natural for him to aspire at the reduction of the whole country under his dominion, especially as the *Benimerini* had, by this time, made themselves masters of the kingdom of *Fez*, and the *Almoravides* of that of *Tremecen*; so that that of *Morocco* alone remained in the hands of the *Almohedes*. With this hopeful prospect before him, *Abu Ferez* began his expedition with *Tremecen*, which he quickly reduced, and obliged the king to become his tributary. His example was soon followed by that of

^c See before, p. 18, & seq.
DAVIDY. Vid. & sup. p. 22, & seq.

^d MARRIAGE, GRAMMAR,

Fez, who, being then taken up with the siege of *Morocco*, thought fit to prevent the like visit, by sending him an embassy with rich presents, and the most solemn assurances of his friendship and submission, and of his acknowledging him thenceforward as his sovereign.

THERE needed no more to persuade *Abu Ferez* to turn back, who accordingly entered his capital in triumph, and there assumed the title of king of *Africa*, and established his court in that city in the same pomp and magnificence as that of the Sharif of *Morocco*. From that time the city of *Tunis* began to outvie midst of those of *Africa*, being embellished by many sumptuous edifices, and defended by strong walls, towers, and other bulwarks, answerable to its new title of, *Metropolis of Africa*. *Abu Ferez* at his death divided his dominions between his three sons; to one he gave that of *Bugia*, to the second that of *Numidia*, and to the third, named *Hutmen*, that of *Tunis*. His death.

HUTMEN, or, as others call him, *Autman*, was no less valiant than his father. He greatly enlarged his territories, dispossessed his brother *Hamar* of *Numidia*, the kingdom of *him* at *Tu-* which he rejoined to his own of *Tunis*, and caused his eyes to be put out. He reigned, according to *Grammay*, forty years*, *Abu-Bar* and left his kingdom to his son *Abu Bar*, who was afterwards deprived of it by one *Jesajah*, or *Subajah*, who styled himself *Hutmen*, the son of *Omar III* Khalif of the *Asiatic Saracens*.

HUTMEN, as well as his father, had, during his life-time, kept the kings of *Fez* so far in awe, that they had not dared to undertake any exploits or conquests for fear of giving him umbrage; but, after his death, they became powerful enough, in a little time, to cause their sovereignty to be acknowledged by all the *Mohammedans* of *Africa*, and to extend their dominions to the most eastern parts of *Barbary*, and southward as far as *Negroland*. They likewise had some bloody wars against the successors of *Hutmen*, till at length *Hassan*, or *Hascen*, one of their kings, *Tunis* came and besieged *Tunis*, and quickly after took it, which obliged the king to flee for shelter into the neighbouring *Hassan*, deserts, then inhabited by the *Arabians*. It was not long, and soon however, before he returned with a strong body of them; after re- and having defeated *Hassan*, recovered his capital and his kingdom. In the mean time, whilst the *Tunesian* monarch was at war with that of *Fez*, the city of *Tripoli*, which was lately observed had been subdued by *Abu Zacharia*, revolted, and continued five years independent; till *Abu Hamen*, successor of *Hassan*, came and defeated *Muley Abu*, and obliged

* GRAMMAY, l. viii. c. 2. MARMOL, l. vi. c. 16. DAVITY, & al.

him to flee to *Constantina*, where he besieged and took him prisoner, and confined him in the castle of *Ceuta*, then belonging to the *Moors*.

Tripoli
taken;

WHILST this was doing, the city of *Tripoli* saw itself at once surrounded by a squadron of *Genoese* ships, and twelve galleys, which quickly forced them to surrender at discretion. All the inhabitants were made slaves, and going to be carried away, when the king of *Fez*, being apprised of it, offered 50,000 crowns for their discharge, and the purchase of the city from them. The sum was readily accepted on those terms by the *Genoese*, but not so honestly paid by the *Fezian* monarch; one half of it being, we are told, false money, which they ignorantly took for good ^f.

who re- THE king of *Fez* died some time after this new purchase, *stores that* and was succeeded by *Abu-celem*, who entered into a treaty with *of Tunis* to that of *Tunis*, kept still prisoner at *Ceuta*; and, by means of *his throne*. some alliances between them, restored him to his liberty and kingdom.

Abul Abez had not long returned to his dominions before he recovered the city of *Tripoli*, and others of his provinces, of which *Hassan* had stripped him, and enjoyed them peaceably afterwards, as did also his successors;

Abu Bar- till one of them, named *Abu Barca*, was assassinated, with one *ca assassi-* of his sons, in the citadel of *Tripoli*, by order of *Chiajah*, his *nated by* nephew, who had raised a rebellion in the kingdom. He *Chinjah*, had not been long in the possession of it, before a first cousin *who is also* of his revolted, defeated, and killed him, and enjoyed the *murdered*. crown peaceably whilst he lived; and at his death bequeathed

Zecharia- it to *Zechariah*, the nephew of the above named traitor, *Chia-* *ajah*, his predecessor. This dying soon after of the plague,

Muley A- the chief inhabitants chose for his successor *Muley Abu Camen*, *bu Camen*. the nephew of *Zechariah*, whose tyrannical government caused several cities to revolt, and erect themselves into petty sovereignties.

He, suc- MULEY ABU CAMEN was succeeded by *Muley Mahmed*; *ceeded by* of whom we find nothing remarkable, except that he reigned *Mahmed*; 33 years in *Tunis*, and had many children; the eldest of *and he by* whom, called *Mamon*, he caused to be imprisoned, on sus- *his young-* picion of some treasonable design against him; and all the rest *est son Haf-* were so vicious and profligate, that he could not find one *san*, among them all that was fit to succeed him. He at length pitched upon the youngest, not only because he was esteemed the most valiant, but on account of his mother being an *Arabian* of that country; and he hoped by that means to secure them the more firmly to the interest of his family ^g. This successor was the since famed *Muley Hassan*, whom we

^f MARMOL, ub. sup.

^g Id. ub. sup.

have already spoken of in the history of *Algiers*, and who was restored to his kingdom by the emperor, after *Barbareffa* had driven him out of it^a; by which means he became tributary to that monarch (A), as we shall soon see.

FOR *Hassan* had not long been settled upon the throne, *who puts* and proclaimed *Mahmed's* successor, before *Mamon*, his eldest brother, who was still kept close prisoner, made some strenuous efforts, by the assistance of his keeper, to make his escape, *and others to death.* and claim his right to the crown. He was, however, discovered before he could accomplish it, and condemned to lose his head for the attempt; and with him were as many others of his brothers and relations, as could be caught, put likewise to death. *Asfrathid*, another of his brothers, had, however, the good fortune to escape, and flee to *Buchara* in *Nu-midia*, where he met with a kind reception from *Abdala*, lord of the place. This last, having immediately raised an army of stout *Arabs*, marched with him at their head against *Hassan*, and defeated him; but, as they had no artillery with *Asfrathid* *defeats* *and drives* *him away-*

^a See GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

(A) This prince, we are told (1), did boast himself to the emperor to have been the thirty-fifth king of his family, who had reigned successively in *Tunis* during the space of 450 years, and to have been descended from *Melchior*, one of the three *Magi*, of wise men, who came to pay their adoration to the new-born son of God at *Bethlehem* (2). He bore in his escutcheon a lance between two swords, with their points upwards, and three crescents over them; above them a crown, and over the crown a star. This coat of arms, our author tells us, *Muley Mahmed*, the father of this *Hassan* at *Paler-mo*, had upon the sword he then wore (3).

But, adds he, *African* writers, on the contrary, derive their ge-

nealogy from the *Hentatæ*, which were a branch of the descendants of *Muḥamuda* (4); whilst others affirm them to be descended from *Omar*, the second *Khalif* (5). However that be, with respect to their pedigree, we have seen, that these kings of *Tunis* have carried their conquests as far as *Sicily*, and reigned a considerable time in that island (6). Afterwards they became tributary to the *Normans*, upon the declension of the *Arabian* empire, and to the *French*, under the reign of *Charles*, then king of *Sicily*; who, upon the death of his brother *Lewis*, since fainted, came to the assistance of the *Christians*, and obliged the *Tunessan* king to become tributary to him (7).

(1) Marmol's *Afric* c. xvi.

Antient Hist. vol. v. pag. 408, note (F).

Marmol ubi sup.

(4) *Id.* ibid.

ubi sup.

(6) *Id.* ubi sup.

(2) *Vid.* *Matth.* ii. pass. *De bis*, & vide

vol. x. pag. 465, note (F).

(5) See before, vol. ii. p. 208

Vid. *Marmol*

ubi sup.

(7) *Vid.* *Grammay*

& al. ubi sup.

them, they could not force an entrance into the town; so that *Afrashid* was obliged to take his leave of the *Arabs*; and, having set fire to the suburbs, and all the adjacent parts of it, marched forthwith to *Algiers*, to implore *Barbarossa's* assistance, who governed that kingdom with the title of Viceroy, or *Basha*, under the *Soltan*.

Barbarossa
sails for
Tunis.

THIS last, who had for some time looked upon the dissensions that reigned between those two brothers, and their partisans at *Tunis*, as a proper juncture for seizing that kingdom, and annex it to his *Ottoman* dominions, not only gave him a very friendly reception, but took him with him to *Constantinople*, under pretence of soliciting some farther assistance from, as well as for the protection of, *Solyman*. And it is scarcely to be doubted but he would have obtained his request, had not *Barbarossa* acquainted that monarch with the design he had been hatching against that kingdom. This proposal was too tempting to be rejected by that politic court; so that whilst *Afrashid* was detained as a kind of prisoner in that city, *Barbarossa* was sent with a sufficient squadron towards *Tunis*, where he arrived soon after. Upon his first appearing on the coasts, *Hassan*, who suspected his brother *Afrashid* to be there among them, and had cause to apprehend some revolt among the *Tuneshians*, retired out of it, with some of his *Arabs*, and lay concealed among them till he could penetrate into the design of the *Turks*. *Barbarossa* sailed directly towards *Bizerta*, which immediately surrendered to him, out of spite to *Hassan*, who had disobliterated the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to *Porto Farino*, and the Cape of *Carthage*; and, last of all, posted himself before the tower of the *Goleta*, or citadel, which he saluted, as usual, with a broadside without a ball, in token of alliance and friendship, which was returned in the same manner from the tower.

Hassan
forced to
fly.

HE next demanded of them for whom they held the place; and was answered, for him that should be king of *Tunis*, where every thing was in commotion, and in great expectation of *Afrashid*, whose brother *Hassan* was become detestable to his subjects, on account of his cruelties and oppressions. When *Hassan* heard this, he immediately came down from the castle, in order to speak for himself; but met with such a rough reception from the inhabitants as quite disconcerted and terrified him; so that he immediately fled out of the city, without so much as daring to go back to his palace, where all his cash, jewels, and other treasure were kept. He even told us afterwards, says our author¹, that, upon his coming down from the castle, he had laid up 200 diamond

¹ MAMMOL, lib. vi. ch. 16.

rings, of inestimable value, in a purse of red velvet; but that his surprise was so great, that, upon his getting out of his bed chamber to go and harangue with his tumultuous subjects, he quite forgot to take it with him.

HASSAN was no sooner got out of Tunis in that dismal plight, than the governor and chief officers of the castle, who made no doubt but that *Afrashid* was in the Turkish fleet, released his wife and son out of confinement, arrayed *Barbarossa* in princely apparel, and paid them the same respect as if he had been in possession of the crown. They likewise sent a couple of fine horses, richly clad, to *Goletta*; the one for him, and the other for *Barbarossa*, to make their entry into Tunis, and with them several chiefs of the army, to assure them, that that capital was wholly at their devotion. This notion, which had been artfully spread among the *Tunefians* by the subtle *Barbarossa*, had so thoroughly possessed their minds, that, upon his entering the suburbs and city, at the head of his 9000 *Turks*, which he had transported thither in sixty royal galleys, he was received with the loudest acclamations; and, having paid his first devotions at one of their mosks, marched directly to the castle, amidst an innumerable croud of people. But how great was their surprise, when, instead of *Afrashid*, they heard him mention no other name but that of *Solyman* and his own; and how much greater their resentment, when they were apprised, that their so much wished for prince was still detained a prisoner at *Constantinople*. They tumultuously assembled themselves in arms, under the command of their *Mezouar*; and, whilst some were dispatched after *Hassan*, to bring him back to deliver them from the Turkish impending tyranny, the rest began to assault the traitorous *Barbarossa* in the castle; but these were soon after dispersed with loss by a general discharge, which he ordered his musketry to make upon them; upon which they were easily brought to acknowledge the Grand Signor for their sovereign, and him for his viceroy. The next step he took to keep them under, was to enter into an immediate alliance with the *Arabs*; and, by their assistance, to make himself master of *Kayruan* and other places, which city hearrisoned with his *Turks*. After which he caused the canal of the *Goletta*, which communicates with the sea, to be made wider, in order to enlarge the port; in which work the Christian slaves were employed*. As for the fugitive *Hassan*, he found no better resource than to retreat among some of the neighbouring *Arabs*, that were still his friends; with whom he stayed till he was reinthroned by the

* MARMOL, ub. sup.

Hasan applies to the emperor Charles V. to whom he applied for assistance against *Barbarossa*¹. This was, however, a dangerous expedient; his applying to a Christian emperor for assistance was an action that could not but render him still more odious, not only to his own subjects, but likewise to all the *Mohammedan* princes; and much more so, as he could not regain his crown on any other terms than by his becoming a tributary to that monarch. But his case was by that time become too desperate to permit him to be deterred by any such considerations, or to listen to anything but the motives of revenge, as well on his own faithless subjects, as on the treacherous *Barbarossa* and the *Porte*. So that his favourite renegade, by nation a *Genoese*, no sooner undertook to negotiate that affair with the emperor, than he dispatched him over to his court with the proposal, which was no less readily agreed to there. And it was no wonder it should be so, considering what an additional strength the annexing of this viceroyship to that of *Algiers* would afford to that pirate already so formidable at sea, and on all the *Mediterranean* coasts, to say nothing of the advantage that would accrue to him by that kingdom's becoming tributary to him. Accordingly, *Charles* the Fifth was easily determined, not only to undertake so advantageous an expedition, but even to put himself at the head of it, and to command it in person.

who undertakes an expedition in his favour.

BUT though it was concerted and carried on with all possible secrecy, and the proper shipping got ready in the ports of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Genoa*, and *Spain*, with no less expedition, yet *Barbarossa* had such speedy notice given him of it by a *Florentine* priest, who was then bound for *Constantinople*, and charged with some important affairs relating to the French court, that he had time enough to apprise the *Porte* of it, and acquaint it with the imminent danger he was in of losing not only his fleet, but all his conquests in *Barbary*, if not speedily succoured. He was, however, disappointed of his hopes from that quarter; the Grand Signor being then fully employed with all his forces in *Asia*, and his ministers at *Constantinople* either unable or negligent to send him any supplies of men or ships; yet this dangerous situation did not discourage him from making a brave defence; and, since he could not fortify the city of *Tunis* so well as he could have wished, by reason of the several eminences that commanded it on the west side, nor dared to demolish the suburbs, which are one of its chief ornaments, for fear of disobliging the *Tunessians*, he set himself immediately to fortify the *Golletta*, which was at that time little more than a square tower,

Barbarossa prepares himself for a brave defence.

¹ See GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.

which

which seemed only designed to command the mouth of the canal, by which the sea enters into the lake that fronts the town ^m. He not only added some strong out-works to it; but threw a stout *Turkish* garrison into it, and furnished it with every thing necessary for its defence: after this he sent to invite all the *Moors* and *Arabs* to his aid, and remonstrated to them, that this was a common cause, in which they were all equally concerned; inasmuch, as the loss of *Tunis* would not only endanger that of all *Barbary*, but much more so, as it would reduce all the states under a Christian yoke, and prove of the most dangerous consequence to the *Mohammedan* religion. This last consideration alone would have been sufficient to alarm all the *Mohammedan* princes against the apostate *Hassan*, and his powerful ally; the former of whom he had in vain endeavoured to get into his hands dead or alive. This circular letter had the desired effect, and brought to his assistance, most of the *Levantine* corsairs, and armed the *Moorish* and *African* princes against the league.

His next care was to cause a stout thick wall to be built quite from the sea side to the water tower, and from thence, by winding about towards the lake, formed a kind of bulwark, with proper embrasures, which faced every side. He likewise built over the canal a spacious bridge, within side of that cincture; and, on a spot of ground between the sea and the *Goletta*, he caused a rampart to be reared, which had a full view of all that coast, and defended the twelve galleys that were left out, whilst all the rest of the shipping was secured within the canal, or in the lake; and both could play their artillery on the enemy as occasion required. All these, and other precautions for a defence, with regard to the out-works, being taken, as far as the shortness of the time would permit, he took care to fill this new cincture with a sufficient number of forces. He threw into it 7000 fighting men, 4000 of whom were either *Turks* or renegadoes, 2000 were *Tunisian Moors*, many of whom were persons of rank and distinction, and 1000 were chosen from among the stoutest *Jannissaries*; all of whom he provided with plenty of artillery, arms, and other ammunition and provisions, which were supplied to them by the vessels that kept still going and coming to and from *Tunis*. After which he sat himself down, fully determined to wait the arrival of the enemy, with an intrepid resolution, answerable to his character and situation.

On the other side, *Charles V.* having got intelligence of *The emperor's* preparations he had made for his reception, ordered his *royal fleet* whole navy, amounting to 1400 ships of all sorts, and amongst appears;

^m See before, p. 382, note (F).

VERTOT, ub. sup.

ⁿ MARMOL, BOSIO,

^o MARMOL, VERTOT, & al. ibid.

them ninety royal gallies, to set sail with all possible expedition for the *Tunesian* coasts. They soon reached the Cape of *Carthage*, which having doubled, they sent to reconnoitre the *Goletta*; near which they landed their numerous forces without any opposition.

BARBAROSSA, nothing dismayed at their number and strength, nor at their first successes in taking and plundering several of the neighbouring villages, whence they carried off some quantities of corn, oil, and other provisions, first of all assembled the *Arabian* chiefs, and exacted the usual oath of fidelity from them: for, besides 15,000 of them which he kept in his pay, great numbers of others were come to list under his banner, not only as he allowed them a better pay, but out of hatred to *Hassan* and the Christian forces; to them he joined some *Turkish* horse and foot, which he drew out of *Tunis*, and sent them to scour the country and to annoy the Christian camp by their skirmishes, whilst they were besieged. laying siege to the city.

THESE frequent excursions did not, however, hinder its being carried on with great vigour, though with various success. But we hope it will not be expected that we should, in a work of this nature, enter into a particular detail of it, which would carry us beyond our bounds; and that it will suffice our readers to tell them in general, that it was concerted and executed with all the regularity and advantage that the situation of the place would allow; the emperor having taken sufficient care to furnish himself with the expertest engineers and the most consummate commanders, as well as to supply his camp, not only with all that was necessary to carry on the war, but with every thing that could render it easy and convenient for his numerous army; insomuch that the streets of his camp afforded as great plenty and variety of all sorts of provisions, and well stored markets, as any city in *Europe*; for, besides the great number of storeships which were ordered to accompany this expedition, they had frigates and other vessels constantly coming in, laden with wines, corn, and other provisions, from *Naples*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; besides which, they were likewise abundantly supplied with fresh water from the adjacent springs; insomuch that *Muley Hassan*, upon his first arrival at the camp, was beyond measure astonished at the grandeur and plenty that reigned in it, so vastly exceeding all that he, tho' a great and magnificent prince, had ever beheld till then.

BARBAROSSA, on his side, after having made the best preparations, as we have seen a little above, for a brave defence, threwed himself on this occasion to be as expert and able an engineer and commander at land, as he had formerly been

been at sea, where he was become formidable to all Europe: but his success did not prove the same, though his troops behaved with unusual bravery; for the approaches of the besiegers were no sooner completed, than all the royal galleys, whose cannon could reach the fort, were properly disposed on the sea, and batteries of forty-six guns opened against it on the land side; both which plied it with such continual fire, that several wide breaches were quickly made for an assault (B).

1536.

It

(B) There were three batteries raised against the fort, the most considerable of which battered the new bastion with 24 pieces towards the sea side, between that and the *Goletta*, and fired sometimes against the tower and the new raised wall, as occasion required. About 100 paces farther was another battery of six guns, which kept playing likewise against the wall; and, on the right-hand of this, was another battery of ten to batter down the rampart, which the *Turks* had built between the wall and the lake.

Besides these land batteries, *Andrew Doria* was making a constant fire against the place from his galleys, which he sent one after another before it; and one had no sooner fired all its guns than it was succeeded by another; whilst the grand *caraca*, belonging to the knights of *Malta*, which was higher than all the rest, was posted behind them all, and easily discharged its large artillery over them with such fury and efficacy, that it dismounted all the guns that were in the tower.

The *Maltese* commanders strove to distinguish themselves more than all the rest upon this occasion. Among them the commodore *Botigale*, observing that some of the galleys, for fear of

running aground, kept their oars above water, hasted to them sword in hand; *Ye cowardly wretches*, said he to the officers, *must the saving of the carcasses of a few galleys obstruct our success in so glorious an enterprise?* and made them immediately ply their oars, and approach nearer to the tower.

But the boldest action of all was that of Signor *Conversa*, another *Maltese* knight, who caused a *barca-longa*, with a good number of musketeers, to row to the very foot of the tower, from which he kept continually firing against the *Turks* that appeared on the breaches; and, whilst one side was charging, he artfully tacked about and caused the other to be discharged; by which constant play he killed a vast number of *Turks*, without receiving any damage from the tower's fire (7). This may serve to shew how eager the Christians were of carrying that important place, and how impossible it was for *Barbarossa* to preserve it, or for his new works, the most part of which were left unfinished, to hold out against such a constant fire from so many different batteries, that the besiegers had hardly time to repair one single breach. But the Christians paid dear for it, when they came to take it by

(7) *Mem. de s. p. Vertot Hist. de Malte*, vol. iv. lib. x. p. 73.

assault;

It was carried on with no less fury, notwithstanding the noble defence which was made from within; and, after a desperate resistance on both sides, the imperial army carried the fort, not without a considerable loss ^p.

The garri-
son re-
treats.

THE garrison, seeing itself overpowered, made their retreat in as good order as they could; four thousand of them took the way to *Tunis*, through a tract that had been marked for them by posts set into the ground along the shallows; 2000 others, crossing over the canal, and breaking the bridge which *Barbarossa* had laid over it, filed off towards *Arades*,—but suffered pretty much from the enemy in their rear before they could reach the place ^q.

THERE remained only about 150 *Turks* in the *Goletta*, who were left there to set fire to some mines, and blow up the enemy upon their entering the place; but the *Spaniards* made such speed to get into it, that they prevented, in a great measure, the dreadful effects of the powder. One *Turk* did, indeed, set fire to two barrels of it, which threw up the upper story of the tower, and shattered the walls of it in several places. Upon which Don *Diego de Mendoza* rushed in, ^r the gate through the smoke and rubbish, followed by about twenty of his men, and drove the *Turks* before them. He had not gone far before another barrel was fired, which burned his hand and side, and wounded some of his men; notwithstanding which, the rest of his men coming in to his assistance with sword in hand, they made themselves a bloody way through the *Turks*, and soon set up the imperial standard on the top of the tower.

Charles

THE emperor, now master of the *Goletta*, entered the *V. enters* place, attended by the Infante Don *Lewis*, *Hassan*, the *Tune-*
sie place. *sian* king, and a numerous retinue of his officers; and, upon his approaching the gate, turned himself to *Hassan*, and told him, that that was the gate through which he should quickly re enter into the possession of his new kingdom. To which the king answered, with an humble low bow, and thanked his imperial majesty for so signal a favour ^r. *Barbarossa* lost

^p MARMOL. VERTOT, & al. sup. citat.

^q *Ibid.* ub. sup.

^r MARMOL, ub. sup.

assault; which, though it lasted but one hour, was no less bloody than violent; and in which the knights of *Malta*, who always challenge the post of honour, met with such a furious

opposition from the *Turks*, that, besides a great number of them that were killed on the spot, there scarce came off one without being wounded (8).

(8) *Ibid.*

on this occasion 300 brass cannon, besides a number of others of cast iron, 87 ships, 42 of which were royal galleys, and about a dozen Christian merchantmen, which that corsair had formerly made prizes of. The number of his slain on that day amounted to above 1500, *Turks* and *Moors*, besides those that were killed and wounded in their retreat to *Tunis* and *Aradus*, and on the lake. The Christians found here likewise an immense quantity of fire arms, swords, ammunition, and other warlike stores; that being the arsenal in which *Barbarossa* kept all his arms and piratical spoils, as it was till then reckon'd impregnable.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of this fortress, the only *A contest* one that *Tunis* had for its defence, *Hassan*, to his great mortification and grief, found the emperor's council much divided, whether they should proceed with the siege of that *Tunis*. capital or return homewards. Those who were for the latter alleged, that *Barbarossa*, being quite stripped of his navy and chief fortress in that kingdom, would soon be forced to return to *Algiers*, and *Hassan's* subjects to their obedience; so that they had actually completed what they came for. The emperor was quickly apprised of this by the Infanto his son, who was altogether for continuing the war; and, having convoked them into his tent, after a mild rebuke to those who opposed it, solemnly declared to them, that he was not come so far merely to seize upon the *Goletta* and the piratical ships, but to restore the dispossessed king of *Tunis* to his dominions, and to deliver above 20,000 Christians from slavery, who expected their liberty from him; and concluded with telling them, that he was determin'd either to acquit himself with honour of that enterprize, or die in the attempt. Upon which it was resolv'd, that the fortifications of the *Goletta* should be reduced into a narrower compass, and that a garrison of 1000 men should be put into it; and admiral *Noria* was ordered to cruise along the coasts with his fleet, and the soldiery to be furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions; the whole army began to march in battle array towards *Tunis*, on the 20th of *July*, by the road that lies between the olive wood and the lake.

BARBAROSSA was soon apprised of their march; and, though he foresaw plainly enough that the loss of the *Goletta* and of his fleet would be followed by that of *Tunis*, to defend and of that whole kingdom, yet, like a politic commander, he resolv'd to defend that capital to the last, in hopes of some favourable change. With this view he made his *Arabian* chiefs take a fresh oath to him; but in that very night he as-

Hassan's
stratagem
to reduce
the Tunesians.

sembled all his *Turkish* officers at his palace, and acquainted them with the great danger he was in, not only from the Christian army, but likewise from his *Arabian* troops, and still more so from the *Tunesians*; and proposed to them the method he had pitched upon to free himself from it; which was to blow up all the Christian slaves, in number about 7000, and to betake themselves to immediate flight. This design was happily disapproved by some brave corsairs, not only on account of the odiousness of such a barbarous action, but likewise for the loss of so many useful hands. Upon which it was resolved, that they should provide for their own safety for that night, and early on the morrow to march out of the city, at the head of all his forces, *Moors* and *Arabs*, as well as *Turks*. The *Tunesians* were no less glad at their departure; among whom *Hassan*, their king, had found means to disperse a number of bills, advising them to drive the tyrannical *Turks* out of their city, and to receive in their stead their lawful prince; which artifice had greatly increased the ever-mistrustful *Barbarossa* and his *Turks* diffidence and fears of them. They marched only about three miles from the city, and encamped on a plain called *Cazar-mexevi*, which is full of orchards and fresh springs, where he disposed his army in battle array, in the most advantageous manner to oppose the enemy.

THE *Spanish* historians, to exaggerate the glory of their monarch, make his army to have consisted of no less than 90,000 fighting men; but we shall leave it to the reader to judge, from the success of their actions, whether it could be really so numerous; seeing all other Christian writers agree, that he lost no more in that defeat than 200, and the emperor only thirteen men. However that be, the two armies quickly came to an engagement; in which the *Arabs*, who were ordered to attack the enemy on all sides, presented themselves with their wonted eagerness (*Barbarossa* having before hand tasted their expectation of the immense plunder they should find in the Christian camp, in order to secure them to his interest), and fell upon them with the greatest fury, and with their wonted outcries: but they had no sooner heard the roaring thunder of the Christian artillery, and stood the first discharge of their musketeers, than they betook themselves to flight, with even greater haste than they had shewn on the onset: nor could any promises or menaces prevail upon them to return any more to the charge (C).

* MARMOL, *ibid.* VERTOT's Hist of Malta, vol. iv. p. 79.

(C) These stout warriors, in the emperor and the king of order to ingratiate themselves to Tunis, made afterwards a great piece

THE misfortune was, that the Christian army was quite spent with excessive heat and thirst, and the *Turks* still kept possession of the water springs; so that it was difficult to keep them from straggling to the lake to quench it. At length, after several fresh onsets on both sides, the *Turks* began to give way, leaving seven pieces of artillery behind them; soon after which the Christians got possession of the springs, and regained their spirits so far, that *Barbarossa*, who was every where trying in vain to rally his scattered troops, was forced to follow after his own run-a-ways; and, on their part, *Moors* as well as *Tunefians*, made much greater speed to get into the city than they had done to come out of it.

AT their arrival, *Barbarossa*, instead of reproving his troops for their baseness, contented himself with calmly telling them, that he designed by the next morning to try their courage once more against the Christians; but this he only did the better to conceal his premeditated flight, which he now found dangerous to disclose even to his own *Turks*. His design was soon discovered by the dispatch he endeavoured to make to get all his treasure out of the castle, as well as by the secret direction he gave to have all the Christian slaves blown up, though none of his creatures proved inhuman enough to execute that bloody order. He had at that time a *Multese* commander, named *Paul Simoni*, among his captives, who had formerly behaved so gallantly against the *Turks*, that he would never suffer him to be redeemed or exchanged at any price. This gentleman, having some suspicion or intelligence of his horrid design, found means to bribe two of his renegado jailors to procure them some files and hammers, by the help of which they soon got off their ^{The 700th} fetters and those of their companions: after which, forcing ^{Christian} open the doors of the castle armory, they furnished them- ^{slaves gain} selves with what weapons came first to their hands, and cut ^{their liber-} in pieces all the *Turks* they found in the castle, and placed a strong guard at every avenue of it. Whilst this was doing, *Simoni* appeared on the battlements with the white banner, and invited the Christian army to come to their assistance.

piece of merit of this their precipitate flight; pretending, that it was done in order to intimidate the *Moors* and *Tunefians* from exerting themselves, as they would probably have done, had they stood their ground. But, though this was looked

upon as an artful pretence to excuse their cowardice, yet it is more than probable that it greatly contributed to that general defection that ensued soon after, and was so far of signal service to the Christians (9).

(9) *M. vol. ub. sup. Verset, ub. sup.*

Barbarossa flees
in despair
to Bona.

The unusual noise and uproar soon brought *Barbareſſe* thither, who commanded the gates to be immediately opened to him; but finding his orders only answered by the muſket-ſhot, and volleys of ſtones, which the ſlaves diſcharged againſt him, cried out, in a rage, *I am undone; theſe Chriſtian dogs have got poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and of all my treaſures.* And, without ſtaying longer, he went and gathered to him what *Turks* he could get, and fled away with all ſpeed; ſo that, before *Charles V.* could get the news of this revolution, he was got ſafe to the city of *Bona*.

SIMONI was the firſt who ſent the emperor notice of it, as ſoon as he heard that *Barbaroſſa* had fled from the city, and was alſo the firſt who preſented himſelf to him, upon his entering the city, at the head of 6,000 ſlaves, his companions. The ſight of whom was ſo agreeable to that monarch, that he tenderly embraced the *Malteſe* knight, with theſe words, *My dear friend, bleſſed for ever be that noble reſolution which enabled you to break off your fetters, to facilitate my conqueſt, and increaſe the glory of the Malteſe order.* The brave *Simoni* was ſoon after diſmiſſed, with all poſſible tokens of eſteem and friendſhip, to his noble brotherhood of *Malta*, and met with a reception ſuitable to his merit. But the joy that reigned in the camp of the Chriſtians was ſoon after damped, by the horrid outrages and cruelties which the emperor's troops committed on the unfortunate *Tuneſians* of both ſexes. The men were tortured all manner of ways, to oblige them to diſcover their hidden wealth, and the women, eſpecially the young ones, were expoſed to the aſſaults of every luſtful raviſher, and were even torn from their mothers arms, by thoſe very officers who ſhould have protected them from the inſults of the ſoldiery; ſo that neither ſex, age, nor rank, were exempted from their brutalities. *Haſſan* made in vain the moſt preſſing application to the emperor, to ſuppreſs thoſe cruel diſorders, at leaſt in appearance; for he knew that his ſubjects had cauſe to hate him, not only for his former tyranny, but much more for his calling a Chriſtian army to his aſſiſtance, and bring them and himſelf under a foreign yoke (E); and, being naturally haughty and vindictive,

• VERTOT, MARMOL, & al. ubi ſup.

(E) A moſt remarkable inſtance of this ſingular hatred, we are told, was given to him, on this occaſion, by a young beautiful damſel of diſtinction, named *Ayſa*, whom he met by chance in the ſtreet, as ſhe was led away captive, and bound, by a *Spaniſh* officer. *Haſſan*, whether ſtruck with pity, or, perhaps, with ſome ſtill more lively paſſion, immediately offered to redeem

vindictive, might take a secret pleasure in their distress and misery. However that be, it is reckoned that near 200,000 of them either perished or were made slaves, besides those myriads whom the soldiers sacrificed to their fury; many more, seeking to save their lives by fleeing into the adjacent deserts, were destroyed by the excessive heat and thirst, and every kind of want and misery; and those of both sexes, that were reduced to a dreadful slavery, amounted to above 40,000.

CHARLES V. now master of *Tunis*, resettled *Muley Hef- Hassan* on his throne, but it was on condition that he should become tributary to him; and, as a pledge of it, kept the fort of *Goletta* in his hands, the fortifications of which he ordered to be repaired, and new ones to be added to them, and obliged *Hassan* to pay the garrison which he left in it, and to send prince *Mohammed*, one of his sons, thither, with some officers of his court, as hostages of his vas-

redeem her at any rate; but she, changing her grief into resentment, spit in his face, with these words; "Be gone, wicked and perfidious wretch, who, to regain a kingdom which did not belong to thee, hast most shamefully betrayed thy nation and country." The king, however, without expressing any resentment at her repulse, offered the officer some very considerable sums for her ransom; when she, becoming more outrageous, bid him be gone a second time, telling him, that she scorned to owe her freedom to a tyrant (10).

Marmol confirms likewise what we have said of his revengeful temper; for, when the emperor told him that he had promised to his troops the plundering of the city, and asked him, whether there was any quarter, streets, or houses, he would wish to be

spared, he readily answered in the negative, and added, that there was not one subject in it that he had not cause to be displeased with; from which it plainly appears, that he then regarded his revenge more than his interest. But he was soon after obliged to alter his tope, when he found that his soldiers, especially his *German* troops, massacred all they came at without distinction, out of a notion that was spread among them, that he had obtained a promise from the emperor, that none of the inhabitants should be made slaves, for he then applied afresh to him, and begged, that the soldiers might be contented with the plunder, and that the citizens might be made prisoners of war, which was granted to him, and an end, though late, was put to their horrid butchery (11).

(10) *Marmol*, ubi sup. Bist. ap. Vercot, Hist. Malt. vol. iv. p. 73, & seq.

(11) *Marmol*, ibid.

salage (F). He designed likewise, before he left *Africa*, to have laid siege to *Mehedia*, a sea-port in the kingdom of *Fez*, but was prevented by a sudden storm, which so shattered his fleet; that it was not without the greatest danger and difficulty that he reached the port of *Trapano* in *Sicily* u.

Many cities revolt from him.

MULEY HASSAN now become more odious than ever, not only on account of the late cruelties committed by the Christians in his metropolis, but much more for his being now become a vassal and ally of the Christians, found less quietness in his kingdom since his restoration, than he had before. The emperor had left with him 200 of his soldiers, to be a guard both to his person and castle, but had the frequent mortification to hear of some of his cities which revolted from him, and either erected themselves into little commonwealths, or put themselves under the protection of the *Turks*. *Barbarossa*, who was gone from *Bona* to *Algiers*, with a resolution to raise a powerful army and fleet against him, quickly returned with them, and made himself master of several considerable places; whilst, by the assistance of *Andrea Doria*, *Hassan* had reduced several others to their allegiance. But that admiral was too politic to act

u MARMOL, VERTOT, ubi sup. BOSIO, & al.

(F) By the same treaty, *Muley Hassan* was tied to several other articles, the principal of which were those that follow:

1. That all Christian captives, of whatsoever nation, should be released without any ransom.
2. That Christians should have a free commerce throughout the whole kingdom.
3. That they should be allowed to settle in it, to build churches and monasteries, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.
4. That no corsair, *Turk*, or *Moor*, should be allowed to come to any sea port, be furnished with any provisions, or be assisted or favoured in any case, by the *Tunese*ns.
5. That the *Goletta* should pertain to the emperor, and his successors, for ever; and that *Hassan*, and his successors, should pay 12,000 golden crowns yearly, for the maintenance of its garrison.
6. That the whole coral fishery should belong to the emperor, and his heirs, for ever.
7. That the kings of *Tunis* should hold themselves vassals and dependants on the crown of *Spain*, and send thither yearly, in token of it, six horses and twelve falcons; in consideration of which they should be intitled to the protection of that crown, &c. (12). All which were equally grating to the *Mahomedan* powers.

(12) *Marmol*, ubi sup.

against

against the *Algerine* viceroy, who, though the most dangerous enemy that the emperor had among all the *Turks*, yet he thought it more prudent to let him escape in the *Atlantic**, where he had it in his power, and was strongly solicited, to have defeated him there; a politic maxim, too common among commanders of all nations, not totally to overthrow an enemy, though a rival, who gives them such an opportunity to display their talents and capacity. But, whilst *Hassan* and he were consulting about the means of suppressing *Barbarossa's* conquests upon him, one of which was the port of *Susa*, which was revolted from him, and on the point of falling into his enemy's hands, it was agreed, that he should apply to the grand master of *Malta* to assist him in reducing that important port, and others which had been already taken from him. He sent accordingly an em *Hassan* *applies to* *the Mal-* *tese for* *aid.* *assador*, named *Camuchi*, or *Camugi*, to represent to him the danger he was in from the advantages which the *Turks* were still gaining over him. The grand master, who considered that matter as more immediately concerning the emperor than his order, failed not to acquaint him with it, as that prince was now his vassal and tributary. The emperor sent forthwith orders to his viceroy of *Sicily* to send him all the assistance he could; but this last was, tho' ready and free with his promises, yet so slow in his performance, that, being at last quite out of patience with his untoward subjects, and weary of ~~waiting~~ for the promised succour, he resolved once more to go and solicit it in person x.

But whilst he staid in *Sicily*, and was consulting with *His son* the viceroy about the most effectual means of suppressing the *Hamida* overgrown power of *Barbarossa*, his ill fortune raised him a *revolts* more powerful and dangerous enemy at home, of whom he *against* had not the least mistrust. This was his own eldest son *him*; *Muley Hamuda*, who, at the instigation of a great favourite, named *Mahmed*, whose father *Hassan* had put to death, took the most effectual means to dethrone him, during his absence. To this end he began with complaining, that his unhappy father was gone over to the emperor, with a design to turn Christian, and to concert with him about depriving him of the succession, whom he knew to be an enemy to Christianity, and to setting the crown on his next brother *Mohammed*, who had betrayed a great propensity to it. After this he caused several false rumours to be spread, the one, that, being seized with some dangerous disease at *Naples*, he had desired to be baptized before he died. Another re-

* VERTOT, ubi sup. MARMOL, & al.
VERTOT, &c ubi sup.

* MARMOL, BOSIO,

port went current, that he had been taken by the *Turks*, and carried prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he would either be put to death, or imprisoned for life, on account of his apostacy. His father was so ill beloved at *Tunis*, that his rumours were readily believed; and the prince made no difficulty to come into the city, and take possession of the royal palace. He met there, however, an unexpected repulse from the old governor, who sharply rebuked him for his so easily crediting such ill news, and being in such haste to get into his father's throne, for which he would be quickly called to a severe account. *Hamida*, confounded at his repulse, retired to a pleasure-house he had a few miles out of *Tunis*; upon which the old governor went in a vessel to the *Goletta*, to inquire after the king's health; and, being assured by him, that he was still at *Naples*, and in perfect health, returned immediately to the city, and took the most effectual means to suppress all these false reports.

BUT this was so far from silencing them, that it rather spurred the prince, and his favourite, to propagate and aver them the more openly. Nothing they pretended was more certain than the king's death, and his dying a Christian; and the old governor, who was in prince *Mohammed's* interest, went to the *Goletta*, where he was kept hostage, as was hinted before, to concert with him, and the *Spanish* governor, about the proper means of having him crowned, in prejudice of *Hamida*; adding, that the *Tunsiens* would soon see him come from thence, at the head of his *Spanish* auxiliaries, if they did not prevent it before it was too late. The boldness with which these things were affirmed, failed not to give them a sanction among the people, ever greedy of a change; and the danger of having a Christian king forced over them, for such young *Mohammed* was now believed, soon alarmed the whole populace, and *Hamida* was sent for, with all speed, to come to protect them from it. They found him in his garden, overwhelmed with dread and grief at the dangerous and unpardonable step which his favourite had persuaded him to take. He was quickly awaked, however, from his melancholy fears by the shouts of the people, who were sent to fetch him, and hastened with them to *Tunis*, where, being joined by the rest of the populace, he went at their head directly to the castle, caused the old governor to be murdered, with several others of his father's faithful friends, and, *Abalom* like, forced the most beloved of *Hassan's* wives into his incestuous embraces.

*Hamida
sent for
and in-
groomed.*

Hassan THE news of this unnatural rebellion soon reached the unfortunate *Hassan*, who, to prevent his son's entering into some strict alliance with *Barbarossa*, made all possible haste to

to reach his own capital. He had about 2,000 *Italians* with him, which the viceroy had given him leave to enlist among the banditti, and other outlaws, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*; and landed with them at the *Goletta*, whence he was advised by the governor not to stir, till he was well apprised of the strength of his rebellious son, and the disposition of his subjects. But he, thinking that *Hamida* would never have the boldness to face him, marched directly to *Tunis* at the head of his small army. What still more determined him to hasten thither, with so weak a force, was, that the treacherous *Hamida* had sent a party of his creatures to meet him, not as an enemy, but as loyal subjects, who came to welcome their native prince's return to his dominions, and to assure him, that they had left his revolted son in the utmost consternation and despair; and that he seemed resolved to go and take refuge among some friendly *Arabs*, in the farthest parts of his dominions. Some say, that the citizens having asked *Hamida* whether he would submit to his father, he answered, that his father had turned Christian, and came to destroy them, and they ought all to stand in their own defence; to which they replied, if the king comes accompanied by Christian soldiers, we will die in your defence; but if he brings none but his *Moorish* guards, we will not consent to take up arms against him.

Upon which it was agreed, that this party should go before to reconnoitre what forces the king brought along with him. However that be, he had disposed his 500 *Moors* in such a manner, that they covered the *Italian* forces that came behind; whilst the *Arabs* from within kept themselves up in arms, waiting the signal for which side they were to take; at length some skirmishes happened between those that were without and the king's forces, which occasioned a discovery of the 2,000 *Italians*; upon which the *Tunefians*, taking it for granted that he was turned Christian, as his son had given out, a bloody battle immediately ensued, in which his forces were greatly overpowered, not only by the *Tunefians*, but by some large parties of *Arabs*, that lay in ambush among the neighbouring olive trees; so that, after an hot engagement, in which many of his forces were slain and taken prisoners, and a much greater number ran away into the woods, and thence into the *Goletta*, in a sad plight, he was surrounded by his son's forces, and brought prisoner into his capital, and there closely confined. In the morning, he sent to intreat his son to come to him, and hear what he had to say for himself, in order to come to an amicable composition with him; but *Hamida* absolutely refused to see him, and sent some executioners to him, who left him only the choice, either

*Hassan de-
feated and
taken.*

either to lose his eyes or his life; and, as he chose the former, they immediately deprived him of his sight with a hot lancet, and left him to languish in his dungeon, loaden with chains, grief, and misery.

HAMIDA, now in peaceable possession, as he thought, of the *Tunefian* throne, turned his troops against *Bizerta*, one of those towns in which *Barbarossa* had thrown a *Turkish* garrison; but, whilst he was busy in reducing that important place, the viceroy of *Naples*, apprised of *Hassan's* defeat, had sent him a fresh supply of 1,500 *Spanish* troops, under the command of *Alonzo Bivas*, which landed at the *Goletta*, together with some *Arabs*, and other allies; upon which the governor of it sent *Abdulmelech*, *Hassan's* brother, in a disguise into *Tunis*, accompanied by several of his friends, who easily dispersed themselves into several parts of the city, it being then a holiday, in which the *Tunefians* made great rejoicings, and being thoughtless of any danger, and these coming on the sudden in arms to the castle-gate, killed the guards, and made themselves masters of it. *Abdulmelech* immediately seized upon the young *Said*, *Hamida's* son, and caused his eyes to be put out, and himself to be proclaimed king. He had not enjoyed that title much above a month, during which he took care to send 6,000 ducats to the garrison of *Goletta*, pursuant to the old treaty, before he was taken ill of some dangerous distemper; upon which he released his brother *Hassan's* son, sent him back his wives and concubines, which his unnatural son had seized upon, and forced to his bed, and which, for that reason, he refused to admit any more into his own, but sent them back to their respective parents and relations. *Abdulmelech* died about a fortnight after, during whose sickness his servants stripped him of his best furniture, and kept him so close a prisoner, that, every time the door of his chamber was opened, he expected they were going to assassinate him.

*dies soon
after.*

As soon as he was dead, the *Tunefians* chose *Muley Mohammed*, *Hassan's* son, then an hostage at *Goletta*, for their king: but *Don Francesco Touar*, the governor of the fort, refused to release him, and set up one of *Abdulmelech's* sons, named also *Mohammed*, upon the throne, who was received with great applause, but reigned only four months. In the mean time *Muley Hassan* ventured to go to the *Goletta*, probably to expostulate with the governor, but was sent by him to the small island of *Tabarea*, which lies on the coasts between *Bona* and *Carthage*, whence he passed afterwards to *Sardinia*, *Naples*, *Rome*, and last of all to the emperor, then at *Ausburgh*, who gave him a kind reception, and

Y BOSIO, MARMOL, VERTOT, &c. ubi sup.

seemed

seemed to pity him much, but bad him hope for better times (H).

ALL this while the treacherous *Hamida*, being denied admittance into his capital, and other towns of the realm, wandered about from court to court, among the *Moorish* and *Arabian* chiefs, to beg their assistance. At length the *Tunefians*, who were by that time dissatisfied with *Mohammed's* government, sent to invite him back. *Hamida* accordingly *Hamida* embarked, with such friends as he had with him, in a cor-sair vessel, and landed soon after at *Monasteer*. *recalled.* Thence he got to some of his *Arabian* friends, from whom he obtained some reinforcement, with which he entered so unexpectedly into *Tunis*, that the young king had scarcely time to save himself in the *Goletta*. *Hamida* no sooner saw himself master of the city and castle, than he caused all those that had been in the opposite interest to be put to the most cruel deaths; some of the principal of whom he caused to be thrown to, and to be devoured alive by, dogs. After this

(H) This was, indeed, a poor comfort and recompence for the loss of his eyes and kingdom; and, tho' the only one he ever received from that monarch, was still thought greater than he deserved, for his servile submission and attachment to a Christian prince. But there were two other circumstances, which no less aggravated his misfortune, than it and the *Spanish* ingratitude. The one was the governor of *Goletta's* depriving his son of the succession, and keeping him still an hostage, or rather prisoner, when he might have set him upon the throne, with the common consent and approbation of the *Tunefians*. The other was, his wringing him of a great part of his cash, jewels, and other valuable things, which he had intrusted to his keeping, upon his passing into *Europe*, to go to *Naples*, and which he now refused to restore to him in his greatest distress.

How far that minister acted of his own accord in both these instances, we shall leave to the reader to guess from the sequel. *Marmol*, notwithstanding his usual partiality for the *Spaniards*, owns, that the unfortunate prince made bitter complaints to his imperial majesty against his governor, yet doth not mention any rebuke being given him for what he had done, nor any other redress granted to the sufferer; but only says in general, that the emperor pitied him, and ordered that he should be supplied with every thing he stood in need of, still better times, which never came; for both master and minister not only suffered his unnatural and perfidious son to usurp his father's throne without molestation, but even assisted him against his two chief enemies *Havradin Barbarossa*, and his favourite *Dragut* (13).

(13) *Portus, Bist, uli sup. Marmol, lib. vi. c. 18.*

he quietly enjoyed the kingdom till the year 1570, when his metropolis was betrayed by some of the inhabitants, into the hands of the famed *Ochali*, or *Hali*, then *Basha* of *Algiers*; since which time both that, and the whole kingdom, have remained in the possession of the *Turks*, as we have already hinted in the foregoing chapter ^b.

BUT to return to the unfortunate *Hassan*; he still remained in some of the emperor's dominions, till that monarch had raised that powerful armament, which failed soon after into *Africa*, in order to dispossess *Barbarossa*, and other *Turkish* corsairs, of those places which they had made themselves masters of along the coasts of *Barbary*. In this expedition he had taken care to engage the Pope, the *Genoese*, *Venetians*, and the *Maltese*; all who were to furnish their several quotas of ships, men, and ammunition, to join that large fleet, which he had ordered to be equipt in his several ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; all which made up a most powerful force, and was commanded by the great *Genoese* admiral *Doria*, and some of the most experienced officers of sea and land, both from the isle of *Malta*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which threw all the piratic crew into the greatest consternation, put them upon the most expeditious means of defence, and obliged them to apply to the *Porte* for fresh assistance. This armada was to begin with dislodging the famed corsair *Dragut* out of several sea-ports on the *Tunesian* coasts, of which he had made himself master, and which were now become his arsenal, magazine, place of arms, and of his corsairs rendezvous.

Dragut
the great
pirate, his
extract
and rise.

BUT, before we proceed farther with the other exploits of that celebrated pirate, our readers will not perhaps be displeased, if we give them some previous account of his original, and most surprizing rise and character. He was born in a small village of *Natolia*, situate over against the isle of *Rhodes*, of mean *Mohammedan* parents, who lived by the tillage and product of a small spot of ground. *Dragut* was soon weary of their way of living, and lifted himself at the age of 12 years, under an officer of artillery, belonging to the Grand Signor's gallies, as a common sailor, but soon became a most expert cannoneer under him, and served some years in that quality. At length, having gathered up some money, he bought a share in a brigantine belonging to some corsairs, and was, by his good fortune in it, enabled to be master of a small galley of his own, by which, besides the many prizes he took, he became so perfectly acquainted with all the isles and sea-ports, bays, harbours, rocks, and

^b See before, p. 316.

himself, on all those coasts, that he was gladly received into the service of the no less famed *Barbarossa*, then admiral of the *Turkish* fleet, and the terror of all the Christian maritime states. *Barbarossa* was too well acquainted with his valour and merit, not to give him all possible encouragement; and, after having made him go thro' all the lower ranks, raised him to that of his lieutenant, and gave him the command of a squadron of twelve galleys.

FROM this time *Dragut* did not suffer a summer to pass without ranging the Christian sea-coasts, and committing some dreadful ravages on those of *Naples* and *Sicily*. Scarce a vessel could sail from *Italy* to *Spain* but became his prize; and, whenever he failed of making a sufficient number of such captures, he made himself ample amends by some descent along those coasts, and plundering whole towns and villages, and carrying the inhabitants into slavery. At length the emperor, tired with the daily complaints which were made to him of these continual depredations, sent express orders to admiral *Doria* at any rate to put an end to them, and to rid those seas of so dreadful an enemy. *Doria* accordingly equipped what ships he could get fit for his purpose, and gave the command of them to his young nephew, to give him an opportunity of signalizing himself against such a formidable enemy. The young admiral lost no time, but sailed with all expedition in quest of him, and had the good fortune to find him in a small creek, near the castle of *Giralatta*, on the coast of *Corfica*, between *Calvi* and *Laz-urzo*.

*Doria sent
against
him.*

DRAGUT, who knew nothing of the imperial fleet being at sea, was scarcely got into it, before he saw himself closely shut up, and furiously battered by the cannon of the castle, and the artillery of the imperial squadron. He defended himself at first with his usual bravery, but finding their fire so much superior to his own, and himself surrounded by the inhabitants of that coast, who ran in shoals to help to destroy a piratic crew, which had so often ravaged their towns and villages, he was forced at length to hang out the white flag. He tried in vain to capitulate; all that he could obtain from the young admiral was, to save his own life, with the loss of his liberty, and the surrender of himself, and all the vessels he had, at discretion, to the governor of the castle, which was accordingly complied with. What most mortified the rough old corsair was, when he and his officers were brought into the admiral's ship, to find him a mere stripling; inso-much that, unable to contain his indignation, he broke out into some indecent expressions, which procured him a severe drubbing, and occasioned his being clapt in irons as a com-

*Defeats
and takes
him.*

mon

Dragut
released,
and re-
stored.

mon slave (1), and to be sent to *Genoa*, where he continued four years in the state of slavery, in spite of all the efforts and vast offers of *Barbarossa* and the Grand Signor, to have him ransomed at any price. The *Genoese* would, in all likelihood, have kept him in that state his whole life, but were at length forced to surrender him to *Hayradin Barbarossa*, who had succeeded his brother at *Algiers*, and at the *Porte* as *Turkish* admiral †, when they saw him appear at the mouth of their river to demand him, at the head of an hundred gallies, to prevent their city and territory from being bombarded and ravaged by him. *Dragut* was accordingly released, and sent, laden with rich presents, to the old *Turkish* admiral c.

He was quickly reinstated by him in his former post, and put at the head of a powerful squadron, and in a condition to revenge at once his former disgrace, and the ill treatment he had received from the *Genoese*, during these four years. His resentment, by this time, having inspired him with a more inveterate hatred than ever against the Christians, he began to vent it at first against the kingdom of *Naples*. He took and plundered the castle at *Lamora*, and all the villages along that coast, carrying off great numbers or captives, and other valuable plunder. His next booty was a *Maltese* galley, which had been parted from its squadron by a storm, and in it were found 70,000 crowns, designed to be employed in repairing the fortifications of *Tripoli*, which made that loss the more considerable. On the other hand *Hayradin Barbarossa*, having turned over the care of his fleet to his released lieutenant, being above 80 years of age, was then indulging himself in his old debauches at *Constantinople*, which he now followed to such a degree, with a number of his fairest captives, that he was found dead in his bed by the excess of them, to the great regret of *Soltan Soleyman*, who, to repair as much as possible that great loss, ordered all his corsairs to acknowledge *Dragut* for their commander. He did not, however, bestow on him the title of admiral, but contented himself with confirming him in the authority which *Barbarossa* had intrusted him with, over all the southern coasts of the *Mediterranean*.

Hayradin
Barbarossa
dies.

† De hoc vid. sup. p. 275, & seq. c. MARMOL, lib. vi.; c. 23. VERTOT, Hist. of Malta, lib. xi.

(1) His expression, at the sight of the young admiral, was, "Am I then doomed, at these years, to see myself laden with fetters by a beardless effeminate youth?" but some writers add, that the term effeminate implied something more reproachful and scandalous, than nothing but what is as common to be met with at *Genoa* or *Rome*, as in any part of the *Turkish* empire.

DRAGUT, now invested with the protection and authority of the Grand Signor, thought it highly necessary, after the example of his old master, to secure some strong place of retreat for himself, his ships, arms, and captures; in consequence of which he seized on the sea-ports of *Souza*, or *Suza*, and *Monastier*, which belonged to this kingdom of *Tunis*, and being open, and without fortifications, received indifferently all the pirates of every nation; so that they were as often under the dominion of the *Turkish*, *Moorish*, and other corsairs, as under that of their natural princes. *Dragut* was at that time in quiet possession of them, but easily foresaw, that he would not be able to hold them long against the superior forces of the emperor, and that he should certainly be attacked, by the next spring, by the united fleets of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he therefore cast his eye upon the port of *Africa*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Mohedia*, situate between *Tripoli* and *Tunis*, and not only strong by nature, but much more by its prodigious walls, and various outworks, as well as by an old well-built citadel, furnished with artillery, and other kinds of arms and ammunition, and a most commodious and spacious harbour, sheltered from all winds, and well fenced against all attempts. Neither did these advantages discourage him from pursuing his design, but only *seizes on* made him alter his measures; and, as he was not in a condition of reducing it by force, he resolved to attempt it by *by a stratagem* and treachery, in which he but too well succeeded, *and by which* he was enabled to do such incredible damages to the Christians on those seas, and sea coasts, till happily dislodged from that strong bulwark by the imperial fleet.

BUT, before we come to speak of that successful transaction the retaking, and afterwards the demolition, of that once so celebrated city and strong fortress, it will not, we hope, be unacceptable to our readers, if we give him some account of that important place, of its illustrious repairer and enricher, and of the immense labour and cost he bestowed in the building, beautifying, adorning, and fortifying it, in order to render it, in all these respects, as well as that of its advantageous situation, equal, if not superior, to any maritime city, not only in *Africa*, but in the whole world.

* *AFRICA* is situate in $35^{\circ} 16'$ of north latitude, and $27^{\circ} 21'$ of east longitude, from *Paris* †, and is commonly supposed to be the ancient *Numetum* of the *Romans*, but had undergone sundry vicissitudes since their time, and was run into utter decay.

† See D'ANVILLE's map of Africa.

and ruins, when *Mabedi*, the schismatic Khalif of *Kayruan*, rebuilt and fortified it, and called it by his own name *Medebodia*. It is built on a kind of peninsula, falling out of a point of land into the sea, about four leagues east of *Tebulba*; and, at the time of its being besieged by *Charles Vth's* forces, was encompassed about with thick stout walls, and flanked with strong towers, and other outworks, being surrounded on all sides by the sea, except a narrow slip, or neck of land, of about 350 paces in breadth, which joins it to the continent. This space was occupied by a strong castle built within the wall, which was solid rock, up as high as the plinth, and 40 feet thick, together with six towers at proper distances, and solid like the wall, and projected another forty feet outwardly, as far as the barbican of the ravelin. Above the castle were two other walls, the one answering to the town, and the other to the country, within which, and the void space between the towers, were the governor's apartment and the soldiers barracks. The four middle towers were of a square, and the two others, which were washed by the sea, of a round figure, and of a considerable height; every one of them had little doors, covered over with flatted iron, and so low, that one could not go in or out of them without stooping; so that each tower was a separate fortress. In the second square tower, towards the east, was the principal gate, there being none towards the land side.

THIS gate, as hath been elsewhere hinted, ran under the tower, through a long, dark, roofed, avenue, in which were six double doors in a direct line, and covered with platted iron, the inner one of which, as one came into the city, were of flat iron bars, nailed to each other crossways by strong nails of the same metal, without any timber; each of these doors had a lion in relief cast in brass, and so placed, as if looking at each other. The doors were not flat, but somewhat bending outward, and had each their iron portcullises and retreats, which slid down from the top of the tower, about eight yards from the height of its wall. There was still another a little lower, which served for a false battery, and was 12 feet thick, and with nine towers so nicely disposed, that each three answered to two of those of the castle.

THE city was 5,300 paces in circuit, and towers all around at the distance of 30 yards from each other. The arsenal faced the east, and stood near a stately mosk, contiguous to the city wall. At the end of the town, towards the north, is an eminence, on which was built a tower, which commanded the whole prospect of the sea. Within the town was an inclosed haven, which one entered into by a high

a high arched gate, in which the galleys and other lesser vessels were shut up; for those of a larger size, there was a convenient harbour near it. Fronting the city, on the south side, ran a ridge of rising hills covered with vineyards, and bespangled with variety of pleasure houses; and, on the east side, reigned a continued verdure of gardens and orchards, which were watered by the help of some adjacent wells. Behind them were the arable lands, which ended at a ridge of high hills, running quite from east to west, on the other side of which are seen some spacious plains, abounding with excellent pasture, to which the *Arabs* resort in the winter, with their vast herds of cattle, for the sake of that and the several small lakes that were formed here and there on the lower grounds.

THIS was the fine situation, beauty, and strength of *Mehedia* at this time; and the flourishing condition in which the Khalif above-mentioned had raised it, after it had been totally ruined by the successors of *Mohammed*; and, as he designed it for the place of his residence, instead of that of *Kayrwan*, he had been no less profuse in adorning it with the most stately edifices, than in fortifying it in the strongest manner; and, with respect to the latter, we are told by our author, that he even wished that he could surround it with walls of brass, instead of those of stone. *Dragut* had likewise, by this time, taken care to furnish it with all manner of arms and ammunition, and to throw into it a stout garrison, and had given the command of it to his nephew; and in this advantageous condition was this fortress, when the emperor *Charles V.* formed that noble resolution to wrest it out of that pirate's hands, maugre all difficulties and discouragements, and the inability the king of *Tunis* was in to give him any other assistance, than that of supplying his fleet with all necessary provisions to carry on the siege.

As soon, therefore, as every thing was got ready for that *Hassan* expedition, the old king *Muley Hassan*, old and blind as he and his was, resolved to pass into *Afric* with his two sons, *Muley* ^{two sons} *Mohammed* and *Muley Bubezar*, and to accompany the vice-roy of *Naples* to that siege, fully determined, if he could re- ^{armada.} cover his dominions, to take the severest revenge, not only on the perfidious *Hamida*, but upon all his friends and partisans. He sailed accordingly with the fleet, which soon reached the coasts of *Barbary* with a fair wind, where the

• MARMOL, ubi sup. vid. & VERTOT, ubi sup. •

*Admiral
Doria
takes Mo-
nastier.*

admiral, according to the emperor's orders, landed his forces at Cape *Bonajend*, and seized on the fort *Calibia*, whence he advanced to *Monastier*. Here the *Turks*, having sent some parties to reconnoitre them, were so vigorously attacked by the *Maltese* knights, at the head of a strong *Spanish* squadron, that they forced and pursued them quite into the town, and made themselves masters of it. The castle was next summoned to surrender, and, upon the *Turkish* governor's denial, was taken by assault, notwithstanding a vigorous defence, and great loss on both sides. The governor, an old corsair, was killed, and the rest of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants who had taken refuge in it, were made slaves.

*Resolves
the siege
of Me-
hedie.*

THIS quick success encouraged *Doria* to undertake next the siege of *Mehedia*, to which end he immediately wrote to the emperor for a fresh supply of ships, men, artillery, and provisions; and, whilst these were coming, went and posted himself among some islands near the place, to prevent *Dragut's* throwing any new reinforcement into it; all this while the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* had orders to send him whatever supplies he wanted, and were getting them ready; and the latter sent *Doria* word, that the inhabitants of that island were so highly concerned in driving the *Turkish* corsairs out of that place, that he designed to come thither in person, attended with a good number of troops, provisions, and ammunition. He was an old experienced officer, his name *Don Juan de Vega*, and the emperor had sent express orders to the admiral, not to undertake any thing of moment without him; all which not only caused the siege to be greatly retarded, but was a great mortification to him, who plainly foresaw, that, if he quitted those islands, *Dragut* would not fail to send some fresh forces into the town; yet was he forced to sail to *Palermo*, in order to take his directions from him, and hasten those succours which he had promised to bring. They accordingly sailed to *Drepano*, where they met the *Napoleitan* succours, which consisted of 24 galleys, and other transport ships, commanded by *Dott Garcias de Toledo*, the young viceroy of *Naples*. And this was like to have occasioned another delay, that young nobleman absolutely refusing to act as subaltern, as he styled it, to the brave *Juan de Vega*, and insisting upon commanding his own troops. The matter was at length, with some difficulty, compromised, by a mutual agreement, that each of them should command his own forces, and that the operations of the siege should be determined by the plurality of votes of the council of war. But, during that long delay, and

and *Doria's* absence, *Dragut* had taken care to send into the town a plentiful reinforcement of his best troops and officers, as well as of ammunition and provisions; whilst himself, with his fleet, were scouring the coasts, to prevent any fresh *Dragut* supply being brought into the Christians camp. This was *prepares* the situation of both sides, when the army landed, in order *for a de-* to begin the siege in form; the sight of which, and of so *sence.* powerful a fleet, but especially the batteries, and other preparations, would easily have brought the magistrates and chief inhabitants, who looked upon *Dragut*, their tyrant, with horror, to a speedy capitulation, had not his nephew, *Essé Rais*, a bold and resolute soldier, whom he had left governor of it, threatened to plunge his dagger into every man's heart, one after another, that durst utter a word about capitulating, and to set fire to every quarter of the city. He then asked them, in a gentler manner, whether they could be such fools, as to expect any favour from such enemies of their religion, and whether it were not much safer, and more honourable, to venture their lives and fortunes in defence of it, especially as they were supported with such a powerful and numerous garrison, and such brave old experienced officers as he had under his command. This silenced them at once, and animated the populace to a high degree against the Christians, and prevented all farther danger of a mutiny from that quarter.

To assure those citizens how little he feared this vast Christian army, he ordered a party of horse, and about 300 musketeers, to rally out, and take possession of a neighbouring hill, and harrafs from thence *Don Garcias's* camp, which was nearest to it. Against them *Don Garcias* soon advanced, at the head of a strong party, to dislodge them. The skirmish was hot and bloody, but the *Turks*, being quickly supported by 600 *Moors* armed with muskets, fell so furiously upon the *Neapolitans*, that they and their commander would in all likelihood have been cut to pieces, had not the brave *Juan de Vega* sacrificed his resentment to the emperor's service, and made all possible speed to their rescue, and dispersed the enemy.

But he was not more successful in his first attack; for, observing that his cannon had made what he supposed a sufficient breach in one of the outworks, he was immediately for mounting it by assault, notwithstanding his being told, by those who had been sent to view it, that it was fortified within with strong intrenchments, and filled at the bottom with iron spikes, which would infallibly occasion the destruction of the assailants. But, suspecting the report, or thinking it

exaggerated by their fears, he would allow only a day or two longer to widen the breach, after which he caused it to be mounted by the *Sicilians*, two hours before daylight, which they did with uncommon bravery, and met their deaths in the attempt, not above one of them having escaped the sword of the enemy, and him they only spared, in order to force him to make some discovery. Neither did those, whom he sent to support them, meet with a better fate, they being all destroyed by the besiegers fire or sword, and lay in dreadful heaps one upon another, till the sounding of a retreat put an end to the slaughter.

*Hassan
dies in a
but near
the camp.*

ABOUT this time the unfortunate king of *Tunis*, *Muley Hassan*, who had followed the Christians hitherto, and burned with desire to be restored to his kingdom, and consequently must have pined with grief at their long delays, and now much more at their bad success, was taken ill of a fever, and died in a poor wretched hut, on an adjacent hill, in the 66th year of his age. He was tall of stature, and of a black complexion, wise and valiant, but so vindictive, that he breathed nothing but anger and resentment against his unnatural son and his friends. His body was conveyed to *Kayrwan*, the burying place of the kings of his race ^z.

ALL this while the Christian army received constant supplies of men, provisions, and martial stores, but was no less annoyed by the frequent sallies of the besiegers, and the ambushes of *Dragut*, who had landed in the neighbourhood with about 800 *Turks*, and lay concealed behind a hill among the olive woods. This corsair, ever watching all advantages to annoy the enemy, had hired besides 3,000 *Moors*, and sent word to his nephew, that he designed to attack the enemy, at that wood, on St. *Juan's* day, that being the place whence they had their fascines, and ordered him to be ready on his side to make a vigorous sally at the same time. In the mean time a *Moor*, who belonged to the late *Hassan's* retinue, observing these *Moors* laying in ambush on their bellies, as he was going to the camp, and meeting the Christian party going for fascines, caused them to halt, and went to apprise the *Sicilian* viceroy of it. Don *Juan*, thinking it dishonourable to recall those men back to the camp upon a bare surmise, resolved to go to escort them, accompanied by the governor of the *Goletta*, some *Maltese* and other commanders, and a good squadron of horse, which immediately brought on a bloody engagement; for *Dragut*

^z MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 18.

and his troops, which lay concealed in the wood, waited no longer than till they were come near enough, and then rushed upon them with their usual fury, with their sabres in their hands. The onset was fierce and long, several of the *Maltese* knights, *Perez de Vargas*, governor of the *Goletta*, and a great number of Christians, were slain, and the viceroy, with great difficulty, got out of the wood; and, when he had regained the plain, was closely pursued by *Dragut* a considerable way to the camp. Whilst the *Turks* and Christians were engaged in the wood, the governor, according to his uncle's orders, made a vigorous sally out of the city, and, in spite of the fierce fire which the besiegers made upon him, which killed a great many of his men, some of them ventured so far as to plant two standards on the enemies trenches; but finding them doubly guarded, and the men regularly planted on their posts, he thought fit to sound a retreat, and retired into the town without doing any other harm.

Don *Juan*, on the other hand, had no sooner recovered his camp, than he ordered, by way of revenge, all his batteries to make a dreadful fire against the place, but the walls proved so thick and strong, that they scarcely made any impression on them, insomuch that the generality of officers began to talk of raising the siege. At length Don *Garcias*, the young viceroy of *Naples*, proposed to the council of war, to attack the place on the sea-side, where he was informed, by some deserters, the walls were much weaker, and would more easily give way. Upon which two flat galleys were immediately ordered to be fastened together, and a stout battery to be raised upon them, with parapets and embrasures, and to be towed in the night to the place designed for the new attack; which being done accordingly, the batteries began to play with such success, that a sufficient breach was quickly made for an assault. Immediately the knights of *Malta*, according to their privilege, prepared to mount the breach, accompanied by four companies of their own troops, and a great number of volunteers of several nations, whilst the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sicily* were causing a diversion on the land-side with their own troops. The assailants, finding themselves frequently stopped by some sandy banks, jumped into the sea, which came sometimes up to their very necks, and gained the bottom of the wall with great difficulty, whilst the *Turks*, planted on the top of the breach, were making a constant discharge of their cannon, muskets, arrows, stones, boiling water, and wild-fire, which destroyed a

A new attack made with success.

great number of them before they could come to scale the breach. They met with no less difficulty and danger, and a considerable loss, before they accomplished it, and penetrated from it to the town, which they were obliged to do, over a few beams and boards, the remains of an old gallery, now demolished, which communicated to it. The outcries of the inhabitants soon brought thither those *Moors* and *Turks* from the ramparts on the land-side, where they had been opposing the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* troops, and here would have begun a new fight, had not the *Maltese* by that time dispersed themselves through every part of the town, and driven the inhabitants out of it sword in hand, some of whom fled through the plain into the woods, others to the sea-coasts, and others desperately threw themselves into the waves; for the viceroy, finding against his expectation all quiet on the land-side, none of *Dragut's* forces appearing to make a diversion there, poured in his musqueteers and other forces in such plenty, that most of the streets of the place looked for some time like so many fields of battle; for the troops of the garrison so dreaded *Dragut's* resentment, that they would accept of no quarter, but fought desperately to the last, and died with their weapons in their hands.

*An immense
plunder
found in
the place.*

THE plunder, which was found in the place, was of an immense value, it being, as we observed before, the repository of *Dragut's* treasure, his chief arsenal, storehouse, and granary; besides which they found the merchants' houses full of rich merchandizes of all sorts, gold, silver, jewels, rich stuffs, drugs, &c.; and the inhabitants of both sexes, who were made slaves, amounted to seven, *Marmol* says ten thousand. But the most valuable prize was the city itself, the strongest on all the *African* coasts. The viceroy of *Sicily*, who was the oldest and chief commander, took possession of it in the name of the emperor, and challenged the whole glory of its reduction to himself, and made his son, Don *Alvarez*, governor of it, though Don *Garcias* deserved the greatest share of the honour, not only on account of his gallant behaviour during the siege, but as it was by his advice and contrivance that the siege was carried on at the most advantageous side, when the rest were ready to raise it.

DRAGUT, enraged at the loss of the place, all his stores, riches, and slaves, sent immediately an embassy to the *Porte*, accompanied, as usual, with large presents, to represent to the Grand Signor the importance of this and the other two

towns, which *Charles V.* had stripped his empire of, contrary to the treaty still subsisting between them, and, at the same time, inveighed bitterly against the knights of *Malta*, to whose bravery the loss of them, especially that of *Mehedia*, was chiefly owing. *Soleyman* was by this time become too powerful not to resent such a breach of faith, yet would not begin any hostilities, till he had sent to the emperor to demand the restitution of those three places: he was answered by that monarch, that those places belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis*, now tributary to the crown of *Castille*, *Soleyman* refused restitution. his generals had acted no other way than any other sovereign might have done, against a corsair that was detested by God and man, and whom, without intending to break the truce with his highness, he was resolved to pursue as a common pirate, wherever he lurked. This answer could not fail of exasperating that haughty Soltan, who caused a fresh order to be immediately dispatched to *Dragut*, to take up all the galleys and vessels that sailed under *Ottoman* colours, and to use his utmost efforts to recover those places from the Christians. At the same time, to take from the emperor all pretence to treat the corsair as a pirate, he sent him a commission, by which he appointed him Sangiac of the isle of *Santa Maura*. *Dragut* could not but be highly pleased with his new title and commission, but had but little stomach to the order of retaking these towns, as long as the *Maltese* continued so strong at sea, and in possession of *Tripoli*; and therefore sent word to the *Porte*, that he could have but little hopes of succeeding in that enterprize, unless the Soltan attacked both their island and that city with fire and sword, and drove that powerful enemy out of *Africa*, as they had been formerly out of *Asia*. This advice, being relished by *Soleyman*, diverted the storm from the coasts of *Tunis* to the island of *Malta* and city of *Tripoli*, in the former of which *Dragut* lost his life, as will be seen in a subsequent volume.

By all that we have seen of the emperor's conduct in the reduction of these three *Tunisian* sea ports, it doth not appear that he had any other view than the depriving of that formidable corsair, and all the piratic tribe, of those advantageous retreats. As for *Muley Hassan*, and his two sons, who came to this siege with them, we do not find that he had any thought of restoring any of them to the throne, tho' his interest might have induced him to it, as the then possessor of it, the perfidious *Hamida*, had not only disavowed all dependence and vassalage to him, but was then his declared and irreconcilable enemy, and was no less pressing than *Dragut*, by his embassies and presents to the *Porte* to induce

induce Soltan *Soleyman* to declare war against him. The truth is, that *Charles V.* had too many things of greater moment upon his hands, as will be shewn in a subsequent volume, to give any farther attention to these conquests, which he was quickly after obliged to abandon, and even to order this important place to be demolished.

The gar-
rison of
Boumedia
revolts.

BUT to return to the garrison: *Don Sancho de Leva* was soon after sent thither to succeed *Don Alvarez* as governor, who ordered them to make fresh incursions upon the neighbouring *Moors*; whence they came back laden with rich plunder, which he obliged them to live upon, without allowing them any farther pay. The soldiers, apprehending that he sunk it in his own pocket, became so exasperated against him, that he was forced to fly to save his life; upon which they chose one *Antonio de Aponte* to command in his room, together with a serjeant major to see his orders executed. The viceroy of *Sicily*, being acquainted with this revolution, sent word of it to the emperor, and, at the same time, endeavoured to reduce them to their obedience, by stopping the usual provisions that were sent to them from thence. But this only obliged them to equip a small vessel with 60 soldiers, who, sailing into *Sicily*, seized what corn they could get out of the vessels. They likewise obtained other provisions from the grand master of *Malta*, and other places, for their money; so that, being by this means so plentifully supplied, they resolved, one and all, not to receive *Don Sancho* again, tho' the emperor and viceroy had sent them orders to submit to him, under severe penalties. This contest lasted a considerable time, during which officers were sent, some with threats, others with flattering promises. Some of them had even been bribed by the viceroy to assassinate the heads of this small, but well-governed republic, but were prevented from it by a sudden blast of a burning wind, which forced them to seek for cool shelters in caves and cisterns, just as they were on the point of executing their bloody design; yet this prevented not the two chief assassins from murdering the serjeant-major, and such other mutineers as were the main props of the revolt; after which all became quiet again. At length a new governor was sent thither, who found the place in want of all things for its defence, and the soldiery in a great ferment for want of pay.

Charles offers it to the knights of Malta; He apprised both the viceroys of it, who proposed the demolishing of it to the emperor; but that politic monarch was rather inclined to turn that place over to the knights of *Malta*, instead of *Tripoli*, which the *Turks* had lately retaken.

from them, and proposed to pay them 20,000 crowns *per an.* for the maintenance of the garrison and fortifications. No artifice was omitted by his ministers and creatures to persuade the grand council to accept of the emperor's generous offers, as they were styled. Those knights had too many powerful reasons to deter them from saddling their order with such an important place; such as disobliging the *French* king, exasperating the *Porte*, &c.; so that the proposal was rejected by a great majority. An embassy was immediately dispatched to him to excuse their non-acceptance; *quo ore* *fuse it.* and though *Charles* could, as grand protector of their order, have obliged them to it, yet he chose rather to have it demolished, and gave orders to have it done accordingly.

ON their abandoning the place, they brought away, in two large chests, the remains of those brave commanders who had lost their lives at the siege of it, and had lain buried in the principal mosk of it ever since it was taken. Upon their arrival in *Sicily*, the viceroy of that island ordered them to be deposited in the great cathedral of *Mount Real*, near *Palermo*, and a mausoleum to be erected over them, with a pompous epitaph to their memory, the sense and purport of which the reader may see in the margin (I). To conclude this section, the emperor was now glad at any rate to prevent the danger of *Mehedia* falling into the hands of his *Turkish*, or other enemies, by blowing up all its fortifications, and reducing the rest into that heap of ruins in which the *French*, then at war with him, afterwards found it, who were sent by their general to reconnoitre it.

THIS proved, however, a difficult task to be performed in due time, not only on account of the number and strength of those works, which would require a vast number of hands, but because it was to be done with the utmost speed, lest the *French* or *Turkish* fleet, then out at sea, and not very far from the place, should come and surprise it before it was completed. On the other hand, there reigned a general

MARMOL, BOSIO, VERTOT, &c.

(I) Though death hath put an end to the life of those, whose ashes lie under this marble, yet with the memory of their singular valour never have an end. The faith of these heroes hath obtained them a place in heaven, and their courage hath filled the world with their glory. So that the blood, which issued out of their wounds, hath recompensed their loss of one life, with a double immortality *.

* *Marmol, Afric. lib. vi. c. 28. ad fin.*

murmuring among both soldiers and sailors, being unaccustomed to such laborious works, and already highly dissatisfied for want of their pay, and on account of the arrears that were due to them; nor would the danger they were in from the *Turkish* and *French* fleets have been sufficient to induce them to set about it, had not the politic governor appeased their discontent by a prompt payment of part of their demands, and great promises and engagements for the rest, to be paid at the first *Sicilian* port they should come at after the work was done. This had, at length, the desired effect, and miners, soldiers, and sailors, went about it with such readiness, and plied it night and day with such dispatch, that nothing remained to be done but setting fire to the mines.

THEIR next business was to put their men, artillery, and ammunition on board, leaving only an officer behind, whom they could confide in, together with two thirds of a company of foot, to blow up the whole, and to see that no one mine was left unsprung. Those under the walls and principal towers amounted to twenty-four; every one of which ran with its branches by several ways quite down to the very foundation, and had a soldier appointed to set fire to it, with each a match of a fathom and a half in length, and exactly of the same thickness. They were ordered to light them at the firing of the first cannon, and to stoop down at the firing of the second. They were likewise ordered to put it into the great pipe made for that purpose, and to push them to the mouth of each mine in such manner, that two spans of it might penetrate into the powder, and the remainder should be out of it, with its end lighted and burning; and this was done to the intent that they might all take fire at the same instant of time. Every soldier was moreover ordered, after he had planted his match in the manner above-mentioned, to go and visit that of his next companion; and the commanding officer was to take care that every thing was performed according to order, and with the utmost speed. The reason of all these precautions is obvious; for if, among such a number of mines, one or more had chanced to spring before the rest, some of these might have been so far overwhelmed by the rubbish as to extinguish the matches, and prevented their blowing up, which would have frustrated their designs, as their intention was to destroy all the fortifications so effectually that they might not be restored.

As soon, therefore, as the soldiers had set fire to their respective matches, they hastened into their boats, and rowed far enough from the shore to be out of all danger from them. The first mines that sprung up were those of the west side, which

which blew up all the towers of the land side into the air to- *The fur-*
wards the west, though so strongly built, and at such a vast *ous effects*
expende and labour, that the Khalif *Mehedi* was heard to say, *of the*
he would have been at the charge of casting them in metal, *mines.*
if that would have rendered them more safe and impregnable.
And such was the destruction of them, and of the other works
every where, that one would have imagined that the four ele-
ments had lent their united strength to complete it; so in-
stantaneously was that noble place reduced into a heap of
ruins, as not to be known even by its own inhabitants; in-
somuch, that this port became afterwards fatal for a while to
the vessels that sailed thither. There was but one out of all
the mines that missed taking fire; namely, that which
lay under the great tower, through which was the deep gate
leading to the land side, lately described. The officer and
his men were, therefore, obliged to land once more and set
fire to it; upon which both that and the two towers which
guarded the entry of the port flew up into the air, and dis-
covered the large marble columns which supported them, and
which were of one solid piece, to avoid the use of the ce-
ment, which might otherwise have been apt gradually to be
impaired by the dampness of the ground and the beating of
the waves, and with the same view they were reared on a
flout pavement of large blocks of the same hard stone; by
which, and all we have said above, our readers may judge
what an immense labour and expence it must have cost the
Khalif above-named to raise this city to such a prodigious
degree of strength, which required so much of both to re-
duce it to that heap of ruins in which it hath lain ever since.
And we are in hopes, that the curiousness and importance of
this subject, so completely transmitted down to us by an eye-
witness of such note and credit, will sufficiently apologize
for our having dwelt so long upon it.

If *Charles V.* had now cause to rejoice at his success in
the demolition of a fortress which had proved a heavy and
expensive burden to him, and which none of his friends cared
to take off his hands upon any consideration, *Hamida*, the
then reigning tyrant of the *Tunesian* kingdom, had no less
reason to be pleased to see himself happily rid of so powerful
an enemy, and so grievous a thorn in his side as the Christian
garrison had been to him, which chiefly maintained itself by
the depredations they made in his territories. However, that
monarch had still the *Goletta* in his hands, and in it a good
strong garrison to keep him in awe; and it is very likely that

that obliged him to become his tributary, especially as that would prevent any new attempt against him from that quarter in favour of his brother *Muley Mohammed*: for we are expressly told, that he continued in the quiet possession of the throne seventeen years, after the demolition of *Mehedia*, that is, till *an.* 1570, when the new Dey of *Algiers* drove him out of it, at the earnest request of his most considerable subjects^k.

THE suddenness of this new revolution was occasioned by his horrid tyranny and cruelties, particularly over several of the nobility, whom he had grievously insulted and abused both in person and estate. So that, unable to bear his yoke any longer, they resolved to apply to the above *Hali*, or *Ochali*, *Batha*, newly created Dey of *Algiers*, with whom several of the chiefs were personally acquainted. Accordingly, some of them were deputed to invite him to their assistance, and even to offer to him the sovereignty of the realm, to be possessed by him in the name of the *Ottoman* emperor.

THE chief managers of this negotiation were *Alcayde Eb'n Jibaara*, general of the horse, who bore *Hamida* a mortal grudge, though he so artfully concealed it, that he was not in the least suspected by him, and two other chief officers. These easily prevailed upon *Hali* to undertake so advantageous an expedition; and, upon his appearing at the head of his forces, and ready to engage, went all three over to him with their own partisans, according to agreement, at the very instant in which *Hamida* was preparing to attack him. This unexpected defection threw the tyrant into such a panic, that he left his army and fled with as many officers as would follow him, with all the speed he could to his own capital, not in the least doubting but that the citizens would unanimously oppose a *Turkish* enemy, whom they had so much cause to hate. But, to his still greater mortification, he found them all ready to join them as soon as they appeared within sight of the walls, to which *Hali* had pursued him. In this distress he ran to his palace, and taking out thence two of his wives, two sons, and what money, jewels, and other valuables he could get, he stole away in the night to the *Golletta*, attended only by twenty-five of his friends and domestics. In his way he was overtaken by a party of *Moors*, who were apprised of his flight, and who quickly eased him of the most valuable part of his luggage, without offering any farther harm either to him or his retinue; and, with the remainder, he got happily into the *Spanish* garrison; whilst *Hali* and his *Turks* entered the city of *Tunis* without the

Hamida
abandons
his troops.

^k GRAMMAY, MARMOL, & al. sup.

least opposition, towards the latter end of the year 1569. A mutual satisfaction soon appeared between the conqueror and his new subjects, whilst he not only treated them all with peculiar courtesy, but, contrary to the *Turkish* custom, shewed himself liberal and grateful to those who had been the chief promoters of this revolution. The *Arabian* princes came likewise to *Tunis* to congratulate him on his success, and offer their services and friendship to him, in hopes, most probably, of obtaining some presents, or at least a promise of such a yearly pension as the former kings of *Tunis* used to pay to them, in order to fix them to their interest. These likewise met with a gracious reception from him at first; but, whether they did afterwards intimate any thing like that to him, he took care to let them know, a few days after, that he should expect a tribute from them, to help to defray the charges of the government; but was not a little surprised to hear them answer, with a noble boldness, that he must expect no other tribute than what he extorted from them in the field with sword in hand. *Hali* staid some part of the next year to settle the state of his new kingdom, and appointed his favourite renegado *Ramadan Sardo* viceroy of it; who, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, became afterwards Dey of *Algiers*; and under him he left another *Neapolitan* renegado, named *Mahamed*, to act as field general. These had under them a garrison of 3000 *Turks* and renegadoes, to keep the people in their obedience; and, all things being thus regulated, he left the city, and returned to his own kingdom about the beginning of *April*, highly satisfied with his successful expedition ¹.

1570.

DURING these transactions, *Muley Mohammed*, the brother of *Hamida*, had found means to escape, first into *Numidia*, and thence into *Spain*, where he earnestly solicited that court to be restored to the *Tunesian* kingdom, promising, on that condition, to hold it from the *Spanish* crown, and to become tributary ^m. In whose favour the new armament was ordered under the command of Don *Juan* of *Austria*; of which we shall give an account in a subsequent part of this history. As to the reducing that kingdom on the following year by *Tunis* *Selim II.* under the conduct of the famed *Sinan*, *Basha* of the *Auced* *by* *Levant*, it hath been already related in a former volume, to *Selim II.* which we shall refer our readers for a further account ⁿ.

1574.

SINAN found this new conquered kingdom much divided, chiefly by the revolt of *Kayrwan*, which had chosen a prince

¹ See before, p. 314, & seq. ^m GRAMMAY, lib. vii. c. 2. sub fin. ⁿ See before, vol. xii. p. 370.

of its own, upon the expulsion of the *Turks* out of *Tunis* by the emperor, in order to prevent their falling again under the *Turkish* tyranny. They had, after the ejection of *Barbareffa* out of *Tunis*, elected the chief Alfaki of their great mosk for their Sovereign; who, by the assistance of his new subjects, and some *Arabian* troops, seized on several towns in the neighbourhood of *Kayrwan*, and had taken upon him the royal title. He had likewise made an alliance with *Hamida*, the king of *Tunis*, by some intermarriages, and was still upon the throne at the time of the emperor's expedition against *Mehedia*, and assisted him with some troops and provisions, in order to drive *Dragut* out of it. For this that corsair had sworn his death in revenge; and, to accomplish which, he corrupted several of the inhabitants, and particularly some *Alfakis*, to admit him into the city in the dead of night. So that entering it, at the head of some of his troops, he easily surprised the king in his palace, and murdered him: after which he made himself master of the place; and, though himself was killed at the siege of *Malta*, about eight years after, as will be shewn elsewhere*, yet had none of the *Tunisian* princes been able to reduce it to their own subjection†.

THIS was the state of the kingdom when *Selim* II. dispossessed *Philip* II. of its metropolis. *Sinan* Bascha, who was at the head of this expedition, the better to secure this new conquest to his master, not only destroyed all the Christians he found in that place, except about fourteen, whom he sent bound as trophies to *Constantinople*, but demolished the walls and citadel, and caused a new one to be built nearer the port; and, to prevent any new factions arising for the future to disturb this new state, he modelled it much after the form of those at *Algiers* and *Tripoli*; that is, he put it under the protection of the Grand Signor, and appointed a Bascha, or viceroy, under him, and a Dowan, which consisted of military men; placed proper governors, or Beys, over the provinces and garrisons in other parts of the kingdom, in order to secure its dependencies; and, at his departure, left 4000 *Jaghisaries* to curb and prevent any future mutiny. And here was a final end put to the power and splendor of the kings of *Tunis*, after it had continued 370 years, from the time that *Abraam*, al. *Abu Ferez*, laid the first foundation of it, an. 1204*.

See the History of Maltha, vol. xix. † MARMOL, lib. viii. c. 34. VERTOT, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al. sup. citat.

* See before, p. 421, & seq.

S E C T. VI.

The Sequel of the History of Tunis, after its Conquest by the Turks, to the Conclusion of the Peace and Treaty with England, an. 1718.

IN this section, instead of a series of princes, such as we have seen in the last, the reader must expect little else but a list of rapacious Deys, or viceroys, chosen by their own Dowan, much after the same manner as those of *Algiers*, *Beys*, whose avarice and ambition made those elections come so thick and fast one after another, that within the space of 120 years, that is, from the time of these first elections, to that of *Aggi Mahamed Coggia*, there have reigned no less than twenty-three, all of whom, except five, have been either dethroned, strangled, or some other way murdered. From the very beginning the *Tunefians* were so disgusted at the *Basha*, whom *Sinan* had set over them, that they immediately petitioned the *Porte* to abolish that dignity, and to give them leave to elect a Dey from among themselves, with the same power as those of *Algiers*; which, being readily granted to them, they forthwith proceeded to the choice of one, whom they massacred before the year was out. *Ibraim*, who succeeded him the year following, was in danger of undergoing the same fate, but timely prevented it by fleeing to *Mecca*. To these frequent and bloody revolutions succeeded another in process of time, in which the *Beys*, or second rank of officers, raised their power on the ruin of that of the *Deys*: so that the *Beylik* became gradually so despotic and absolute, that the *Grand Dowan*, or supreme council, dwindled to a mere shadow of power, and are to this day convoked by those *Beys*, merely to approve of what they decree, without being ever consulted by them, except when they are obliged to it, in order to prevent some fresh tumult, or to screen themselves from the resentment of an exasperated populace; neither hath the grand council a much greater influence in the elections to the *Beylik*, they being commonly carried by violence; the strongest sword or interest is the surest, and most commonly the only means of attaining that dignity, without any regard to succession. These disorders, perhaps, which have caused so much confusion and

The new government by Beys, who are often dethroned and murdered.

1574.

* See before, p. 413, & seq.

bloodshed in that kingdom, were, in all likelihood, the chief motives which induced the *Porte* to revive the old custom of sending their *Bashas* thither, to be a check or curb to their arbitrary proceedings.

ACCORDINGLY, we have taken notice in the *Algerine* history of several who were become great favourites at that court, on account of their strenuous valour and conduct, who have been removed from the Deylik of *Algiers* to the *Bashalik* of *Tunis*. Such were the brave *Ramadan Sardo*, *Hali* *Basha*, and others^b, who were as well received, and no less beloved at *Tunis*, than they had been at *Algiers*; yet these were recalled at the end of two years at most by that jealous and politic court, and sent upon expeditions of equal credit and importance. And this seems, in all probability, to have been done to prevent the no less jealous and powerful *Beys* raising some dangerous commotion against them, on account of their strenuous and intrepid conduct in supporting the interest of the *Ottoman Porte*, rather than out of fear of any coalition between them and the *Tunefians*.

The Dey
made Ba-
shas by the
Porte.

HOWEVER that be, we must look upon the whole space of the Dey's reign as not only an æra of rather anarchy and confusion than of a well regulated government, but likewise as a period little known to us, considering, that the various attempts made by the emperor, and other Christian princes, on this and other maritime kingdoms of *Barbary*, had put a stop, in a great measure, to all kind of commercial intercourse between the *Europeans* and them, and inspired all those *Mohammedan* nations with an invincible jealousy and hatred against every Christian nation. So that all the correspondence that passed between the *European* states and those of *Barbary*, was merely of the piratical kind, and the only one by which they desired to supply themselves even with such *European* commodities as they could not do without^c. And in this the *Tunefians* came not behind any of their neighbours; and we are assured, by an ingenious gentleman, who hath lately resided a considerable time in those parts^{*}, and from whose account of this kingdom, published about four years ago, we have taken the greatest part of this sequel of its history, that a *Genoese* renegado, who flourished some time within this interval, and was made commander of the galleys of *Bizerta*, a commodious port belonging to this kingdom, had made about twenty thousand Christian slaves. Such is the history of this kingdom could we, or were it worth our while, to

^b See before, p. 321, & alib. pass.

^c Ibid. p. 197, & seq.

^{*} Hist. of Algiers, Tunis, &c. an. 1750, London.

collect all the material transactions that have happened in it, from their first establishing themselves into this tumultuous and arbitrary form of government, we should find it to consist chiefly in their constant depredations at sea; and their frequent revolts and contentions, butcheries and tyrannies, at home; many of them fomented and heightened by the *Turks*, in hopes of finding some proper opportunity of raising themselves to the same height of despotic power over the *Moors* here, as they have done at *Algiers*, *Tripoli*, and were like to have done the same in *Morocco* and *Fez* more than once, as we have seen in the two former chapters. Of this the *Beys* were so aware, and so watchful against, that they made it a settled rule of their politics to cultivate a good understanding and friendship with the *Sharifs* on the one hand, and to obstruct the growing power of the incroaching *Turks* on the other. The *Algerines*, on their part, were no less watchful to prevent too close an union between the *Beys* and the *Sharifs*, as their country lies between them, and liable to be attacked on both sides, and to become a prey to those two states^d; and it was this jealousy that kindled those frequent wars which happened between them; and, particularly, that dreadful one against the *Tunefians*, which we just gave a hint of in the history of *Algiers*; but which we shall here resume a little lower, as it is one of the most considerable transactions of their modern history, and the most proper to give our readers a taste of the rest, which we pass over for the reasons lately mentioned.

MORAT II. Bey of *Tunis*, left three sons at his death, Circ. an. 1681. *Mahamed*, *Hali*, and *Ramadan*, who all contended for the succession to the Beylik. *Ramadan* was the first, who, for peace's sake, gave up his pretensions, and left them at liberty either to divide or dispute the government between them. Their ambition soon determined them to the latter; which contest caused a great effusion of blood for some considerable time, till *Mahamed*, whether out of religious considerations, or tired with the opposition, gave it up to *Hali*, and retired to *Kayrwan*, where he gave himself up to solitude and devotion. *Hali* had not been long in quiet possession of the Beylik, before the war was kindled again by his own treachery: for *Mahamed*, at his resignation, having intrusted his favourite son *Achmed* to his care, he, upon some jealous surmise, had caused him to be put to death. *Mahamed* was soon informed of his perfidy by *Cheleby*, the then Dey, or next in dignity to the Bey, an ambitious statesman, who had long since waited for a favourable opportunity to raise himself

^d See before, p. 257, & seq.

to the Beylik, and now thought to effect it by the destruction of the two brothers; and, the more effectually to excite his resentment, offered to assist him with all his power and interest to revenge his son's death. *Hali*, at this time, had likewise made some strenuous attempt upon the city; for which the *Tunefians* had taken up arms against and defeated him; so that he had been forced to fly: but, upon hearing that the exasperated *Mahamed* was hastening to *Tunis*, he made all the dispatch he could to reach that city before him; but the politic *Cheleby* took care to shut the gates against him. *Mahamed*, to prevent the like obstruction, declared, that he came with no other view than to punish the authors of his son's death; but was told, that they, having notice of his approach by his brother *Hali*, had escaped on board a vessel, and were sailed away. At this news he lost no time, but pursued so closely after them, that he came upon them before they could put to sea, and took the vessel; and having sacrificed those murderers to the manes of his dear son, returned directly to *Tunis* ^e.

Mahamed punishes the murderers for the death of his son.

In the mean time the ambitious *Cheleby* had taken such care to inflame the citizens against the two contending brothers, upon whose destruction depended all his hopes, that, upon his return, they shut their gates against him, and boldly declared, that they would not submit to two brothers, whose mutual contentions alternately destroyed them; so that he must not expect any allegiance from them, unless he sacrificed his brother to the peace and tranquillity of the *Tunefian* state. This declaration soon caused a defection among *Mahamed's* troops; a great part of whom withdrew into *Tunis*, which obliged him to be reconciled to his brother, and to join forces with him to reduce the mutineers within. Upon which *Cheleby* made a stout sally upon them, and gave them both such an overthrow, that, if he had pursued his victory more closely, he might easily have gained his end, and been raised to the Beylik: but, instead of it, he suffered them to go on in their own measures, till, having hired a body of *Algerine* troops from the Dey, *Ibrahim*, for 40,000 piasters, he saw himself at once closely besieged by him and the two brothers in the city of *Tunis*. He had, however, the precaution to hire some *Moorish* Chiefs to assist him in the place, and the siege had already lasted from the month of *September*, 1685, to that of *June* of the following year; by which time those auxiliaries, naturally accustomed to range, being weary of continuing so long cooped within the city walls, retired to their mountains,

Tunis besieged.

and left him to make the best defence he could with his own citizens.

THEY had no sooner abandoned the city than *Kara Of-* *Kara Of-*
man, who commanded the cavalry in it, sallied out, under man goes
 pretence of pursuing those fugitives; instead of which, he over to the
 marched directly to the two Beys; upon which the gates besiegers.
 were immediately opened to them, yet rather as friends than
 conquerors. Whilst these were entering in at one end, *Che-*
leby was endeavouring to make his escape at the other; but,
 being discovered, was brought prisoner to the Dey *Ibraim's*
 tent; presently after which his *Algerines*, looking upon them-
 selves as masters of the city, began to commit the most cruel *The Alge-*
 disorders and outrages. Some of them had the insolence to rines com-
 pursue two *Moors* to the very palace with their drawn scymi mit horrid
 tars, and even to drag them to prince *Mahamed's* apart- outrages in
 ment, brandishing their weapons before him in a threatening Tunis.
 manner. This indignity, which *Mahamed* could not but be
 conscious was offered to him by those imperious *Turks*, in re-
 venge to the hatred which he had always expressed for their
 nation, (inasmuch, that even during his long contest with his
 brother about the *Beylik*, he never would take any of them
 into his service, but rather used those that were in his do-
 minions with unusual cruelty, causing some to be put to
 death, and others to be banished, and confiding in none but
 his own *Moors*) terrified that pusillanimous prince to such
 a degree, that, to avoid their carrying it any farther, he
 caused those two innocent *Moors* to be thrown head-long from
 the terrafs of his palace, and stole away to his camp with as
 much haste and privacy as he could. Those enormities still
 raging in the city, his brother *Hali*, a prince of more cou-
 rage and conduct, and less hated by the *Turks*, hastened im-
 mediately into it, at the head of some of his troops, and quickly
 drove them out of it, and all was quiet again.

IN the interim, those of *Cheleby's* party, having resolved to
 assassinate the two Beys, rushed into Dey *Ibraim's* tent, whi-
 ther they supposed they had retired, and surrounded it by the
 next break of day; but not finding them there, went forth
 into that of *Hali*; who, being still in the city, they missed
 likewise; whilst *Mahamed*, not thinking himself safe in his
 camp, was making all the haste he could out of it. He was,
 however, soon overtaken by his brother-in-law, *Ben Choukee*;
 who, after some severe reproofs for his untimely pusillan:imity,
 told him, in plain terms, that nothing but his presence could
 put a stop to the present commotions; and that *Tunis* was the
 place where he must either conquer or die. And, indeed,
 his cowardly flight had so far reanimated *Cheleby's* partisans,
 that they had ventured into *Ibraim's* tent, where he was kept,

with a full design to have carried him off, and proclaimed him Bey. But that being quite opposite to *Ibrahim's* interest, he at once put an end to all further attempts in his behalf, by causing him to be strangled, and his body to be exposed before his tent; the sight of which so cooled and terrified the warmest of that party, that they were the very first to acknowledge *Mahamed*; who, on his side, soon after dismissed the *Algerines* at the same rate he had hired them. *Mahamed* having now got the sole power into his hands, and none left to oppose him, began immediately to gratify his insatiable avarice, by the most exorbitant confiscations and extortions; insomuch that his most wealthy subjects were those that were most exposed to his rapacious cruelty. He had likewise renewed his alliance with the Sharif of *Morocco*; when the *Tunessians*, weary of his tyranny, saw themselves obliged to invite the *Algerines* to their assistance against him. *Cheleby*, or, as others call him, *Chaban*, then Dey of *Algiers*, readily accepted the invitation; and, having sent a sufficient number of forces to secure his frontiers on the western side, to prevent *Muley Ishmael* sending him any forces from thence, marched directly to *Tunis*, at the head of 10,000 of his *Turks*. *Mahamed* went out, at the head of his numerous *Moors*, to meet and attack them; but they, like their pusillanimous leader, affrighted at the sight of the *Turkish* forces, whom they had been so long inured to dread, immediately fled and forsook him; upon which he returned to *Tunis* with such prodigious consternation and speed, as threw the whole city into an universal panic; insomuch that *Ramadan*, the then *Basha*, the Dey, and many other persons of distinction, made their escape on board a *French* vessel, bound for the *Archipelago*; the former of whom went afterwards and put himself under the protection of the duke of *Tusiany*.

THE *Turks* immediately laid siege to *Tunis*; and, whilst that lasted, which was four whole months, *Mahamed* making a most vigorous defence, their troops committed the most grievous ravages in all the adjacent countries. At length, *Mahamed*, finding it dangerous to trust himself any longer among his discontented subjects, took the first opportunity to abandon the city, and fled for refuge to the desert of *Zabara*; upon which the city immediately opened their gates to the *Algerines*. As soon as their Dey saw himself master of the town, he appointed *Ben Choukee* Bey, and *Tatar* Dey of *Tunis*; and, having repaid himself with advantage for all his charges and troubles, returned to *Algiers*, leaving those two to govern that state as they thought fit. He was no sooner gone, but this new Bey, like a rapacious wolf, began to exercise the most horrid outrages and cruelties on the unhappy citizens;

BenChou-
kee made
Bey.

citizens; and, as if the confiscating their all to his own use had been too small a punishment, he ordered eight hundred of the chief of them to be tortured to death by the most inhuman and excruciating torments. He carried, at length, his tyranny and impiety so far, as to attempt to force some women, near relations to *Mahamed*, out of a celebrated asylum, in the city of *Kayrwan*, whither they had fled for safety; which so exasperated the inhabitants, that they rose up in arms, and forced him to flee out of the city to save himself from the effects of their fury. The revolt soon spread itself from that city through the principal ones of the kingdom, to so great a degree, that his outrages and cruelties seemed to have quite obliterated those of the fugitive *Mahamed*: so that they quickly after agreed to send some bodies of men to go and seek him among those deserts where he lay concealed, and to invite him to come back and resume his former government.

MAHAMED was then refused in the territories of a powerful *Arabian* Cheyk, whose father he had some time before justly put to death, imagining, perhaps, that that would be the last place where his exasperated subjects would suppose him to be concealed. But as soon as he found himself to be discovered, and that they were in full search after him, and little dreaming how different their errand was from what his fears and guilt suggested to him, he went immediately and surrendered himself to the Cheyk, wholly relying on his generosity for a protection. The Cheyk, no less conscious of his father's guilt, than ambitious to oblige and protect a submissive enemy, not only received him under his protection with the utmost readiness, but as soon as he was apprised on what account his subjects were come in quest of him, generously furnished him with a body of 10,000 horse; which, being joined with those troops of his own which were come to meet him, enabled him to give *Ben Choukee* a total overthrow; the consequence of which was, that he soon recovered his capital, and was reinstated in the Beylik. The first thing he did after his restoration was the recalling of his brother *Ramadan* from *Tuscany*, where he had refused himself, and bestowed the Deylik upon him. He died soon after of an apoplexy, and was succeeded by him in the Beylik, by the interest of the *Algerines*, in opposition to the *Dowan*, who were for choosing of his nephew, *Morat*, to the dignity, as being much better qualified for it. The *Algerine* party having thus far prevailed in favour of that weak prince, he no sooner saw himself possessed of the supreme power, than he gave himself up to pleasure and indolence, and committed the whole management of all his affairs to an *Italian* sidler, named *Mazoul*, a person no less unfit to hold the reins of that government

Ramadan's nephew
falsely accused, and
condemned
to lose his
eyes.

ment than himself; and who, by his pride, ill-conduct, and mismanagement, quickly brought the kingdom into a general commotion and discontent. The Dowan and grandees which had declared for *Ramadan*, in complaisance to the *Algerines*, began to see their fault and danger, and did not fail of making loud complaints against them and the Bey, and his prime minister's ill-conduct. Great caballing was made every where against them, accompanied with private consultations about dethroning *Ramadan*, and electing *Morat* in his room; which at length so alarmed the favourite *Mazoul*, that he could find no other expedient to avoid the impending storm than by instilling a strong suspicion into his weak master, that his nephew was plotting against his life: whereupon the frightened *Ramadan*, no less pusillanimous than credulous, caused him to be apprehended and brought before the council, who, being all his creatures, made no difficulty to condemn him to lose his eyes.

In all these transactions it is not to be doubted but the *Algerines* had the greatest hand, whose interest it was to have not only such weak princes and bad ministers at the head of the *Tunesian* affairs, but likewise to embroil them so far with the Dowan, that they might always have an opportunity to thwart any measures they might take to the prejudice of their own state. For had the cabals in favour of *Morat* succeeded, who was a prince of a quite opposite character, the harmony which seems to have reigned between him and the grand council, might have been productive of some steps, by way of retaliation, for the outrages they had lately suffered from the *Algerine* forces, and a firmer alliance been made between this republic and the emperor of *Morocco* against them. *Muley Ishmael* having no less cause to fear the growing power of *Algiers* than the Bey of *Tunis*, from the hostilities that had passed between them; of which we have given a further relation in a former chapter. So that upon all accounts it was plainly the interest of the *Algerines* not only to prevent that brave enterprising prince from being raised to the Beylik, but even to deprive him and all his partisans of all hopes of his ever doing so. But happily for him, their design was disappointed, by the surgeon who was to execute the sentence upon him.

HE was a *French* renegado; and, whether bribed by some of his friends, or the hopes of some suitable reward, found a method to deceive his severest enemies, and to save his eyesight at the expence of his eye-lids; the cutting off of which so besmeared his eyes with blood, that he really seemed wholly deprived of the use of them. This was farther confirmed to them by some trials they made upon him, to be fully satisfied

satisfied about it; such as setting chafing-dishes of burning coals in his way, over which he artfully stumbled; pointing of drawn swords before him, against which he advanced without betraying the least concern or fear.

RAMADAN and his council having seen enough to convince them that he was really deprived of his sight, sent him under a strong escort to the castle of *Soufa*, and committed him to the care of the Aga, a renegado monk, nick-named *Papafalga*, on account of his apostacy; but who, being sharper-sighted than the council, soon discovered the deceit, and immediately sent an express to apprise them, that, though his eyes were much disfigured, yet was his sight but little impaired by it. This news greatly alarmed *Ramadan* and his court; and a fresh courier was immediately dispatched to the Aga to put *Morat*, at any rate, to death. Happily for the latter, his affability and good qualities had so far gained the affections of the greatest part of the *Moors*, *Turks*, and renegadoes that were in the castle with him, that he easily brought them over to his interest; and, as his safety depended upon preventing any further attempt upon him, of which he had received some private intimation, they readily joined with him in dispatching the Aga as he sat at table, and forwarded his escape to the *Offoleti* mountains, which lay about thirty leagues distant from *Tunis*, before the bloody orders from the Bey were arrived. The news of his escape was no sooner known at court, than the greatest part of the *Tunesian* troops forsook *Ramadan*, and came over to him, which obliged him to endeavour to save himself by flight. But, whilst he was making all the haste he could to escape by sea, he was apprehended, and brought back to *Morat*, who ordered him to be strangled, and his body to be burnt to ashes. His favourite *Ramadan* fidler and prime minister, *Mazoul*, met with a still severer fate, being condemned to be shut up in an iron cage, and to have his flesh torn piece by piece during two days successively; after which his carcass, disfigured as it was, being thrown to the mob, was treated with the most brutal indignities. *Morat* carried his inhuman resentment against his uncle still farther, seeing, we are told, that he commonly mixed the ashes of his burned body with the wine which he drank*. His rancour against the *Algerines*, for having promoted the election of *Ramadan* against him, was no less manifest; and the first public act of his reign was a declaration of war against them, which he carried on with such fury and vehemence, such expence and profusion, as quite ruined his own subjects, and brought the most deplorable calamities upon his

* Hist. of Tunis, (London, 1750), p. 292, & seq.

kingdom. Such was his insatiable thirst of revenge, not only against that rival republic, but against such of his subjects as had a hand in the promoting or supporting his uncle's interest against him, that he scrupled neither extortions nor cruelties against them, nor the most atrocious violations of oaths and sacred ties to assuage it.

Morat's *strange punishment of the Marabouts* ;

THE Marabouts, and men of the law, though held in high veneration among them, could not escape his vengeance; though the manner in which he vented it against them was rather ridiculous and terrifying, than cruel. For, having caused them to be summoned to the great hall of his palace, he ordered them to be stripped and laid naked and bound upon the floor; and, after keeping them all night in that posture and fearful plight, he contented himself with ordering his servants on the next morning to throw some pails of water upon them; and, having diverted himself sufficiently with the scene, released them from their fears, and sent them home. This was probably done to shew his singular contempt of that whole tribe, as well as of those who held it in such great veneration (L). But, in other respects, he was such a monster of cruelty, that none but a *Nero* could come up to his character; and revelled in those horrid butcheries a longer time than one might have reasonably surmised, in a kingdom where so many of his predecessors had been sacrificed to popular fury for much less crimes: yet he did not escape his due fate, being at length murdered by *Ibrahim Sharif*, captain of his guard; who, for that signal and hazardous service, to the state, was unanimously raised to the Beylik in his stead.

put to death by Ibrahim, who succeeds him ;

IBRAIM was a person of a quite opposite character, bold, intrepid, and generous; and much beloved by the *Tunisians*,

(L) We have another instance of his disregard to the *Mohammedan* religion, which would be hardly worth recording, were it not for the oddness of it, and as it helps one to judge of his character. For, being one day in the chapel of the holy cross, belonging to the Christian slaves of his harem, and seeing there an image of *St. Lucia*, who is reported to have been condemned to lose her eyes for being a Christian, and is commonly painted holding her two eyes in a kind of cup, asked the slaves who she was; and being answered, that she was the saint to whom the Christians prayed for the preservation of their sight, and against all disempers of the eye, cried out, 'That she was a saint for his purpose, and that, if she could cure him, she should never want the best oil to burn in her lamps. And, we are told, that, to this very day, the lamp that burns before her image in that chapel is supplied at the charge of the government (1).

(1) *Hist. of Tunis*, (London, 1750), p. 293.

as the restorer of a liberty and tranquillity which they had not known before for a long while. He was, nevertheless, so unfortunate in a war which he undertook against the *Tripolitans*, that he was defeated with great loss, and taken prisoner by the *Algerines*; who, according to their custom, kept him in close confinement during seven whole months; neither would they grant him his liberty, but upon such severe and disadvantageous terms as made him hesitate a good while before he would submit to them. At length, being tired with his inactive confinement, and apprehensive of his subjects electing another Bey, he was at length forced to subscribe to their demands; one of which was, that he should pay them 200,000 piafters as soon as he had recovered his dignity; and the other, that he should, from that time, become tributary to *Algiers*.

THIS treaty was not so secretly agreed to but the *Tunesians* got notice of it, and were highly displeased with the second condition, though they would have readily consented to the first. But though they were fully satisfied that it was thro' mere necessity that *Ibrahim* had submitted to those hard terms, yet the thought of his condescending to become tributary to that rival state, made them unanimously resolve not to admit him any more into their territories, and to keep all avenues as closely shut up against him as if he had been an enemy.

THESE orders were so strictly executed, that, upon his arrival at the port of *Bizerta* with his small retinue, he was denied access to the place; upon which he sent two of his officers to enquire into the reason of their behaviour; but these were immediately put under an arrest; by which he easily judged, that he should have no admittance into it. He then sail'd directly to *Porto Farino*, where he expected a more favourable reception; but, to his great surprise, met with a much bolder repulse: for *Hassan-Ben-Hali*, who commanded in that place, and observed him at a distance from the shore, immediately dispatched a vessel out against him. The engagement was hardly begun, before *Ibrahim* received a shot from a killed near musket, which put an end to his life and to the action; upon Porto Farino the news of which *Hassan* was, for his zeal and vigilance, chosen to succeed him by the *Tunesians*; and it is to this last *Hassan*, Bey that we owe the renewal of the peace with that state; who succeeded him of which we shall speak immediately; and probably occasioned the abolition of an infamous custom among their prostitute women, who, whenever they met with a Christian of virtue and seriousness, used to entice them by the most lascivious postures and actions; nor would they leave him till they had extorted some money from him *.

* Id. ub. sup.

DURING the long interval of all the Beyliks we have been speaking of, their merciless corsairs, as well as those of their neighbours of *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, ranged the *Mediterranean* with a high hand, and infested the Christian coasts with their frequent incursions, committing horrid outrages on the inhabitants, plundering them of their most valuable effects, and carrying off an infinite multitude of them into a dreadful captivity, to the great interruption and decay of commerce. Those dreadful piracies had gone on successively with them till the year 1682, when the famed admiral *Ruyter* chased a *Turkish* vessel, called the *Three Crescents*, into the very bay of *Tunis*, and there burned it on the 26th of *February* of that year †, after he had rescued twenty-six Christian slaves out of it, and made the rest of the crew prisoners. This action was soon after followed by a peace, which was concluded by him with *Mahamed*, the then Bey, the Dey, and the whole Dowan, and signed on the 2d of *March* following. Among other articles, one was, that all past hostilities and outrages should be forgotten on both sides, as if they had never been committed; and that peace, friendship, and a good understanding, should thenceforth be established

and cultivated between both nations. The same was likewise concluded with *England* soon after; but neither of them were well observed by them longer than they were yearly bought between *England* and *Tunis*. by exorbitant presents, till the reign of king *George I.* when admiral *Baker* renewed it with them, as well as with *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, or rather concluded a new one with them, which hath continued ever since, and is as follows:

The articles of it.

ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his most sacred Majesty king *George*, &c. and the most excellent lords *Hali Batha*, *Hassan-Ben-Hali Bey*, *Cara Mustapha Dey*, the Aga, and the Dowan of the noble city of *Tunis*, and the whole body of militia of the said kingdom, renewed and concluded in the year of Christ, 1716, by *John Baker*, Esq; vice-admiral, &c.

1. THAT all former grievances, losses, and other pretensions between both parties, shall be void and of no effect, and from henceforward a firm peace for ever, free trade and commerce, shall be and continue between the subjects of his most sacred Majesty *George*, king of *Great-Britain*, &c. and the people of the kingdom of *Tunis*, and dominions thereunto belonging. But that this article shall not cancel or make void any just debt, either in commerce or otherwise, that may be due from one person or persons to others of either party, but that the same shall be liable to be demanded, and be recoverable as before.

† DAPPER'S *Afric.*

2. THAT

2. THAT the ships of either party shall have free liberty to enter into any port, or river, belonging to the dominions of either party, paying the duties only for what they shall sell, transporting the rest without any trouble or molestation, and freely enjoy any other accustomed privileges; and the late exaction which hath been upon the lading and unlading of goods at *Goletta*, and the marine, shall be reduced to the antient custom in those cases.

3. THAT there shall be no seizure of any ship of either party at sea, or in port; but that they shall quietly pass, without any molestation or interruption, they displaying their colours; and for the prevention of all inconveniencies that may happen, the ships of *Tunis* are to have a certificate, under the hand and seal of the *British* consul, that they belong to *Tunis*; which being produced, the *English* ship shall admit two men to come on board them peaceably, and satisfy themselves that they are *English*; and although they have passengers of other nations on board, they shall be free, both they and their effects.

4. THAT if an *English* ship shall receive on board any goods or passengers belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis*, they shall be bound to defend them and their goods, so far as lies in their power, and not deliver them unto their enemies; and the better to prevent any unjust demand being made upon the crown of *Great Britain*, and to avoid disputes and differences which may arise, all goods and merchandizes, that shall from henceforward be shipped by the subjects of this government, either in this port or any other whatsoever, on board the ships or vessels belonging to *Great-Britain*, shall be first entered in the office of *Cancellaria* before the *British* consul residing at the respective port, expressing the quantity, quality, and value of the goods so shipped, which the said consul is to certify in the clearance which is given to the said ship or vessel, before she departs; to the end that, if any cause of complaint should happen hereafter, there may be no greater claim made on the *British* nation than by this method shall be proved to be just and equitable.

5. THAT if any ships of either party shall, by accident of foul weather or otherwise, be cast away upon any coasts belonging to the other party, the persons shall be free, and the goods saved and delivered to their lawful proprietors.

6. THAT the *English* which do at present, or shall hereafter inhabit in the city or kingdom of *Tunis*, shall have free liberty, when they please, to transport themselves with their families and children, though born in the country.

7. THAT the people belonging to the dominions of either party shall not be abused with ill language, or otherwise ill treated;

treated; but that the parties so offending shall be punished according to their desert.

8. THAT the consul, or any other of the *English* nation residing at *Tunis*, shall not be forced to make their addresses, in any deference, to any court of justice, but to the Dey himself, from whom only they shall receive judgment: this is in case any dispute should arise between a subject of *Great-Britain* and one of this government, or of any other foreign nation: but if it should be between any two of his majesty's subjects, then it shall be decided by the *British* consul only.

9. THAT the consul, or any other of the *English* nation, shall not be liable to pay the debts of any particular person of that nation, unless obliged thereunto under his hand.

10. THAT as the island of *Minorca* in the *Mediterranean* sea, and the city of *Gibraltar* in *Spain*, have been yielded and annexed to the crown of *Great-Britain*, as well by the king of *Spain* as by all the several powers in *Europe* engaged in the late war, it is hereby agreed and fully concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* shall be esteemed, in every respect, by the government of *Tunis*, to be part of his majesty's own dominions; and the inhabitants thereof shall be looked upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner as if they had been born in any part of *Great Britain*; and they, with their ships and vessels wearing the *British* colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of *Tunis*, and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either on the seas or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects.

11. AND the better and more firmly to maintain the good correspondence and friendship that have been so long and so happily established between the crown of *Great-Britain* and the government of *Tunis*, it is hereby agreed and concluded, by the parties above-mentioned, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to *Tunis*, or the dominions thereof, shall be permitted to cruize, or look for prizes of any nation whatsoever, before or in sight of the aforesaid city of *Gibraltar*, or any ports of the island of *Minorca*, to hinder or molest any vessels bringing provisions and refreshments for his *Britannic* majesty's subjects, troops, and garrisons in those places, or give any disturbance to the trade and commerce thereof; and if any prizes shall be taken by the ships or vessels of *Tunis*, within the space of ten miles of the places aforesaid, it shall be restored without any dispute.

12. THAT

12. THAT all the ships of war belonging to either party's dominions shall have free liberty to use each others ports for washing, cleaning, and repairing any of their defects, and to buy and ship off any sorts of victuals, alive or dead, or any other necessaries, at the price the natives buy it in the market, without paying custom to any officer. And whereas his *Britannic* majesty's ships of war do frequently assemble and harbour in the port of *Mahon*, in the island of *Minorca*, if at any time they, or any of his majesty's troops in garrison there, should be in want of provisions, and should send from thence to purchase supplies in any part of the dominions belonging to *Tunis*, they shall be permitted to buy cattle, alive or dead, and all other kind of provision, at the price they are sold at in the market, and shall be suffered to carry them off without paying duty to any officer, in the same manner as if his majesty's ships themselves were in the port.

13. THAT in case any ships of war belonging to the kingdom of *Tunis* shall take, in any of their enemies ships, any *Englishmen* serving for wages, they are to be made slaves; but if merchants or passengers, they are to enjoy their liberty and effects unmolested.

14. THAT in case any slave in the kingdom of *Tunis*, of any nation whatsoever, shall make his escape, and get on board any ship belonging to the dominions of *Great-Britain*, the consul shall not be liable to pay the ransom, unless timely notice be given him to order that none such be entertained; and then, if it appears that any slave has so got away, the said consul shall pay to his patron the price for which he was sold in the market; and if no price be set, then to pay 300 dollars, and no more.

15. AND the better to prevent any dispute that may arise hereafter between the two parties about the salutes and public ceremonies, it is hereby agreed and concluded, that whenever any flag-officer of *Great-Britain* shall arrive in the bay of *Tunis*, in any of his majesty's ships of war, immediately upon notice given of it, there shall be twenty-five cannon fired from the castle of *Goletta*, or any other the nearest fortification belonging to *Tunis*, according to custom, and as a royal salute to his *Britannic* majesty's colours; and the same number shall be returned in answer thereto by his majesty's ships. And it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that all ceremonies of honour shall be allowed to the *British* consul who resides here, to represent in every respect his majesty's person, equal to any other nation whatsoever; and that no other consul in the kingdom shall be admitted before him in precedence.

16. THAT

16. THAT the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, either residing in or trading to the *Tunesian* dominions, shall not, for the time to come, pay any more than three *per cent.* custom on the value of goods or merchandizes, which they shall bring into or carry out of the kingdom of *Tunis*.

17. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that at whatsoever time the said government of *Tunis* shall please to reduce the customs of the *French* nation to less than they pay at present, it shall be always observed, that the *British* customs shall be two *per cent.* less than any agreement that shall be hereafter made with the said *French*, or than shall be paid by the said subjects of *France*.

18. It is moreover agreed, concluded, and established, that in case any *British* ship or ships, or any of the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, shall import at the port of *Tunis*, or any part of this kingdom, any warlike stores, as cannons, muskets, pistols, cannon powder, or fine powder, bullets, masts, anchors, cables, pitch, tar, or the like, or also provisions; *viz.* wheat, barley, oats, beans, oil, or the like, they shall not pay any duty or custom whatsoever for any such kinds of merchandize.

Read, approved, and ratified, by the parties above-mentioned, and signed and sealed by them in the said city of *Tunis*, on the 30th day of *August*, O. S. 1716.

AND thus much for the history of *Tunis*.

CHAP. V.

The History of Tripoli.

THIS state, though under the protection of, and tributary to, the *Porte*, assumes the name of kingdom; the Grand Signors being always fond of multiplying those titles, in order to swell the pomp and grandeur of their own. It takes its name from its own metropolis, which is likewise stiled *New Tripoli*, in order to distinguish it from a much more ancient one on the same *Mediterranean* coasts in *Phœnicia*, which is still very considerable, and retains its ancient name.

THE kingdom of *Tripoli* is bounded on the north by the *its limits*; *Mediterranean*; on the west partly by *Tunis* and *Biledulgerid*; on the south by *Mount Atlas*, or *Atlas*; and, on the east, by the *Sea*, or rather by *Egypt*, where its boundary terminates at the *Cape Solyma*, or *Solomon*, according to the latest and more accurate geographers (A). In this case the extent of this

^a See Ancient Hist. vol. ii. p. 325.

(A) This *desert* tract, both the most fertile, which is likewise stiled a kingdom, and the desert, according to geographers pretend to appertain to *Egypt*, and to be under the government of the *Basha* of *Kairo* (1). But others, with more probability, look upon them to be under this of *Tripoli*. The truth is, that not only the desert, but even the maritime, *pro* in such a miserable plight, that they are hardly worth claiming by either. The former being nothing but a dry, sandy, barren wilderness, inhabited by one of the vilest sorts of *Arabs*: who still answer the character we have given formerly to the *Barcai* (2), whether descended from them or not, as well as the description we meet with in *Virgil* of them (3), who

stiles them, *Late furentes Barcai*; wretches that live altogether on the plunder of caravans, and other travellers, and murder them upon the slightest occasion or dislike.

We are told moreover, that, after they have robbed and stripped those that fall into their merciless hands, they oblige them to drink their stomachs full of milk, and hang them by the heels, to make them vomit what gold or gems they suppose them to have swallowed down (4). In a word, they are become so terrible to all passengers, that the caravans, and other merchants that carry things of any value with them, chuse rather to fetch a large compass about to avoid falling into their hands. Add to this,

(1) *Baudrand, Corneil, & al.*

(2) *Virg. Æneid, vers. 43.*

(3) See Ancient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 235.

(4) *Leo Afr. l. vi. p. 236.*

extent this kingdom, from west to east, that is, from the town of
from east *Capes*, or *Gabs*, on the mouth of the river *Triton*, which is
to west; the boundary on the *Tunesian* side, in east longitude $10^{\circ} 13'$, to
Cape Solyman $25^{\circ} 27'$ (B), will be $15^{\circ} 14'$, or near 200 leagues,
 exclusive of the windings of the coasts, gulphs, &c. The
 truth is, that all the maritime towns, not only from the cape
 above-named to the town of *Derne*, where some authors
 place the end of its eastern limit, but even quite almost to
 the gulph of *Sidra*, which tract is better known by the name
 of *Dernian* coasts, are either so ruined, or dwindled into
 such poor inconsiderable villages, that it is hardly worth the
Turks or the *Basha of Kairo's* while to dispute about the pro-
 perty of them with the state of *Tripoli*; and hence it probably
 is, that most of our late geographers assign it to the latter.

from north As to the depth of it, from north to south, it varies very
to south. much, being in some parts, especially the farthest part of
 the gulph of *Sidra* inward, to its utmost extent southward,
 scarcely above forty leagues; and in others, as about the city
 of *Tripoli*, where the coast stretches farthest northward, quite
 to mount *Atlas*, its southern border, above double the number^b.

^b See the map of Barbary.

that their extreme poverty, and the fierce unconquerable temper they still retain, will scarcely make it worth any state's while to hold them in subjection, where so little benefit or advantage is to be reaped from it. We may add, that *Leo*, *Sanfon*, and other authors, have given this desert a much larger extent, by joining to it those of *Ouguela*, *Sebit*, and some others which lie on the south of it, and are quite different from it, as the reader may see by the map of this country, otherwise it would be next to impossible for those caravans to take such a prodigious circuit to avoid them.

(B) We have followed Dr. *Shaw* in the settling the western

limits at the city of *Capes*, or *Gabs*, which, being situate on the other side of the *Triton*, as well as that of *El Hamm* must of course belong to *Tunis* (5): whereas most other geographers place them under this government (6). We have, therefore, in complaisance to both, mentioned the hot baths and springs of them among the natural curiosities of the *Tripoli'an* kingdom; and shall give the further description of those two places among the rest of the *Tripoli'an* cities; as being the most considerable next to *Tripoli* in the whole kingdom; though, in reality, both are in a very ruinous condition, as will be seen in the sequel.

(5) See *Shaw's Travels*, p. 196, and his map of *Tunis*, *Dapper*, *Baudrand*, *Martinier*, &c. *al. plur.*

(6) *Marmol*,

TRIPOLI hath formerly been divided into seven provinces; *its division viz.* 1. *Tripoli Proper*; 2. the country of *Mefrata*; 3. of *into pro-Haicha*; 4. *Benolefa, Taourga*, al. *Toorregu*; 5. *Gulph of Sidra*; 6. *Ouguela*; and, 7. coast of *Darne*. At present it is commonly divided into maritime and inland; the inhabitants of the former chiefly live upon commerce and the piratical trade; and the latter, for the most part, on plunder and robbery: each of those divisions hath some cities and towns, besides a much larger number of villages, which lie scattered chiefly through the latter; most of them very poor and thinly inhabited; the country being almost every where sandy and barren. As for cities and towns, those that deserve that name, are those which are situate along the coasts; of the most considerable of which we shall now give an account; the rest, being either wholly depopulated and gone to ruin, or are only inhabited by a few fishermen, lime-burners, pot-ash-makers, and here and there some few labourers: all of them reduced to the lowest degree of misery and wretchedness, through the cruel exactions of the government, or the frequent depredations of the *Arabs* c.

TRIPOLI, the metropolis of the kingdom, was formerly divided into two parts, the old and new; the former, which was the native country of the emperor *Severus*, is supposed to have been built by the *Romans*, and was since conquered by the *Vandals*, and at last destroyed by the *Mohammedans*, under their Khalif *Omar II.* since which time it hath never recovered itself; or, if it ever did, it hath been suffered to run into decay, and is now almost gone to ruin: the latter, which stands at a small distance from it, though of no great extent, is populous and in a flourishing condition. It stands on a sandy ground by the sea side, and is surrounded with high walls and stout ramparts, flanked with pyramidal towers, but not kept in good repair, and without any fosse. It hath but two gates, one towards the inland on the south, and the other towards the sea on the north, where it expands itself in form of a crescent, near spacious and commodious haven. The point by the east is little else now than a group of scarped rocks; on which are to be seen some ancient forts, now gone into decay; but that to the westward is defended by a strong castle, surrounded with fortifications after the modern fashion, and furnished with some large cannon.

The new *Tripoli* was, it is supposed, built by the natives, by whom who gave it the name of *Tarabilis*, or *Trebilis*, whence the *Latins* have called it *Tripolis*. Some authors pretend that it was built.

c MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44. Vid. & SANUT. GRAMMAY, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

*decayed
from its
former
splendor ;*

was once a place of vast trade, on account of its neighbourhood to *Numidia, Tunis, &c.* and resorted unto by vessels from *Maltha, Venice, Sicily, Marseilles*, and other parts ; there being hardly such another commodious sea-port along this whole coast, till you come to *Alexandria* : by which means it became so opulent, that it was filled with rich merchants, abounded with fine mosks, hospitals, and other public buildings, and excelled *Tunis* in beauty and wealth. And though it retains now but few traces of its antient splendor, having little else inviting to the eye except the outside ; whilst its houses in the inside are low and mean, its streets narrow, dirty, and irregular ; there are in it, nevertheless, some monuments still standing, which will not permit one to doubt of its having formerly made a much nobler appearance ; particularly a triumphal arch, one half of which now lies buried in the sand ; though what is still to be seen above it is a sufficient witness of its former grandeur.

*owing to
its want
of water
and barren
soil.*

NEITHER shall we need to wonder at this extraordinary decay, if we consider the two great inconveniencies which this city labours under ; viz. first, the want of sweet water, here being neither rivers, springs, nor wells, nor any other means of supplying it with that useful element but the common one of cisterns, and reservoirs of rain water ; and, secondly, the great scarcity of corn, and other product of the ground, occasioned by the dry sandy soil that surrounds it for miles together on the land side ; especially if we add to these what some authors affirm, that all that land was formerly arable and fertile ground, producing great abundance of corn and other grain, till the sea overflowed it, and left those vast quantities of sand which now cover the whole surface of it (C), and render it incapable of bringing forth any thing but palm trees ; which, we are told, grow in great plenty, not-

* Vid. MARMOL, *sup.*

(C) We are, accordingly, told, in *Marmol's* time, if they are not so now, houses buried in those sands, and quite covered with the sea ; so that the inhabitants have been forced to retire more to the south, in proportion to the incroachments which the sea made upon them on the north side of these towers. (7).

(7) *Marmol, lib. vi. c. 44.*

withstanding the barrenness and dryness of the soil, and yield in great the most delightful dates, which is a considerable part of their numbers. food^f: besides these, they have the *lotbus*, or *lotus*; a tree of *The lotus*, which we have spoken in a former part^g, whose fruit is another reckoned still finer than the dates, and makes a most excellent kind of wine; so that that plant serves them for meat and drink, food. from which they have been stiled by the antients *Lotophagi*^h. But, upon the whole, were it not for the continual supply of provisions brought in by their corsairs, and other trading vessels, *Tripoli* could never subsist by the product of its own territories, but must soon be starved; and hence we may infer the cause of its present decay.

ADJACENT to the walls of the city is a famous burying *Ancient* ground, in which are found coffins, urns, medals, and other *relics*. curious relics of antiquity. The *Franciscan* friers have here a very handsome church, convent, and hospital; the last of which is the more necessary, as the city is so often and so severely visited by the plague. Other orders of monks were likewise settled in it, who have been since obliged to abandon it, probably on account of its decay above-mentioned. The country about it is, however, adorned with a multiplicity of handsome villas, cultivated chiefly by Christian slaves, and much like those about *Algier*ⁱ and *Tunis*, spoken of in the two foregoing chapters. It is observable, with respect to those unhappy wretches, that there is but a very small number of them here, in comparison to the many thousands that swarm in those two capitals, insomuch that they have but one bagnio in the whole city to lock them in at night. They *One single* ~~just~~ keep a sufficient number to serve them in the lowest of- *bagnio for* fices, and cultivate their villas, and make a traffick of the rest. *their* The people here carry on a great trade in linen cloths, great *slaves*. quantities of which are wrought by the inhabitants; but their chief dependance is upon their own corsairs, and those of other nations who resort to it. They keep, indeed, few of their own ~~for~~ ^{for} seven at most; yet those are so desperate, and make so good an advantage of their situation, as being within the reach of those merchants ships which trade into *Egypt*, *Italy*, and the *Archipelago*, that they can greatly infect those ~~as~~, and do a deal of mischief among them^l. ~~or~~ ^{or} *Capez*, called by the *Moors* *Cabes* and *Gabs*, is, as *Capez*. we have lately seen, situate on the northern banks of the river of its name, supposed the *Triton* of *Ptolemy*^k; and, as

^f MARMOL, & al. sup. citat.^g See Antient Hist. vol. j.

p. 424. xviii. p. 244, & seq.

^h Vid. HOMER'S Odyss. LEO,

lib. i. MARMOL, DAVITY, & al.

ⁱ MARMOL, DAVITY,

DAFFER, & al.

^k Geogr. l. iv.

The old city and its ruins ;

the new one poor and thinly inhabited.

River Capez, or Triton.

El Hammah, a poor town.

that is the boundary between *Tunis* and this kingdom, should of course belong to the former¹; but is, nevertheless, reckoned by the generality of geographers among the cities of the latter^m. It stands on the bay of its name, and is large, and well defended by an old wall and a strong fort. Near it are the ruins of the old city, called by the *Romans Tacape*, and one of the first that was built by them on those coasts. This last was built on a little rising ground, about half a mile from the new, and shews still some marks of its antient grandeur; particularly some square pillars of a peculiar grinate, not to be met with in any other parts of *Barbary*, or perhaps of *Africa*. It was formerly washed by the sea, which formed itself into a bay of about half a mile in diameter, but hath been long since filled up and gained from the sea, which grows daily shallower, by the addition of sand on the one hand, and the mud and other filth which is washed into it by the river *Capez*; a thing very common on all the coasts of *Barbary*, and owing chiefly to the indolence and carelessness of the inhabitants. And hence, probably, the cause of the decay of the new town, which is now but thinly inhabited, and that only by poor fishermen and husbandmen, who cultivate a little barley, and great quantities of palm trees round the place; but whose dates are soon dried, that they will not keep the year round, like those that grow in *Numidia*; to supply which defect, they make use of a root which grows here in plenty; and, when boiled like a potatoe, hath the taste of an almond, and yields them a good nourishment. The inhabitants here are quite black, and so poor, that they esteem him a wealthy man among them who hath a bushel of barley in his possession: so terribly are they oppressed by the regency on the one hand, and by the *Arabs* on the otherⁿ. As to what particularly relates to the river *Capez*, or *Triton*, and to the lake of the same name, we shall refer our readers to the description we have given^o in our *Antient History*.

MAHARA, or *Machrei*, is now a poor village, situated at the mouth of the *Capes*, remarkable only for a modern citadel, which was built on purpose to guard the entrance into that gulph.

EL HAMMAH is another antient town, long since gone to decay, and about four leagues from *Capez*. It is remarkable only for its *Roman* walls of square stones, and some inscriptions, mentioned by *Leo Africanus*, *Dapper*, &c. but since

¹ See SHAW's Travels, p. 196, and his map of TUNIS before p. 139. ^m MARMOL, BAUDRAND, MARTINIERE, & al. ⁿ Id. ibid. ^o Antient History, vol. xvii. p. 241, & seq.

defaced, that they are not now to be seen^p; and for its hot sulphureous springs, which are conveyed to it by an old aqueduct, of which we have spoken in a foregoing chapter. In other respects it is now a poor miserable town, inhabited only by some few fishermen and husbandmen, whilst the greatest part of them, as well as of the adjacent country, seek for a better livelihood from the piratical trade; in which they are neither so oppressed by the government, nor infested by the plundering *Arabs*.

ZOARA, or *Zara*, is another ruined town, surrounded by an old decayed wall, and situate near the sea, about thirteen leagues from the island of *Ferba*, or *Zerbis*: some think it to be the ancient port *Pisidan*. At present it is inhabited only by poor people, who live either by burning of quick-lime and pot-ash, or follow the piratical and fishing trade. All these stand on the western coasts of the gulph of *Sidra*. Those that are within it, and on the eastern side of it, are still in a much more ruined condition, as we have had occasion to observe a little above; and whoever compares their ancient flourishing state with their present miserable plight the many dreadful vicissitudes they have undergone under the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Arabs*, *Mohammedans*, and other barbarous nations, to say nothing of the *Europeans*, who likewise put a helping hand in spreading the devastation still farther, but still more the tyranny of their government, which hath not only given the finishing stroke to it, but hath put an insurmountable obstacle to their recovery, notwithstanding their advantageous situation for commerce, and the once known valour and industry of the native inhabitants, will have more cause to wonder that any of those should still continue to live among so many dreadful ruins, under such a grievous load and variety of misery and oppression, than if they saw the place abandoned to the wild beasts, fowls, and venemous reptiles, and quite turned into a perfect barren wilderness.

What hath contributed most to the ruin of all these maritime towns, and their piratical trade, on which, like their neighbours, they chiefly subsisted, is their neighbourhood to the island of *Malta*, which, lying conveniently over against those coasts, hath enabled the noble knights of it to have a more constant watch over them, and, by suppressing their frequent incursions, obliged them to take up with the fishing trades, and the cultivating of as much land about

^p See SHAW, p. 213. ^q See before, p. 404, & seq. ^r See Ancient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 232, & seq. 242, & seq. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 37, & seq.

those ruined places as will just serve them from hand to mouth. And we make no doubt, but that those brave *Maltese* have likewise prevented the corsairs of *Tripoli* from being either so numerous or hurtful, as they would have been otherwise, though they are not able totally to suppress them *.

*The town
and di-
strict of
Derne.*

THE only place of note on the west of the gulph above-said is *Derne*, now a small town, but heretofore in a much better plight, and built by the *Moors*, after they were driven out of *Andalusia*. It stands about half a mile from the sea, and is surrounded with some fine springs of sweet water, one of which runs quite through, and others around the walls of it; so that it is a territory capable of bearing some corn and garden-stuff; but is so poorly inhabited, that little advantage is reaped from it. This town is still the capital of a district of its name, which extends itself, and reaches from *Cape Bomb* east, to the gulph of *Bengasi* west, above 100 leagues, and still farther towards the inland. This district is chiefly inhabited by wandering *Arabs*, to the amount of 30,000 families, who pay a small tribute to the Bey of *Tripoli*. This tract is almost every-where covered with a kind of plant or shrub, which bears a thick downy leaf, and thick bunches of a yellow flower, and keeps green and blossoms the greatest part of the year. The bees chiefly feed upon this flower, which gives an excellent taste to their honey. As for the road, it is very bad and unsafe near three parts of the year †.

District of ON the western side of the *Sidran* gulph is the canyon or *Mesrata*. district of *Mesrata*, containing what was antiently called *Cyrenaica*, and *Pentapolis*, from its five cities †, and now called *Mesrata* from its capital, hath still some towns and villages, both on the sea-side and inland, which drive a kind of commerce with the Christians for *European* commodities, which they sold to the *Negroes*, and exchanged for slaves, musk, and civet, which they carried into *Europe*, and sold at good prices †. The inhabitants were rich and warlike, and impatient of the *Tunesian* yoke, as now of the *Tripolitan* †; but this large and once flourishing tract is likewise reduced to a low ebb by the corsairs, who plunder their coasts, and the *Arabs*, who ravage the inland, when they join with the *Berebers*. They can muster up about 10,000 men † fit to bear arms, and are often at war with the *Arabs*, but are nevertheless forced to submit now to the *Turkish* yoke and tribute, in spite of all their valour and number †.

* DAVITY, DAPPER, MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 37, & seq. † LUY-
MAU Voy. vol. ii. p. 86, & 94. † See Anc. Hist. vol. xviii.
p. 232, & seq. † MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 55, & seq. * MAR-
MOL, ibid. DAVITY, DAPPER, &c.

THE other countries and districts in the inland are still *Other inland* more desert and void of towns, as well as more unknown to *lands still* us. All that we can say is, that they are inhabited by much *more bar-* the same people with the two last-mentioned, who live *ren.* after the same manner, and strive alike to free themselves from the tribute exacted from them. The land is for the most part dry and barren, and so sandy, that one cannot travel through it without sinking above the middle in sand; so that were it not for the abundance of dates which grow in it, and for some mountains that afford a kind of pasturage for their cattle, it would be impossible to subsist. On the *The district* farthest extremes, south and east of this kingdom, in particular, towards the desert of *Barca*, lies the country called *Augela*, *Augela*, or *Onguela*, which, though for the most part sandy and barren, hath, nevertheless, some spots so well watered as to afford great plenty of dates; and the mount *Meys*, which divides it from the *Barcan* kingdom, affords excellent pasturage. In this territory, besides the town of *Aguila*, from which the canton takes its name, is another, seated at the foot of that mount, called *Si-wah*, *Siouah*, *al. San Rey*, which is the very last on that side that belongs to the government of *Tripoli*^a. And it is remarkable, that the inhabitants have preserved their name ever since *Ptolemy's* time, who makes mention of the *Augila*, as inhabiting these parts^b.

THE coasts afford no natural curiosity, except the gulph *The great* of *Sydra*, which is, indeed, the chief and only one, and *er Syrtis*. It hath its name from a small island at the bottom of it. It was antiently called the *Syrtis Magna*^c, in opposition to the lesser one, of which we have spoken in the last chapter^d; both are very dangerous to mariners, but this the more so of the two, because it draws with greater violence, and the sands are here *deeper*, and of a quicker nature. It had, nevertheless, no less than 16 towns, according to *Ptolemy*^e; of which there remains only some ruins, or poor villages. It has but few rivers that discharge themselves into it, and those *No rivers* of no great note. Nor are the *Casarnagar*, *Rufalmabes*, *Ma-* of great *gha*, and others, that empty themselves into the *Mediterranean*^{note}. *anean*, and are supposed to spring from the *Gibel*, or *Atlas*, of greater consequence, except that they serve to nourish an infinite number of palm trees, by being distributed into canals, without which it would be impossible for them to grow in such vast and numerous sandy deserts^f.

^a DE LISLE, Atlas. ^b Geogr. l b. iv. c. 5. ^c See Anc. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 242. ^d See before, p. 403, & seq. ^e Geogr. lib. iv. c. 3. ^f See MARMOL, DAVITY, DAPPER, & al.

Antiquities and artificial rarities.

ANTIQUITIES and artificial curiosities are no less scarce in a country where the inhabitants are such professed destroyers of them. The only one to be met with is the triumphal arch of white marble we have already given some account of, which lies almost buried in the sand and earth; and even this had not been now to be seen, had it not been for a tradition, which passes for current among the inhabitants, that the very attempt to demolish it would be infallibly attended with some dreadful misfortune. In confirmation of which, they still shew a stone half loosened from the rest of the fabric, and confidently assure you, that, a prince having begun to remove some of the stones, the workmen were at first scared with a terrible earthquake, but persisting still in their work, in spite of that supernatural warning, they were all buried under a cloud, or, as they stile it, a prodigious rain of sand. It is probable, that there was some magnificent structure built near this elegant arch, seeing one cannot dig far under the ground about it, without finding some of the largest marble stones that are to be met with any where.

As to what is still to be seen of this famous work, the architecture and the bas reliefs are exquisite. There are four busts of *Roman* consuls, but very much defaced. The four corners of the building are supported by an equal number of pilasters, adorned with vine leaves. Over each of the four gates is seen a triumphant chariot, in one of which is represented *Alexander* drawn by two sphinxes, with some figures under it. As for the inscriptions over the gates, they are all worn out, except one on the north-side, which is still legible, is of a round figure, and hath some fine ornaments in bas relief. The stones are all of fine marble, between five or six feet thick, and all fastened to each other with leaden plates and iron cramps, without either mortar or cement.

AMONG other artificial trifles, that are to be met among the monuments out of the walls of *Tripoli*, of which some have the form of ovens cut into the solid rock, but larger and higher, and about two or three fathom deep, cut into the rock, with niches around them, our author tells us, he found a wooden coffin, adorned with platted lead scolloped, the human bones therein almost consumed. At the foot of the coffin was a large earthen urn set in the rock, and round the coffin dishes and plates of different sizes, that had been filled with some sorts of meats, the bones of which were not consumed. There were, likewise, several sorts of neat

* *Lucas's Voyages*, lib. ii. pag. 100. MARTINIERE, & al.

drinking glasses, a cupping glass, and a copper lamp almost eaten up with rust; but nothing of any value, except two silver pieces as thin as paper, and about two inches broad, and three long. In most, if not all these tombs, are found a large glass urn and human bones, and the bottom is covered with a reddish water, but insipid to the taste ^h.

THE government, religion, laws, customs, &c. of this kingdom, being in a great measure the same with those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, we shall have the less need to expatiate upon them, after what has been said on those heads in the two foregoing chapters. Only, with respect to the first of these articles, it will not be amiss to observe, that the *Beys* of *Tripoli* are not mere titular vassals to the *Porte*, like them, but are really under some kind of subjection and tribute to it; and this, joined to the other exigencies of the regency, the avarice of the *Turkish* *Bashas* sent thither from *Constantinople*, and the general decay of commerce, obliges them to load the subjects with such heavy taxes and extortions, as hath reduced the greatest part of the kingdom to the lowest degree of indigence and misery. The revenues of this kingdom, like those we have already spoken of, arise chiefly from their corsairs, who are nevertheless but few, they seldom amounting to above seven or eight, and of these one only can properly be stiled a ship, the rest are commonly small galleys, poorly manned and equipped. The next is the duty on imports and exports, and on the *Jews*, who are here very numerous, and severely taxed, as they drive the greatest share

*Revenue,
how
raised.*

of the *Italian* commerce; and on the natives, who, though ever so poor, must yet pay part of the product of their ground, or other manufactures; and lastly, on the country *Moors* and *Arabs*, among whom the Bey sends his flying camp of *Janissaries*, if he doth not go himself at the head of them, to levy in, for these last, as well as the *Moors*, who are so less so by and impatient under the *Turkish* yoke, are kept poor by those heavy taxes, that nothing but force, and sometimes exemplary severity, can extort it from them. For, their commerce is greatly dwindled of late, by reason of the heavy imposts laid upon it, and the exigencies of the government increased, by their being tributary to the *Porte*, so they are forced to exact greater taxes from the subjects to supply them, though they are in continual apprehension of their putting themselves some time or other under the protection of some Christian power, to alleviate their misery. And, indeed, there is hardly any tie but that

*Arabs and
Moors
heavily
taxed.*

^h *Iidem* *ibid.*
p. 313, & seq.

ⁱ *Iidem* *ibid.* *vid.* & *State of Tripoli*,

*Bey's
power de-
spotic.*

of religion could have prevented their doing so long ago, in spite of the vigilance of the regency over them^h. However, the Bey, by means of his protection from the *Porte*, makes shift to keep up a kind of despotic power, as he is besides generalissimo of all the forces, and, by appointing of such officers to act in all capacities under him, hath also made himself so absolute over the Dowan, that it is now kept only as a matter of form, they having nothing to do but to approve and ratify whatever he pleases to lay before them; neither doth the *Porte*, or its *Basha*, concern themselves in the government, provided he doth but punctually pay his tribute to the one, and satisfy the avarice of the other, they leave him to govern the rest with as arbitrary a sway as he pleases.

*Their com-
merce.*

As for their commerce, it chiefly consists in slaves, either such as are taken by their corsairs, or such as they traffick for with their neighbours; the greatest part of both which they send into *Turkey*, where they can dispose of them to the best advantage. The next branch is that of ashes, which they buy from the *Arabians*, and sell to the *Europeans* to make glass and soap: the rest of their traffick is not worth mentioning. But one thing is worth taking notice of with re-

*Fidelity in
treaties.*

spect to this regency; viz. that they are here more scrupulous observers of their treaties with other nations, and punish the breach of them with greater severity than any of their neighbours; which punctuality, whether it proceeds from real probity, or a consciousness of their own weakness, is, nevertheless, of no small advantage to navigation and commerce. What revolutions this kingdom hath met with, since the decline of the *Roman* empire to the reduction of it into the present form of government, and what else relates to their modern history, will be seen in the following section.

^h *Idem* ubi sup.

^l *Idem* ibid.

S E C T. II.

The History of Tripoli to this present time.

THIS state, as well as the rest of *Barbary*, after being freed from the *Romish* yoke, passed consecutively under that of the *Vandals*, *Saracens*, and thence under that of the kings of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Tunis*, by turns; till, weary of their slavery and oppression, they resolved to have a monarch of their own, whom they chose from among themselves. It is true, indeed, that we do not read of any of them that have signalized themselves by any remarkable exploits. Neither was *Tripoli* looked upon as a kingdom of any great consequence, till it became a bone of contention between some of the Christian princes, and the kings of *Tunis*, who had been the longest possessors of it, since the expulsion of the *Vandals* out of *Africa*. We have already taken notice, that the old city had been taken and totally destroyed by the *Arabs*, under their Khalif *Omar II.* after a siege of six months, and the greatest part of the inhabitants either butchered, or sent slaves into *Egypt* and *Arabia*^m. A long while after which, the *Africans* rebuilt it, and called it *Tirabilis*, and the *Europeans*, *New Tripoli*. But whether upon the same spot, or a little farther to the south, by reason of the incroachments of the sea, is not certain. However, it became subject to the kings of *Tunis* in time, and it was under one of them, named *Bucamen*, whose predecessors had joined the *Tunesian* crown to their own of *Fez*, that the *Tripolitans*, to whom his tyranny and oppressions were become insupportable, chose one of their fellow citizens king over them, in his stead, and made him master of his treasury and revenue. The new king began at first with great equity and moderation; on the other hand *Bucamen* sent a considerable army against him, the command of which he had given to a general, whom he knew he could confide; but he being poisoned by the intrigues of some of the principal inhabitants, the army returned home without doing any thing. The new king no sooner saw himself out of danger, than he began to play the tyrant in his turn to such a degree, that the citizens conspired against him, and he was murdered by his brother-in-law. They chose in his room one *Abubacer*, who had been formerly an officer under him, but had since retired, and turned marabout or hermit, and who was

^m EBN RAK. ap. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44.

Tripoli
besieged by
the Spa-
niards;

easily persuaded to take the reins of the government upon him; but had not reigned many months, before *Ferdinand*, king of *Castille* and *Aragon*, sent thither *Peter*, count of *Navarre*, with a powerful fleet, and above 15,000 armed men on board, and a great quantity of ammunition and other stores, who came and laid siege to the capital. *Abubacer*, who had had private notice sent him of this vast descent by some *Genoese* merchants, above a month before, had taken all proper measures to make a vigorous defence. But neither the great number of forces he had got with him, nor the artillery which he had planted at proper places, could prevent their landing, and laying close siege to the place, whilst *Don Diego Pacheco*, at the head of 4,000 men, was ordered to prevent the approach of the natives, who came in shoals from all the adjacent parts, both on foot and on horseback, to its assistance, during the time of the attack. The assault began, accordingly, about nine of the clock in the morning, and, in spite of the vigorous opposition from within, a great number of Christian soldiers were got upon the ramparts by eleven, many of whom were thrown back, and those that ventured down into the place fared still worse, both from the besieged, and excess of heat and thirst. At length some of them, having refreshed themselves at the wells that were near the ramparts, found means to force open the gates, and give a free entrance to the besiegers; upon which the *Moors* abandoned the place, and *Abubacer*, with his family and friends, retired into the castle; thither the *Spanish* count followed him closely, lest he should fly thence upon his men, whilst they were buying themselves about the plunder of the city, which in gold, silver, and jewels, amounted to an immense value^a. *Abubacer*, however, finding himself unequal to so powerful an enemy, surrendered himself the next morning on honourable terms; and was sent with his wife, two sons, and an uncle, to the emperor *Charles V.* then at *Palermo*, who soon after gave them their liberty, and sent them back to *Tripoli*, and restored him to his former dignity, on condition that he should become his vassal and tributary. In the mean time, the count seized on the treasure he found in the castle, which proved still more considerable than that of the city (*D*), and having

taken and
destroyed.

^a GRAMMAY, lib. viii. c. 10. DAVITY, MARMOL, lib. vi. c. 44. VERTOT, & al.

(D) This plunder, which, value in gold, silver, jewels, like that of the city, is said to and other costly things, is so have amounted to an immense much the more remarkable, as

having caused the latter to be garrisoned and fortified, by the addition of a smaller one nearer the port, failed away. Soon after this *Abubacer* returned to *Tripoli*, and caused the city to be rebuilt and repeopled, and held it in the emperor's name till the year in which the knights of *Rhodes* were driven out of that island, and forced to retire into *Syracuse*, when application was made to that monarch, who was pleased to bestow the island of *Malta* upon them, together with the city and castle of *Tripoli*, which lay just over against it. These sent accordingly and took possession of it, and made one of their order governor, and put a garrison into it of their own. They were hardly settled in it before *Barbarossa* made himself master of it, together with *Tunis*, *Bizerta*, &c. but it was soon after retaken by the emperor, and restored to them, as we have seen in the *Algerine* history.

THEY continued in possession of it till the reign of *Soleyman*, who, under pretence that it had been retaken during the truce, sent thither a naval armament, consisting of about 110 royal gallies, and about 30 other vessels, under the command of *Sinan* *Basha*, who had under him the famed *Salha Rais*, surnamed devil-driver, and the no less famous *Dragut*, often mentioned in the foregoing chapters. With this fleet, which carried 12,000 fighting men, *Sinan* sailed directly for *Tripoli*, and landed his forces, artillery, and ammunition, at the *Anguils* point, whence he sent his summons to the governor to surrender, promising him, on that condition, to grant him and his garrison their liberty, but threatening, in case of a refusal, to put them all to the sword. To which arrogant message the governor, by the advice of his council, returned an answer to this effect: *That he was sent thither by the grand master to defend the city, and that he would never surrender it without his order*; upon receipt of which the *Basha* ordered immediately the principal fortrefs, in which the governor commanded, to be battered with 40 pieces of ordnance. But that side was so strongly fortified

See before, p. 271, & seq.

are told, that both the prince and the inhabitants had, upon the advice sent them by the Governor, conveyed away above 5,000 camel loads of their richest goods, before the siege began. The number of their slain, and those that were made

prisoners, was no less considerable, the former amounting to 6,000, whose bodies were either flung into the wells of the city, or into the sea; and of the latter 15,000, besides above 180 *Italian* slaves, whom they set at liberty (8).

(8) *Grammay*, lib 8. c. 10. *Marmol*, ubi sup. *Davity*, &c.

with ramparts and outworks, that it would have been next to impossible to have succeeded in it, had not a traitor (E) slid down the wall, and directed him to a weaker place, where he might attack it with more success, which he immediately did, and, turning his battery against some towers which he had shewed him, made such a dreadful havock amongst them, that in two days he had brought them to the ground, killed four cannoneers, and a great number of Christians, though not without a much greater loss on his side. This so alarmed the governor, if he did not hold a treacherous intelligence with the enemy, that he proposed a capitulation to the officers of the garrison, the greater part of whom opposed it, alleging, that whilst the walls were still standing, and the garrison in so good a condition, it were shameful and unjustifiable to surrender. However, this declaration had no other effect upon him, whether thro' cowardice or treachery, than to make him pursue his own base measures more closely; and being informed that there was, in the enemy's army, a French gentleman named *Aramont*, who had been sent ambassador to the *Porte*, he went privately to him, and proposed the surrendering of the place, upon the conditions offered at first to him. Some authors pretend, indeed, that the *Basha* refusing to consent to them, he withdrew, but was arrested by him in his way to the garrison. But others, with more appearance of reason, maintain, that there was a secret treaty between the *Basha* and him; and the event doth but too evidently confirm it; for the place was no sooner surrendered, than *Gambars*, and all that were of his faction and nation, were set at liberty, and conveyed to *Malta* in two galleys; whilst the rest of the garrison, who were by far

The place
is surren-
dered.

(E) This villain was a native of *Provence*, but had, on account of his unlawful intrigues with the *Moorish* women, been obliged to turn *Mohammedan*; after which he had lifted himself in the service of *Aga Morat*, and served him as a spy in the city. *Morat* was a *Turkish* officer, who had made himself lord of *Taboras*, a place not many leagues from *Tripoli*, where he had entertained *Sinan* in a most magnificent manner, as he was going

to lay siege to that place; and, in consequence of some promise obtained from that *Basha*, had lifted himself under him, and met him at the siege at the head of 200 horse, and 600 musqueteers. For which service, as well as for the treacherous service that his favourite *regado* had given him, *Sinan* intrusted him with the government of the place, as soon as it was surrendered to him (9).

(9) *Dawity, Marmol, & al. sup. citat. vid. G. Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. p. 242, & seq.*

the more numerous, were detained prisoners, and stripped in the usual form, in order to be sold for slaves.

THE Basha lost no time to summon the garrison of the other fort to surrender; but these sent him word, that they were *Spaniards*, and resolved to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners to him; unless he would promise them, in the presence of all his chief officers, to convey them safe to *Malta*, with their arms and baggage, and give them a sufficient assurance of his performing it. These conditions *Sinan* readily agreed to, and sent them, in the presence of all his *Sangiacs*, his ring as a pledge; upon which they immediately delivered up the fort, and were conveyed to *Malta* in the manner stipulated, and without any delay or molestation (F). Thus was *Tripoli* delivered

(F) This is the most received and most rational account that is given of the surrender of that important place; but which is point blank contradicted by the partizans of *France* who lay the whole blame of it on the *Spaniards* and *Catalanians* that were in action in it, and who, they pretend, obliged the governor to it, contrary to his inclination, and the opposition of all his countrymen.

This gentleman, to whom they give the name of *Caspar de Vallin*, and the title of marshal, was, they say, an old experienced knight of *Malta*, whose merit and valour might have entitled him to be at the very head of that order, but who, on that very account, was become obnoxious to the grand master of it, a *Spaniard* by birth, and too jealous of the glory of his nation, not to endeavour to draw such an aspersions from it, and throw the whole blame on the *French* governor and his partizans; so that, according to them, the cowardly *Calabrians* and *Spaniards* were the first movers of the sedition in the place, by their daily clamours

that the governor delayed the surrendering it with no other view, than to have them all butchered, or made slaves by the besiegers; whilst he, on the other hand, was sure to make his own terms with the Basha, both for himself, and those of his nation. They add, that when the governor, to appease their mutinous complaints, ordered some of their own officers to go and view the state of the fortifications, they made such a dreadful, though false report of them to the rest of their compatriots, as put them out of all farther patience; the event of which was, that the tumult increased to a greater degree, and the governor, to avoid some more fatal consequences, was forced to capitulate. They go on, and tell us, that, upon their arrival at *Malta*, *D'Omedes*, the grand master, acquitted the *Spaniards* of every thing that was laid to their charge, and ordered the marshal, and most of his partizans, to be arrested as the betrayers of *Tripoli*.

The marshal was thrown into a dungeon, in order to be tried with the rest of his accomplices.

vered up to the *Turks* on the 14th of *August*, after it had continued in the possession of the *Christians* a little above 40 years,

plices; and the *French* ambassador *D'Aramont* was traduced in most of the courts of *Christian* princes, as acting in concert with the *mareschal*; and it was even insinuated, as if *Henry II.* his master, had sent him thither to negotiate that treasonable project with the *Turkish* *Basha*. His friendship to the *Turk*, and hatred to the emperor, to whom *Tripoli* was of the greatest importance, as it covered his other dominions in *Italy*, were pretended to be the main spring of the whole. In a word, the *French* treachery was, by *D'Omedes's* private emissaries, become the common subject of such loud complaints in most *Christian* courts, that *Henry* found himself obliged, in order to clear himself and his ambassador from those scandalous rumors, to send *Villegagnon*, a knight of *St. John*, to *Malta*, to make a strict inquiry into the behaviour of his ambassador, as well as of the late governor of *Tripoli*, and to oblige the grand master to send him an account of what they had to allege against the former, and of their proceedings against the latter. *Villegagnon* executed his commission with great courage, fidelity, and prudence, whilst *D'Omedes* strove, by the basest artifices, and foulest intrigues, to defeat all his measures, and fix the treason on those two great personages, one of whom was still kept in letters, and the other had left the island, and was gone to *Constantinople*. In spite of all which, he was at

length forced to clear both, by a letter to the *French* monarch, dictated by the grand council of *Malta*, and which he was forced to sign. Copies of this letter were immediately sent to all his ministers at every court, and *Villegagnon* wrote, moreover, a full account of the whole transaction, which he dedicated to the emperor. So easy a thing it was for the most *Christian* king to justify himself, and his minister, from so foul an aspersion as that of joining with the *Turk* against the emperor. Thus far the *French* account, in justification of that governor and ambassador, in which we have omitted many other heinous crimes laid to *D'Omedes's* charge, though without any farther proof than their own bare word, but which to explode would draw this note to too great a length. In the mean time, neither what they have said in vindication of their two countrymen, nor the letter, written by the grand council of *Malta* to the *French* king, and signed by the grand master against himself, have been yet able to clear two material objections against the *French*, in which they have represented the whole transaction, or, to speak more properly, against the variety of missts they have endeavoured to throw over it. The one is, if the governor had no sinister views in giving the *French* ambassador the private meeting, why did he repair to him alone, and not rather take some of the officers of each nation,

years, from the time of its being taken by the count of *Navarre*. *Sinan* committed the government of it to the *Aga Morat*, mentioned in the last note, upon condition that he should hold it under the Grand Signor, and to resign it whenever he should appoint a governor of it.

It was not long, however, before the famed corsair *Dragut*, of whom we have spoken more fully in a former chapter †, got possession of it; and, being repulsed on his attempt upon *Malta*, came and made it his place of arms, not indeed with the title of *Basha* of it, which title, as well as that of high-admiral, the Grand Signor had absolutely refused him, but only under that of governor of it. This did not hinder ^{Fortified} him, however, from fortifying both city and castle with ^{by Dra-} strong walls, and other outworks, and the addition of two stout forts nearer to the sea-side, and a new supply of artillery and ammunition, by which it was, though not without a prodigious expence, become one of the strongest cities in *Africa*, and the common retreat of most of the corsairs that roved under *Turkish* colours, from whence they infested the coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Spain*. *Dragut* had likewise made from thence a successful descent on the island of *Jerba*, *Gerba*, or *Gelves*, on the mouth of the gulph of *Gabbs*, or *Capez*, near the lesser *Syrtis*, and had obliged the *Cheyk* or lord of it to become tributary to the *Porte*. Not long after this, *John de' Lacerta*, duke of *Me-Lacerta dina Cali*, being sent viceroy of *Sicily* by the king of *Spain*, ^{proposes} thought that nothing would signalize his new dignity so much, as the suppression of all those *Turkish* corsairs, and ^{the} *king of* that the most effectual method was making himself master of *Tripoli*.

† See before p. 444, & seq.

tion, that were then in the place, along with him? and how dared he to leave his government, to go to that private and solitary manner into the enemy's camp? The other is of his partizans had so far justified his behaviour in it, and his capitulating immediately after, and had made it appear, to the grand council of *Malta*, that the chief cause of his sudden surrender of the place, was owing to the grand master's neglect of providing it with all proper necessaries for a siege, and of sending such sup-

plies as they wanted, when closely besieged, why was he not immediately released out of his hard confinement, as well as the rest of his countrymen? And why did the grand master's strange misconduct go not only unpunished and unmentioned, but even unmentioned any-where but in this account (10)? But there needs little more than a bare reading of it to be able to judge at whose door to lay the loss of that important city, as well as of the artful ways used in it to lay it at the wrong one.

(10) See *Virtu's Hist. of Malt.* vol. iv. lib. xi. p. 337. & seq.

Tripoli, their general rendezvous. His design was highly approved by the king his master, and several other crowned heads, and particularly by *John de la Valetta*, grand master of *Malta*, who all promised their assistance in it. But *Lacerta* was no sooner informed of the strong posture of defence which *Dragut* had put it in, and of his commanding in it, than his courage failed him, and he proposed the retaking the island of *Gerba*, before the attempting of *Tripoli*. The grand master, who saw through the artifice, gave him several weighty reasons against it; but finding him still determined to pursue his wild project, told him in plain terms, that he might do as he thought proper, but that, if he did not give him assurance of his sailing directly to *Tripoli*, he must not expect any succour from the *Maltese* order. Upon which *Lacerta* swore to him, by the life of the king his master, and the head of his own son *Gaston*, whom he had with him, that he would sail directly thither, and lay siege to the place, and embarked accordingly on the tenth of *February*, the grand master furnishing him, besides the gallees and forces he had promised him, 200 *Maltese* pioneers to assist him at the siege.

DRAGUT no sooner heard of this fleet being got near the island of *Querkynefs*, than he sailed out towards them with two of his gallees, against whom *Lacerta* sent a greater number of his own; but whilst these, instead of engaging him, were busy in rifling two merchantmen from *Alexandria*, *Dragut* got clear of them, and sent one of his gallees immediately to acquaint the *Porte* with the news, and to desire a speedy succour, whilst he went and fortified himself in *Tripoli*. Thither sailed soon after the duke *Lacerta*, after having tried in vain to take in water at the island of *Serba*; and, coming near the dry sands of *Palo*, sent some of the crew to land, where they dug several wells, and found the water very clear and sweet, which nevertheless proved so unwholesome, that many of his great officers, as well as sailors, died of it, and a much greater number fell ill and became useless. They were soon after forced to weather out a violent storm, which shattered several of their ships, among which the *Sicilian Capitana* foundered and sunk.

Suffers by
a great
storm be-
fore it;

THE storm was no sooner over, but the *Maltese* admiral, according to his instructions, proposed to remove to *Janguir*, which was a healthier and more commodious harbour, where their ships might be safer from any attack from the *Turkish* fleet, which was in full sail, as he was well informed, to come and attack them; but *Lacerta*, quite sick of such dangerous expeditions, ordered his armada to return to the isle of *Jerla*; of *Jerla*, where they landed without opposition, but found

sails to the
isle of
Jerla;

the

the wells filled up; and, after having with much labour opened them, the waters had contracted an intolerable bitterness, by the quantity of aloe leaves which the *Jerbites* had flung into them, so that they could not drink them. The Cheyk, or lord of the island, sent to beg an interview with the duke, in order to come to some capitulation, as he found himself unequal to so great a force, but the motion was opposed by his fiery troops; upon which notice was given him by two Christian slaves, that he would be attacked early on the next morning by the *Jerbites*. *Lacerta*, resolving to be beforehand with them, ordered his army to meet them; upon which about 2,000 of the enemy, falling out from behind a hill with their usual noise, fell suddenly upon them, but, having neither horse nor fire-arms, were easily put to the rout with great loss; upon which the Cheyk came and delivered up the keys of the castle to him, and acknowledged himself a subject of *Spain*. *Lacerta*, elevated beyond measure at this success, was so solicitous of preserving this island as a monument of his good fortune, that he set immediately about building a fort with four bastions, and some other fortifications in it, to keep the *Jerbites* in awe, as well as to suppress the incursions of the pirates.

*defeats the
Jerbites at
land.*

*Begins to
build a
fort on it;*

In the mean while *Soleymán*, who, upon the first news sent him by *Dragut* of this expedition, had caused a powerful fleet to be equipped, consisting of 85, some say 94 galleys, commanded by the famous *Kara Mustapha*, each of which carried 100 *Janissaries*, under the command of *Piagli Rasha*, the Soltan's favourite; of all which *Doria*, who was then one of the chief officers in this expedition, and *Tessieres*, the *Maltese* admiral, had had repeated notice. On the other hand, the heat and unhealthiness of the country, joined to the badness of the waters, and the unwholesomeness of their food, had bred a great sickness both in the Christian army and fleet, of which many were already dead, and *Doria* himself was confined to his bed with it. These two generals in vain endeavoured to persuade the duke to leave the island for a while, and meet the *Turkish* fleet near the *Archipelago*, and not stay till it was joined with the *Barbary* corsairs. But he, more intent upon building a fort in *Africa* that should bear his name, than to their salutary counsel, stuck not the work till news was brought him on the 10th of *May*, that the *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 85 sail, had been seen on the coasts of *Gosa* island three days before. Neither did he then desist till it appeared on their own, at which time the brave *Doria* cried out, *One man's obstinacy hath ruined us all; however, we shall not be defeated without having foreseen our danger.*

*surprised
by the
Turkish
fleet.*

His own In the confusion that reigned at their approach, both in
defeated the army and fleet, but especially in the latter, whose ships,
with great it being low water, stuck so fast in the sand, that the *Turks*
loss. boarded them with sword in hand, took 20 of their gal-
 lies, and 14 large ships, with all their tackle, arms, &c. without any opposition (G). One only, commanded by *Macdonalt*, a brave and experienced commander, though pursued by three of the enemy, escaped to *Malta* to bring the melancholy news of this defeat; whilst the *Turks* made the air and sea resound with their rejoicings and firing. Under this desperate dilemma *Lacerta* repaired to *Doria*, who still kept his bed, and addressed himself to him in these words: "O *Doria*, the only person who have shewed so much foresight and conduct upon this occasion, what would you advise me to do?" To which he replied, "Sir, you command the land forces, and it behoves you to take the best precautions you can for their safety. As for me, I design to be carried this night into a light brigantine, and to endeavour in the dead of the night to make my way through that vast forest of ships that surrounds us, and pick up as many of our scattered vessels as I can meet

Doria's
advice to
him.

(G) There is some contrast in the account of this transaction, between the *Spanish* and *French* authors; and no wonder, considering how natural it is to them to eclipse each others glory to advance their own. *Marmol* accordingly tells us, that the confederates put to sea, and left the duke and his forces on the island to make the best defence they could, at the first approach of the *Turkish* fleet, by which they were easily thrown into confusion; and, being attacked in the rear, became an easy prey to the enemy; which not only extenuates the ill conduct of the new viceroy, but throws the blame on the *Maltese* commanders; who were mostly *French*. He likewise makes the loss of the vessels to amount to 21 galleys and 14 ships, besides nine others, which, having sheltered themselves under the castle of the island, were quickly burnt by the *Turks*. The *French*, on the contrary, lay the whole fault on the duke, whom nothing could prevail upon to suspend the building of the fort, to go and attack the enemy in the *Archipelago*, nor to pursue their design upon *Tripoli*, instead of attacking this inconsiderable island, which had they once made themselves masters of that important city, must of course have fallen easily into their hands. The most that we dare say upon the whole, for want of a proper passage, is, that a national jealousy misled both sides into some wrong measures, in which, however, the young viceroy was too servily suffered, by the officers of his nation, to bear too great a sway on his side (11).

(11) *Conf. Marmol, lib. vi. c. 41. D'Abancourt, French ver. ibid. & Vertot, Hist. of Malta, vol. iv. lib. 12. p. 306, & seq.*

"with, and sail directly to *Messina*." Upon which the duke, more solicitous for his life than his honour, resolved to follow him; and leaving the care of the troops that were in the island, and amounted still to about 5,000, to Don *Alvarez de Suede*, a famed commander, got on board the brigantine with several other general officers; and *Doria* had the good fortune to conduct them safe through the enemy's fleet to the isle of *Malta*, whence *Lacerda* sailed soon after to *Sicily*.

BUT it fared much more dreadfully with those who were left in the island, upon whom the *Turks* poured down their numerous troops, and laid close siege to the castle, which Don *Alvarez* defended as nobly and long as was possible for a commander to do, considering that he had not only the victorious *Turk* to encounter with, but want of water and all sorts of provision, and a grievous sickness, which had impaired the greatest part of his army, through the violent heats and excessive drought of the weather. They had neither water in their cisterns, nor wood to dress their victuals, and laboured under such excessive thirst, that great numbers of his men deserted daily to the enemy. The place was all the while battered with 18 pieces of cannon, which had at length dismounted those of the besieged, and destroyed most of the outworks. The siege had lasted near three months, by which time the garrison was, through famine, sickness, and desertion, reduced to less than half of what it was at first. In this extremity the brave governor proposed to the rest of his soldiers to make a bold sally, when the enemy least expected it, and either save themselves by their valour, or die with sword in hand, to which they readily agreed. But, unfortunately for him, the *Turks* had notice of it by some deserters; so that he was no sooner got out, but he saw himself surrounded on all sides by such numbers, as at once not only deprived him of the honour of dying in the attempt, but took him and the poor remains of his garrison prisoners. Immediately after which the *Basha* entered the castle, and ordered all the fortifications to be razed, to prevent the Christians returning thither after his departure. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians lost near 14,000 men, either killed, made slaves, or dead by sickness and want. The king of *Spain* alone lost 28 galleys and 14 transport ships, besides those of the Pope, of the *Maltese*, and of the duke of *Tuscany*. *Kara Mustapha* sailed soon after with his victorious fleet to *Constantinople*, and *Dragut* and his corsairs back to *Tripoli*, where he resumed the reins of that state under the Grand Signor's protection, with additional favours from him for his timely services.

services and vigilance, till a grievous wound, which he received at the siege of *Malta*, put an end both to his life and it, about six years after, as we shall see in its proper place.

AFTER his death the *Porte* continued sending either a Sangiac or *Basha* to *Tripoli*, the castle being garrisoned with *Turks*, and the city inhabited by *Moors*, and the kingdom kept still under tribute to the Grand Signor. The piratic trade went on still with success; the renegadoes met with the usual encouragement from the *Turks*, and were promoted to the command of their corsairs, and even of their whole fleets, and sometimes to the *Bashaship*; these recommending themselves to the regency, not only by their desperate behaviour, but much more by their peculiar barbarity to the Christian prisoners, which often provoked the Christians to use the same severity to theirs by way of reprisal, and were carried on both sides to such an excess, as can hardly be repeated or thought of without horror.

A revolt raised by a marabout. IN this condition the kingdom continued, till the *Turkish* government, becoming more and more heavy and intolerable, by the avarice and tyranny of those *Bashas*, a certain marabout, named *Sid Hajah*, about the close of the 16th century, found means to raise a general revolt both in the city and country, not doubting but he should be assisted therein by some Christian princes abroad, as well as by the *Moors* and *Arahs* at home, to drive all the *Turks* out of the kingdom; after which he might mould the government of it as well as he was able, and, in case of need, put it under the protection of those who had assisted him in carrying on this new revolution. But, unfortunately for him, he did not take care to secure a foreign assistance, before he broke out into this open rebellion; so that *Hajcen* *Basha*, the then *Turkish* admiral, came suddenly upon him, at the head of 60 galleys, and a number of other ships and forces, which he had procured from *Tunis* and *Algiers*, and gave him so many signal overthrows, that he was at length abandoned by his troops, and assassinated by his own partisans, which put an effectual end to the revolt. *Hajcen* sent the marabout's head to *Constantinople*, and had hardly settled the government on the old footing, and taken all necessary precautions to secure the authority of the *Turkish* *Bashas* from the like attempts, when a new governor, sent thither from the *Porte*, found a much more effectual way totally to suppress it as long as he lived. This man was a renegado *Greek*, of the ancient family of the *Justiniani*, and known then by the name of *Mahmet Beygh*, who, by his intrigues and bribes, had obtained a banner or government from the Grand Signor, sailed directly to *Tripoli*, and having got possession

His defeat and death.

A renegado gets the banner of Tripoli.

of the castle of it, refused to acknowledge or receive any Basha from *Constantinople*, and took the reins of the government wholly upon himself, not indeed as independent, but *and be-* as vassal and tributary to the *Porte*, to whom he obliged *comes de-* himself to pay a tribute and homage, as an acknowledgement */potic.* of his subjection and dependance. And it is not unlikely, that the matter ~~was~~ compromised in that manner between the grand vizier and him, if not the Soltan, before his setting out of *Constantinople*, and with the same politic views as that court agreed it with the Deys of *Algiers* ^a. However that be, *Mahmet* kept himself secure in his castle, which, besides its other fortifications, was guarded with a strong garrison of soldiers, which he had taken into his pay. And these he kept, as he said, as a guard to his person, and to avoid the fate of so many other Bashes, whom the *Porte* had caused to be strangled or banished, upon the least umbrage or pretence.

THE tribute he paid to the *Porte* consisted chiefly in slaves, *His tri-* and such other curious or rich presents as were most accept- *bute to the* able to that court, and were carefully sent at all proper sea- *Porte.* sons, by which means *Mahmet* kept himself firm in his despotic government, which he established much after the same form that we described it at the close of the last section, except that, some time after his death, the *Tripolitans* were again obliged to receive a Basha to be a check on their Deys, which last were chosen by the militia, and mostly by the same tumultuous and bloody methods, as we have seen practised at *Algiers* ^b.

His successors continued paying the same acknowledgements; though it sometimes happened, that both he and they had the mortification to see those ships intercepted and carried off by the *Maltese* cruizers, who lay in wait for them. Thus, at one time, they took from the former three large vessels laden with *Moors*, *Negroes*, and other valuable commodities, in their way to *Constantinople*; and a few years after another *Maltese* commander, named *Charolt*, among other prizes he made on the coasts of *Barbary*, took three large ships belonging to *Tripoli*, together with a considerable number of other vessels which they were escorting to *Constantinople*. The fight was very obstinate on both sides; *Israhim Reis*, who commanded the *Turkish* convoy, had 450 soldiers on board his three ships; but, being attacked on all sides by the *Maltese* fleet, was forced to yield, after a most desperate defence. The Christians made above 300 *Turks*

^a See before, p. 190, & seq.

^b See before, p. 192, & seq.

prisoners in this action, and their commander, and entered the port of *Malta* with 20 ships, laden with the richest spoil.

S E C T. III.

Of the Bombardment of the City of Tripoli by the French Fleet, and the disadvantageous Peace they were obliged to submit to.

The Tri-
politans
of this
piratic
republic.

THE next remarkable transaction relating to the history of this piratic republic (for we omit those of lesser moment, such as their frequent domestic broils and revolts against their Deys and Dowan, upon every discontent, their good and ill success in their piratic excursions), was the dreadful bombardment it brought upon itself by their breach of faith to the late *French* king *Lewis XIV.* a prince no less known for his severity in punishing that crime in others, than for his own particular disregard to it in himself. The various instances we have given in the history of the two neighbouring republics of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, in the preceding chapters, evidently shew, how ready those piratical states are, we may add, how often they have been obliged by a proud, lazy, and starving populace, to violate the most solemn treaties with Christian powers; and what an encouragement the protection of the *Porte*, which they buy by a small homage and yearly tribute, hath been to their principals to do so, whenever their interest or safety gave them an occasion or pretence for it. But, however such breaches might go unpunished with other Christian powers, the *French* court never stood enough in awe of that of *Constantinople*, to decline taking some severe revenge of them for such infringements against it.

WHAT gave occasion to the present dreadful execution, we are going to relate, was a capture made by a *Tripolitan* corsair of a ship under *French* colours, and that republic's detaining a great number of *French* subjects in a state of slavery, the institution of both which had been in vain insisted upon by the *French* consul; which insolent refusal the *French* monarch so highly resented, that he ordered all his captains, who cruised on those seas, to make reprisals on them wherever they met them.

PURSUANT to these orders the marquis *D'Anfreville*, who was dispatched by commodore *Quise* to convoy two small

See before, p. 359, & seq.
L'Afrique, part i. c. 10. sect. 1 & 2.

LA CROIX, Relat. de

prizes he had taken at the island of *Hiera*, on the north coast of *Sicily*, meeting with six vessels belonging to *Tripoli*, near Cape *Sapienza*, immediately attacked them; three of them, however, making all the sail they could, had the good fortune to get out of his reach, whilst the other three, venturing to stand the engagement, were so terribly shattered, that they were forced at length to sail away, with the utmost speed, to the island of *Chios* to be refitted. The commodore *Du Quesne* had no sooner notice of it, than he came with a squadron of seven ships, and surprised them there; but, before he began any hostilities, he sent to acquaint the Aga who commanded in that place, that he came as a friend, but that he had express orders to come in quest of some Tripolitan pirates, who, by the tenor of treaties still in force, were stiled rebellious subjects, and given up to the just vengeance of the EMPEROR OF FRANCE. This specious declaration did not, however, meet with the favourable answer he expected from the Aga, the Tripolitans being at that time masters of the port and city; upon which, having called a council, he immediately drew nearer to the place, and began to cannonade it with such fury, that the Tripolitans, who were then employed in refitting their shattered vessels, and in no condition to defend themselves, betook to the water, and swam, with all possible haste, to the two forts belonging to the town. *Du Quesne* tried in vain to enter the port, being prevented by a strong staccado which they had laid in his way. A furious combat ensued, which lasted three hours and an half, the castle all the while firing their artillery upon his squadron, who, in their turn, threw no less, we are told *, than 7,000 bombs from theirs against it, few of which failed of making some dreadful execution either on the Tripolitan ships, or on the city, a great number of whose houses were either thrown down or terribly shattered, and many of the inhabitants killed or wounded. On the next day the city sent to demand a parley, and to engage either to oblige the Tripolitans to accept of a peace, or to drive them out of the port. *Du Quesne*, instead of giving any answer to their proposals, removed with his squadron farther off, in order to block up those corsairs more easily. This hostile infringement of the French on the *Chions*, and their ill treatment of the Tripolitans, soon reached the Ottoman court, and the complaints made of it both to the Grand Signor and Dowan so greatly exasperated them against the French, that the ambassador of *Louis XIV.* *M. de Guilleragues*, then at that court, who had express

* *Iidem* *ibid.*

The Salt an orders not to relax or recede in the least from his master's *incensed* pretensions in this affair, found it a difficult task to maintain *against the* his honour and interest in so delicate a point, and was forced *French* to make use of all his politics, bribes, and cabals, to prevent *commander* a rupture between these two monarchs. At length, after a long and strenuous contest between the grand vizier and him, the Ottoman court agreed, that the captain Basha and M. du Quesne should terminate the affair by a treaty of peace, of which the articles were as follow :

1. " THAT all the *French*, who were on board any vessel, whether of the *Tripolitan* corsairs, or any other that were sailed out from that city, since the year 1681, should be set at liberty.

2. " That the ship of captain *Cruvilier*, which they had taken under the *French* banner, and carried to the port of *Chio*, should be restored, with all its artillery, arms, equipage, &c.

3. " THAT the vessel taken under *Majorean* colours should be detained in the same port, under the authority of the captain Basha, with all its rigging, cannon, arms, &c. till it be decided whether it ought to pass for a *French* vessel.

4. " That the ships belonging to *Tripoli* should not pretend to visit any trading vessel under *French* colours, nor attempt to seize upon them, or the men or effects, in case they were provided with passports from the *French* admiral.

5. " That all strangers, on board any *French* vessel, shall pass free and unmolested in their persons and effects; as likewise all *Frenchmen*, of what rank soever, who shall be found on board any vessels under strange colours, even those of an enemy.

6. " THAT no *French* prizes, and their prisoners, shall be sold in any port belonging to the kingdom of *Tripoli*.

7. " THAT *France* shall have a consul at *Tripoli*.

8. " THAT no corsair, belonging to *Tripoli*, shall make any prize on the *French* coasts, at a less distance than ten leagues &c."

THE reader may see by these articles, what a strange influence the *French* court had over that of the Grand Signor; but the regency, who paid not the same regard to it, rejected them with the utmost indignation on that account. This was no more, probably, than *Lewis XIV.* expected, who had taken care by that time to provide such a powerful armada against that republic, as could scarcely fail of forcing

them to submit to more disadvantageous articles than those which had been imposed upon them by the *Porte*.

ACCORDINGLY on the 15th of June of the very next *A. fl. et* year 1685, the marshal *D'Estrees*, vice-admiral of France, sent to appeared before their capital at the head of his fleet, and was bombard there joined by the marquis of *Anfreville* and captain *Nesmond*, who had been cruising in that neighbourhood, expecting his arrival. Some days were spent in reconnoitring the place, and chusing a proper spot where to cast anchor, whilst *M. Tourville*, followed by some armed long-boats, went every night to soundings, as far as the walls of the city, till he had found one about a league distance from them, and there they formed their line of battle, and the plan of the siege. On the 22d orders were given to the bombarders to get all the mortars ready; whilst the Mallops, belonging to the men of war, went and anchored within gunshot of the town, and, about eight at night, they began the attack; and *Mr. Tourville*, who had the command of it, having ordered three armed galleys before the port, to prevent any obstruction from the enemy, they began to throw some bombs in the place about ten of the clock, with great success, and without any molestation from the *Tripolitan* sloops all that night, though they had kept a constant firing of their musketry the two foregoing nights on the bombarders, though much nearer to them. They continued plying their work till six the next morning, by which time they had thrown 500 bombs into the place. They resumed it on the night following about midnight, and made such terrible execution, that they could see the spreading flames in several parts of the town, without receiving one shot from it; and, on the morrow, the marshal *D'Estrees* caused the port to be everywhere sounded, in spite of all their fire, in order to find a proper place to raise a fresh battery, which might destroy both the town and its fortifications. In the mean time some of the bombs having fallen on a place where the people were assembled, and killed about 30 or 40 of them, threw the whole city into the utmost consternation, and filled the air with the most dreadful outcries. At length, finding the enemy absolutely bent on their ruin, and pursuing their work with so much intrepidity, they agreed to dispatch a herald to the marshal to obtain a peace from him at any price.

THE person they made choice of for that purpose was a venerable old man, 94 years of age, who, being introduced to the vice-admiral, addressed him in words to this effect: "I am the unfortunate *Trik*, the father-in-law of *Baba Hassan*, driven out of *Algiers* after a reign of 24 years, during which time I had been their Dey, and always be-

"haved

The city
sues for
peace.

“haved as a fast friend to the *French*. I am now sent to you
“by the Dowan of *Tripoli*, to know what your demands
“are, and to mediate a peace between you and them.”

To this the vice-admiral answered in such terms as expressed his satisfaction; and having acquainted him with the motives which had induced the king his master to begin the war against the *Tripolitan* republic, proposed to him the most effectual means of putting an end to it, promising him, at the same time, a cessation of hostilities till the next day, that they might have time to take their measures about the articles which he should send to them. *Trik* assured him, that no time should be lost about it, the city being wholly inclined to peace; and leaving one of the principal members, who had accompanied him, as an hostage, returned with Mr. *Raymond*, a major of the *French* army, and Mr. *La Croix*, who was to serve as interpreter; upon which orders were given to fire five pieces of cannon, to assure the city of the cessation of the bombardment.

THEY met with a very civil reception from the *Dev*, who on the next day, being the 25th, caused the articles to be read before the Dowan; the principal of which were,

1. THAT they should pay 200,000 crowns as an equivalent for all the captures they had made of *French* merchantmen; and 2. To restore all the Christian captives they had taken fighting under *French* colours. The first of them was greatly excepted against, on account of the impossibility of raising such an exorbitant sum; but, after some debates, they agreed to pay down 500,000 livres, and to release all the *French* captives; and as to the money, they promised that one part of it should be sent that very night, and the remainder within 20 days; which term the vice admiral reduced to 15, and that on condition that they should furnish his fleet with a daily supply of beeves for their maintenance, and that of the slaves. And as to the Christian captives, they engaged to release 200 of them, which, they said, were all they then had within and in the neighbourhood of their city. And as to the 400 more, which were then rowing in the seven galleys belonging to their republic, and at that time in the service of the Grand Signor against the *Venetians*, they would send ten of their principal citizens as hostages for their release, upon the return of those ships. An hundred and eighty of the former were accordingly restored by the very next morning; together with two other hostages for the remainder; but they raised several difficulties about the payment of the 500,000 livres agreed on; yet not being able to obtain any abatement on

any

any pretence, and being on the contrary threatened by the marshal with fresh showers of his destructive bombs, the Dey saw himself obliged, not only to lay a tax on the citizens, but even to order the heads of five ringleaders of the malcontents to be struck off. This execution, joined to the admiral's menaces, so terrified the mutineers, that they immediately complied with his severe terms; insomuch that on the next morning, which was the 27th, and the day on which they were to pay the above-named sum, they brought *The great* but a small moiety of it in coin, and the rest in ingots, *fine bones* rings, bracelets, necklaces, gold chains, diamonds, pearls, *paid.* and other jewels, which they said they were obliged to strip their wives of, and at the same time released a merchant-ship belonging to the port of *Marseilles*, which they had taken a little before this rupture.

They did not complete the payment of the stipulated sum till the 9th of *July* following; at which time they had stripped the *Jewish* synagogue of all its rich lamps, the *Janissaries* of their mured caps, their horses of their richest harness, and their grand standard of its gilt silver ball; the admiral protesting, that he would not sign the peace till full payment of the sum was made, and threatening the citizens with a fresh bombardment at every delay; insomuch, that the fear of it had driven great numbers of them out of the city into the adjacent fields, to avoid being buried under the ruins of their own houses. At length, Mr. *La Croix*, the interpreter, having translated the articles of peace into the *Turkish* language, went in and read them before the Dey and Dowan; where, being solemnly signed and sealed, public notice was *The peace* given of it by a double discharge of twenty-five cannon; the *signed*; one to express their joy, and the other to return thanks to the *rejoicing* marshal *DEtours* for his services done to their republic; which, *made at it.* besides the large sum above-mentioned, and exacted with so much *effects*, consisted in the destroying of a vast number of houses, and the death of 320 persons buried under the ruins. The regency begged in the next place, that a consul might be appointed to reside at *Tripoli*, which was readily granted; and M. *Admettel* nominated to that office, until his necessity's further orders arrived. Upon his coming to the place appointed for his residence, the *French* flag was hoisted up on the top thereof, and saluted by a third discharge of the same number of cannon*. Thus ended this dreadful expedition; to the great satisfaction of the *French* monarch,

his trading subjects in those parts; and which, how severe it may appear in its execution, must be owned by all that

* La Croix, *ib. sup. in. fin. sect. iii.*

knew the avarice and perfidy of that piratical nation, to have been the only effectual way of bringing it to reason, and of deterring, if any thing will, all those miscreant corsairs from committing the most cruel, audacious outrages on those seas, in violation of the most solemn oaths and treaties with Christian princes and states: a task which the great monarches the Vth, the *English, Dutch*, and other maritime nations had attempted in vain in their turns.

Tripoli By this treaty of peace the republic was farther obliged to
forced to send an embassy to *France*, which was to consist of two of
send a sub- the chief officers belonging to either of the three states; viz.
missive the Dey, the Dowan, and the militia, and those were to go
ambassy. and offer a kind of homage, or tribute, in their names, to the
French monarch. The persons nominated to that office
 were the *Khalil* Aga, lieutenant to the *Basha*, and *Heister*
 Aga, an officer of the marine. The presents they were to
 carry were to be some of the most curious birds and beasts
 that their country afforded, as lions, tigers, leopards, drome-
 daries, *Barbary* horses, ostriches, &c.

Their two THEY landed at *Toulon* on the 3d of *May*, 1687, accom-
envoys re- panied by eight domestics, besides the son of *Khalil* Aga
ception at above mentioned, and were received there by the intendant
Toulon. of the marine, and maintained there and every where else at
 the king's expence. They were obliged to stay there forty
 days, to recover themselves and their wild creatures from the
 fatigues of their voyage, notwithstanding their eager desire to
 get to *Paris*, and have the honour, as they expressed them-
 selves, of being presented to the *greatest monarch in the world*.
 They were no less liberal of their compliments on him,
 whilst they were shewn, during that interval, the several
 rarities of the place; such as the arsenal, dock, port, and
 vessels riding in it. And much the same thing they did at
 every city through which they passed, and especially at that
 of *Lyons*, where they halted some days, and were visited by
 all the quality of both sexes in their richest dresses and equi-
 pages. The same honours were paid to them at *Charenton*,
 where they halted thirteen days, before they were con-
 ducted to *Versailles*, where the king and court then were, and
 where they were presented to them on the day after their ar-
 rival, in the usual form, just as his majesty was coming out
 of his chapel. The speech they addressed him in, if their
 interpreter hath done them justice, was in the same low flat-
 tering stile with all their other encomiums on him. It was to
 the following purpose:

Speech to
the king.

“ GREAT monarch of the earth, the envoys of the Dey,
 “ Dowan, and militia of *Tripoli*, are come to present to
 “ your majesty some horses, dromedaries, and other animals
 “ of

“ of their country, as an homage and tribute which they offer
 “ to your majesty ; and they shall return home highly satisf-
 “ fied with the honour done to them of appearing before the
 “ greatest king in the world.” Their reception was suitable
 to their high sworn compliments ; and, upon their leaving
~~Paris~~, ~~whither they had been invited to view the rarities~~
 and curiosities of that city, and especially of the *louvre*, or
 royal palace, they expressed their admiration in words to this
 effect. Surely gold must be the most common of metals in *Compli-*
 this kingdom ; and, by all that we have seen, we are fully *ments on*
 persuaded, that his majesty need only form any one wish *to the French*
 have it immediately accomplished ; so worthy did his sweet *nation ;*
 and affable temper render him of the empire of the world.
 The royal academy, observatory, the various manufactures
 they were shewn, particularly that called the *Gobelins*, or
 tapestry weaving, and many other such curiosities, produced
 still some fresh encomiums on *the French nation* ; and this in
 particular, upon the whole, that *nothing was impossible for it*
but the avoiding of death.

BUT that which raised them to the highest pitch of wonder *remarks on*
 was the opera ; the music, actors, dresses, scenes, and ma- *the opera ;*
 chinery, appeared to them to be nothing but a continued
 series of the most surprising enchantments ; but so charming
 and attractive, that the old surly corsair being asked how
 he liked it, could not forbear expressing his admiration ;
 and, at length, broke forth into this apposite allusion. *Were*
we, said he, attacked by ever so powerful an enemy, we should
not fail of making the best and stoutest defence, as long as our
strength and ammunition lasted : but if attacked by those that
compose the opera, with all this noble equipage and irresistible
charms, we could do no other but lay down our arms and sur-
render ourselves to them.*

THEY were at last admitted to the long wished for ho- *admitted*
 nour to see his majesty dine ; and were no less surprised at the *to see the*
 magnificence of his table, and the grandeur of his attendance *king dine ;*
 and retinue, on the occasion, if not still more at seeing that
 great monarch of the world eating and drinking like other
 mortals. Here they were presented each with a rich gold
 chain and medal, with his majesty's effigy curiously stamped ;
 and their retinue were likewise gratified with some suitable
 donative : after which they received their audience of leave *return*
 and returned to *Toulon*, extremely pleased and satisfied at the *home high-*
 kind ; and at first unhopèd-for, reception they met with *ly satisfied.*
 this occasion. For, from the treatment their city and republic
 had received from the *French* vice-admiral, the severe articles

* La Croix, ub sup. sect. iv.

imposed upon and exacted from it, but more especially from some expressions which *Khalil* Aga let fall at the unexpected honours which were shewn to them at their first landing, that they rather feared they should be forced to undergo many reproaches and mortifications from that resenting monarch, as this embassy of submission and tribute ~~was in some measure~~ extorted from their regency. But now, from the opposite treatment he had met with, could, upon his return, experimentally acquaint his piratical countrymen, that the *French* monarchs were no less polite and generous towards their steadfast and submissive allies, than severe and vindictive against those who presumed to break their treaties with them. Experience hath since sufficiently shewn how effectual two such ties as those have been to keep that perfidious nation firm to their treaties with *France*, though no other maritime power hath been able to do the like by them.

SOMETHING, however, like this policy, the Soltan hath been often obliged to use towards them, by treating them either with kindness, indifference, or even with severity: sometimes also he is obliged to bribe the heads of the regency, particularly a new Dey, in order to secure their fidelity, to procure their assistance, or, as it often happens, to express his approbation of their choice; but oftener still to reward any singular service done to him by some considerable presents; but most commonly that of some fine large ship, well manned and equipped, because the benefit of it extends more to the good of the community, lays of course a greater obligation on all the subjects, especially as they have so few of their own, and those small, and poorly manned and equipped; though it often happens, that those presents, but more especially those state vessels, with all their men, cargo, equipage, &c. become a prey to their irreconcilable and ever wakeful enemies the *Maltese* knights. Of this extraordinary bulk and equipage was that which was presented to the new Dey, anno 1724; which, though capacious enough to carry forty-eight large guns and fourteen patereroes, and 400 men, was, nevertheless, so fine and excellent a sailer, that it was with no small difficulty that the chevalier de *Chambray*, who commanded the *Maltese* frigate, could come up to and engage it; neither did he make himself master of it till after a continual firing on both sides, which lasted four hours *.

A noble
ship pre-
sented to
the Dey;

taken by
the Mal-
tese.

To pursue the history of this kingdom still farther, would be both a needless and irksome labour, were we better acquainted with the transactions of it by land and sea, than it is possible for us to be; we should find little else in it but

The History of Tripoli.

and in the same scenes of piracy and cruelty in one, and of ambition, perfidy, rebellions, and murders in the other, as we have already seen in *Tunis* and *Algiers*, only done by different actors; so that a great part of it would be a dull repetition of sundry events which we have had occasion to mention in the two foregoing chapters. We shall, therefore, close their history with what is more interesting to *Englishmen* to know; viz. the treaty of peace and commerce concluded by the regency of that piratical republic with our *British* vice-admiral *Baker*, an. 1716; and is as follows:

ARTICLES of peace and commerce between his most sacred majesty king *George*, &c. and the most excellent-lords *Mahamed* Bey, *Yusef* Dey, the Dowan, and the rest of the officers and people of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, renewed, concluded, and ratified, on the 19th of *July*, A. D. 1716, by *John Baker*, Esq; vice admiral, &c.

1. IN the first place, it is agreed and concluded; that, from this time forward for ever, there shall be a true and inviolable peace between the most serene king of *Great Britain* and the most illustrious lords and governors of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and between all the dominions and subjects of either side; and if the ships and subjects of either party shall happen to meet upon the sea, or elsewhere, they shall not molest each other, but shall shew all possible respect and friendship.

2. THAT all merchant-ships belonging to the dominions of *Great Britain*, and trading to the city, or any part of the kingdom, of *Tripoli*, shall pay no more than three *per centum* custom for all kinds of goods they shall sell; and as for those they shall not sell, they shall be permitted freely to embark them again on board their ships without paying any duty whatsoever, and shall depart without any hindrance or molestation.

3. THAT all ships and other vessels, as well belonging to the said king of *Great-Britain*, or to any of his majesty's subjects, as those belonging to the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall freely pass the seas, and traffick where they please, without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other; and that all persons and passengers of what country soever, and all manner of monies, goods, merchandizes, and moveables, to whatsoever people or nation belonging, being on board any of the said ships, or vessels, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped, taken, or plundered, or receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party.

4. THAT the *Tripoli* ships of war, or any other vessels thereunto belonging, meeting with any merchant ships or vessels of the king of *Great-Britain's* subjects (not being in

any seas belonging to his majesty's dominions) may send on board one single boat with two fitters, besides the ordinary crew of rowers, and no more than the two fitters to enter into the said merchant-ships, or any other vessels, without the express leave of the commander of every such ship or vessel; and then, upon their producing to them a pass, under the hand and seal of the high admiral of *England*, or of the commissioners for executing the said office, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant-ship or ships, vessel or vessels, shall freely proceed on its or their voyage: and though the commander or commanders of such merchant ship or ships, or vessels, produce no pass from the high admiral of *England*, or, &c. yet, if the major part of the ships or vessels company be subjects of the said king of *Great-Britain*, the said boat shall presently depart, and the merchant ship or ships, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage: and any of the said ships of war, or other vessels of his said majesty, meeting with any ship or ships, &c. belonging to *Tripoli*, if the commander or commanders of any such ship or ships, &c. shall produce a pass, signed by the governors of *Tripoli*, and a certificate from the *English* consul residing there, or, if they have no such pass or certificate, yet, if the major part of the said ships or vessels company be *Turks*, *Moors*, or slaves belonging to *Tripoli*, then the said *Tripoli* ship, vessel, &c. shall freely proceed on their voyage.

5. THAT no commander, or other person, of any ship or vessel of *Tripoli*, shall take out of any ship or vessel of his said majesty's subjects any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence; nor shall use any torture or violence unto any person of what nation or quality soever, being on board any ship or vessel of his said majesty, upon any pretence whatever.

6. THAT no ship-wreck belonging to the said king of *Great Britain*, or to any of his subjects, upon any part of the coasts belonging to *Tripoli*, shall be made or become a prize; and that neither the goods thereof shall be seized, nor the men made slaves; but that all the subjects of *Tripoli* shall do their best endeavours to save the said men and their effects.

7. THAT no ship, nor any other vessel of *Tripoli*, shall have permission to be delivered up, or to go to any other place at enmity with the king of *Great Britain*, to be made use of as corsairs against his majesty's subjects.

8. THAT if any ship or vessel belonging to *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Tetuan*, *Sallee*, or any other place being at war with the said king of *Great Britain*, bring any ships or vessels of his said majesty's

majesty's subjects to *Tripoli*, or to any port or place of that kingdom, the governors there shall not permit them to be sold within the territories of *Tripoli*.

9. THAT if any of the said king of *Great Britain's* subjects shall happen to die in *Tripoli*, or any of its territories, his goods or monies shall not be seized by the governors, or any ministers of *Tripoli*, but shall remain with the *English* consul.

10. THAT neither the said consul, nor any other subject of *Great Britain*, shall be bound to pay the debts of any other *British* subject, unless they become surety for the same by a public act.

11. THAT the subjects of his said *British* majesty in *Tripoli*, or its territories, in matters of controversy, shall be liable to no other jurisdiction but that of the *Dey* or *Dowan*, except the difference be between themselves; in which case they shall be liable to no other determination than that of the consul.

12. THAT in case any subject of his *Britannic* majesty, being in any part of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall happen to kill, wound, or strike a *Turk* or *Moor*, if he be taken, he shall be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than a *Turk* ought to be for the like offence; but if he escape, neither the *English* consul, nor any other *British* subject, shall be in any sort questioned or troubled on that account.

13. THAT the *English* consul now, or at any time hereafter, residing at *Tripoli*, shall be there at all times with entire freedom, and safety of his person and estate, and shall be permitted to chuse his own interpreter and broker, and freely to go on board any ship in the roads as often as he pleases, and to have the liberty of the country, and shall be allowed a place to pray in, and that no person shall do him any injury in word or deed.

14. THAT not only during the continuance of this peace and friendship, but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter between his said *British* majesty and the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*, the said consul, and all others his majesty's subjects inhabiting in the kingdom of *Tripoli*, shall always, and at all times, both in peace, and war, have full and absolute liberty to depart, and to go into their own, or any other country, in any ship or vessel of what nation soever they shall think fit, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, and servants, though born in the country, without any molestation or hindrance.

15. THAT no subject of his *Britannic* majesty, being a passenger from or to any port, shall be molested or meddled

meddled with, though he be in a ship or vessel at war with *Tripoli*.

16. THAT if any of his said *Britannic* majesty's ships of war come to *Tripoli*, or to any other port or place of that kingdom, with any prize, they shall have liberty to sell it, or otherwise dispose of it, at their own pleasure, without any lett or molestation; and that his said majesty's ships of war shall not be obliged to pay any customs whatsoever; and that if they shall want provisions, victuals, or any other things, they may freely buy them at the market price.

17. THAT when any of his *Britannic* majesty's ships of war shall appear before *Tripoli*, upon notice thereof given to the *English* consul, or by the commander of the said ships to the chief governor of *Tripoli*, public proclamation shall be immediately made to secure the Christian captives; and if, after that, any Christians whatsoever make their escape on board any of the said ships of war, they shall not be required back again; nor shall the said consul or commander, or any other *British* subject, be obliged to pay any thing for the said escaped Christians.

18. THAT all the merchant-ships coming to the city or kingdom of *Tripoli*, though not belonging to *Great Britain*, shall have free liberty to put themselves under the protection of the *British* consul, in selling and disposing of their goods and merchandize, if they shall think proper, without any molestation.

19. THAT all the *British* ships of war carrying his majesty's flag, upon their appearing before the city of *Tripoli*, after due notice given of it by the *British* consul, shall, in honour of his *Britannic* majesty, be saluted with twenty-seven cannon fired from the castle of the city, and that the said ship shall return the same number to it.

20. THAT no merchant-ship belonging to *Great-Britain*, or any other nation under the protection of the *British* consul, being in the port of *Tripoli*, shall be detained from proceeding to sea on her voyage longer than three days, under pretence of arming the ships of war of this government, or any other whatsoever.

21. THAT no *British* subject shall be permitted to turn *Muslim* in the city and kingdom of *Tripoli* (being induced to it by any surprise whatsoever) unless he voluntarily appear before the Dey, or governor, with the *English* consul's interpreter thrice in twenty-four hours, and every time declaring his resolution to become *Mohammedan*.

22. THAT his *Britannic* majesty's consul residing in *Tripoli* shall, at all times when he pleases, have liberty to put up his said majesty's flag on the top of his house, and there to
continue

continue it displayed as long as he pleases; and likewise that the said consul shall have the like liberty of putting up and displaying the said flag in his boat when he passes on the water, and no man whatsoever to oppose, disturb, or injure him therein, either by word or deed.

23. THAT whereas the island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* have been yielded to his *Britannic* majesty by the king of *Spain*, as well as several other powers of *Europe* engaged in the late war, it is agreed and concluded, that, from this time forward for ever, the said island of *Minorca* and city of *Gibraltar* shall be esteemed in every respect by the government of *Tripoli* to be part of his *Britannic* majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants thereof shall be deemed his natural subjects, as if they had been born in *Great Britain*; and they, with their ships carrying *British* colours, shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of *Tripoli*, and shall pass without any molestation, either on the seas or otherwise, in the same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the *British* nation and subjects.

24. AND whereas, in the treaty concluded in the reign of king *Charles II.* *an.* 1676, by Sir *John Narborough*, an article was inserted, by which the ships of *Tripoli* were excluded from cruising before, or in sight of, the port of *Tangier*, then belonging to his majesty, it is now ratified and concluded, that none of the ships or vessels belonging to *Tripoli* shall cruize, or look for prizes before, or in sight of the island of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, to disturb or molest the commerce thereof in any manner whatsoever.

25. THAT all and every article in the treaty, shall be inviolably kept and observed between his sacred *British* majesty and the most illustrious lords, &c. of the city and kingdom of *Tripoli*; and all other matters, not particularly expressed in this treaty, and provided for in any former, shall still remain in full force, and shall be esteemed the same as if inserted here.

Dated in the presence of Almighty God, in the city of *Tripoli*, on the 19th day of *June*, *an.* 1716. of the Christian æra, and of the *Mohammedan Hujira*.
1128.

C H A P. VI.

The History of the Kingdom of Barca.

Barca, its
extent,
name, and
barren soil,
&c.

WE have by this time nearly finished our *African* history, and taken the round of all its coasts, as well as of its principal inland kingdoms, and are happily arrived at the country, or, as it is more commonly stiled, the desert of *Barca*, situate between *Egypt*, whence we set out at first^a, and the kingdom of *Tripoli*, described in the foregoing chapter, and contiguous to both; extending itself in length from east to west, that is, from the confines of the former to those of the latter, from the 37th to the 44th degrees of long. from *Paris*; and in breadth, from north to south, about b thirty leagues; though its confines on the south side are various, and at best very uncertain. *Leo Africanus* and *Marmol* give this country a still more extraordinary length and breadth^c; but it is plain they both included within them the *Regio Syriaca*, on the south side of the *Syerna* gulph; seeing, according to them, the whole length amounts to 1300, and its breadth to 200 miles, from the *Lybian* sea to the confines of *Numidia*: whereas our most modern geographers compute its length only from the eastern coast of the gulph to the *Alexandrian* confines, or from the 37° to the 60° of long. in length from east to west, whatever it may be in its breadth from north to south.

WE have given an account of its antient state in a former part of this work^c. It retains still its old name and sterility, being, for the most part, especially the middle, nothing but a tract of dry and barren land; on which account the *Arabs*, its chief inhabitants, stile it *Sabart*, or *Ceyrant Barka*, that is, the desert or road of whirlwinds, or hurricanes (A). It labours

^a See vol. xiv. p. 15, & seq. ^b De hoc vid. Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 235, & seq. ^c *Afric. lib. vi. c. 10. MARMOL, lib. vi. c. ult. e* Antient Hist. ubi sup. & p. 238, & seq. & note (E).

(A) Some authors have derived its name of *Barka* from the verb *barac*, to bless; and will have it to signify blessing: but, besides that it is differently spelt in the *Arabic*, and can bear no other signification than that we have given it from *Leo Africanus*, *Marmol*, and other *Arabian* writers (1); the dry, sandy, and barren nature of the country (in which, to use the words of *Quintus Curtius* (2) and *Arrian* (3), a traveller seems

(1) *Leo Afric. lib. vi. sect. 10. Marmol, lib. vi. c. ult.* (2) *Lib. iv.* (3) *Lib. iii.*

labours almost every where under a great scarcity of water ; and, except in the neighbourhood of some towns and villages, where the ground produces some small quantities of grain, such as corn, millet, and some maize, the rest is in a manner quite barren and uncultivated, or, to speak more properly, incultivable ; and even of that small quantity, which those few spots produce, the poor inhabitants are obliged to exchange some part with their indigent neighbours for dates, sheep, and camels, which they stand in greater need of than they, by reason of their great scarcity of grass and other proper food ; for the want of which, those which are brought to them seldom thrive or live long. But the most desert and dangerous canton of all is that in which the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* stood ; which, though in other respects so pleasantly situated, is surrounded a great way round about with such quick and burning sands, as are very detrimental to travellers, not only as they sink under their feet, but being light and heated by the rays of the sun, are easily raised by every breath of wind ; which, if it chance to be in their faces, almost burns their eyes out, and stifles them for want of breath ; and, if vehement, often overwhelms whole caravans. We have formerly seen the sad catastrophe of *Cambyse* and his army, in his bold attempt against that temple and oracle, as well as *Alexander's* more successful, though difficult, expedition to it. But, upon the whole, the country may justly be termed a sandy desert, through which there is no travelling without the help of a compass, or the direction of the stars ; and tho' it was once the thoroughfare for the caravans from *Barbary* and *Morocco* to *Mecca*, yet it has been since so infested with wild *Arabs*, that they are obliged to steer fifty leagues about to avoid being plundered by them.

THE *French* geographers divide the country of *Barca* into that which they stile the kingdom, and the desert ; the former of which hath some considerable ports, towns, and villages ; and is, according to them, under the protection of the *Porte*, and governed by a *Cadi*, who is the *Basha* of *Kayroh*, and hath his residence at *Tripoli* . but this seems to be said without any good authority. According to *Sanfon* and *Baudrand*, this

* De hoc vid. Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 226, & seq. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 193, & seq. ‡ Ibid. vol. viii. p. 542, & seq. § Le CROIX. *Afriq.* part. i. c. 9. sect. x. BAUDRAND, & al.

to wage war with nature, the ground sinking under his feet at every step, his eyes being blinded by the sand which covers it, blown in clouds about him by the wind and air) shews, that the name of *Blessing* could not belong to it in any but an ironical sense.

other part, which spreads itself along the eastern coast, and which they stile the eastern shore of *Tripoli*, extends itself from the port of *Seimon*, or *Solyman*, to the gulph of *Sydra*; but this coast is most commonly known by the name of *Derna*, from one of the most considerable towns and ports upon it; besides which, it has several others, and the ruins of a much greater number, which are now reduced to poor villages. The most remarkable ones are the Cape *Raccallino*, stiled by *Ptolemy* the great *Chersonesus*, because it forms a peninsula; and the farthest towards *Egypt* is the town of *Angela*, or *Onguela*, which name it seems to have preserved ever since the time of *Ptolemy*, who calls the inhabitants *Angelians*. Its territory, though mostly desert, hath good water, and produces dates. Between those two are many others, but differently placed and named by those geographers, which shews that this coast was but little known to them, as the *Porto Tabarca*, formerly *Batrachus*, *Batracha*, and *Patriarcha*, Cape *de Lucco*, or *Loco*, antiently *Promontorium Carylionium*, *Porto Mesulman*, the haven of *Salonef*, or *Salona*, supposed by some to be the antient *Portus Panormus* and *Galinus*, and by others the *Portus Catabathmus*; but none of them with any certainty. Our latest geographers agree in placing it on the most eastern verge of the *Barcan* coast, next to the confines of *Egypt*. To these we may add some few more out of *La Croix*; viz. the great valley of *Carto Sappires*, the antient *Catabathmus*, which extends itself quite to *Egypt*¹, over-against the spot where stood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. The *Arab* pilgrims, who go through it to *Mecca*, call it in their language *Hesachbir*, or the ruined places. From these one comes to *Porto Albertene*, or the Soltan's port; that of *Caguxi*, formerly *Trisfachi*; the cape and haven of *Raxa*, antiently *Paretonium*; and, lastly, the city of *Barca*, or *Barce*, which gives name to the whole province, and lies farther up into the inland, on the eastern coast of the gulph of *Sydra* above-mentioned. *Ptolemy*, who gives it the name of *Ptolemais*, tells us, that it was a celebrated city in his days²; and *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who give it the same name, tells us, it was a famed sea port in the *Pontapolis Cyrenaica*. It still retains that name with a small change, and is called *Tolemeta* to this day³; but from the different situation which these latter give it from *Ptolemy*, who places it higher in the inland, as well as from *Scylax*, who places the port of *Barca* at the distance of 100 and the city 500 stades from the

¹ Geogr. l. iv. c. 5. ² De his vid. LA CROIX, DE LISLE, D'ANVILLE, & al. & Antient Hist. vol. xviii. p. 13, & seq. ³ La Croix, c. 5. ⁴ Vid. LA CROIX, & al. sup. citat.

sea, one may reasonably conjecture, that *Ptolemais* did not stand where the city but where the port of *Barca* did. And this will at once reconcile the difference between those ancient geographers *.

Thus much must suffice for the towns and most considerable places in this vast tract. What condition they are in, what commerce they drive, or how and by whom governed, we cannot find any satisfactory account of; and it is most likely that the maritime towns are under the protection of the *Porte*; but whether under the government of the *Basha of Egypt* or *Tripoli*, or whether they have formed themselves into free states like those of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, we cannot say; only we are told, that the inhabitants of the maritime towns are more civilized and conversible than those of the inland. The first profess *Mohammedism*, and have imbibed the notions of humanity and justice; whilst the latter, those especially of the desert, who have neither religion nor any sign of worship among them, are altogether as savage and brutish, and live wholly upon theft and plunder, like all other wild *Arabs*; of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in some of the foregoing chapters: for it was by them that this tract, till then a continued barren desert, was first inhabited; who, at their first coming into it, settled themselves in the best cantons; but as they multiplied, and were at frequent wars, one hord or tribe with another, the strongest drove the weakest out of the best spots, and sent them to wander in the desert parts, where they live in the most abject and miserable condition; their lot scarcely yielding any one necessary of life, food, or raiment. Hence it is that they are said to be the ugliest of all the *Arabs*°, their bodies having scarcely any thing but skin and bones, their faces meagre, looks fierce and ravenous; their garb, which is commonly what they take from the passengers and pilgrims who go through those parts, tattered with long wearing; whilst the poorest of them have hardly a rag to cover their middle.

THEY are likewise reported to be the most resolute and expert robbers and plunderers, that being their chief employ and livelihood; both which frequently yield them so lean a harvest, that necessity forces them to lengthen their excursions as far as into *Numidia*, *Libya*, and other southern parts for fresh supplies^p. Our author adds, that they commit the most unheard of cruelties on those that fall into their hands, making them drink plenty of warm milk, and then hanging them up by the feet and shaking them, in order to make them

* Vid. LA MARTINIERE, sub voce Barca, & al. sup. citat.

° SANUT. LA CROIX, DAVITY, & al.

^p LEZ AFRIC.

lib. w. MARMOI, lib. vi. c. ult.°

bring up any ducats, or other small coin, if any such they had swallowed to conceal from them. They will even rake in their excrements, in hopes to find something to recompense their trouble and indelicacy, it being usual, it seems, among those merchants and pilgrims, who travel through this desert, to take that method to save what gold they carry about them; and whether any be found so concealed or not, they never fail stripping them of every thing they have, even to the last rag of their cloaths: in which, however, they come short of that inhumanity which is commonly practised in other parts of *Africa* by that plundering nation, who murder as well as rob their prey, unless they can get more by selling them for slaves than eating them; of which we have seen several instances in the foregoing volumes *. And yet so poor, indigent, and famished are these *Barcans*, that they commonly let, pledge, and even sell their children, to procure the necessaries of life, to the *Sicilians*, and other neighbouring Christians, from whom they have most of their corn, especially before they set out for any long-winded excursion and it often happens, that after a successful one, they are enabled to redeem them again, but find that they have been converted and baptized; of which our author tells us he saw many instances in *Sicily* †: but whether converted or not, they all partake of that sullen taciturnity or stupid ignorance about their country, which is common to all the *Africans* that are forced out of it, that there is no possibility of extorting any intelligence from them concerning it.

HERE, therefore, we shall put an end to this chapter, reserving the further account of the few *Arabian* dynasties which have flourished in this kingdom, as well as those of *Numidia*, *Libya*, *Nubia*, and *Scene*, or *Upper-Egypt*, to the supplemental volume we have elsewhere promised ‡, where the reader will have them all at one view; and where we shall likewise supply any material omissions which may have happened through the course of this extensive work, and shall also take care to insert such other discoveries as have been lately made by some learned travellers, on the antiquities, and other valuable rarities, both natural and artificial, of this kingdom, especially of that part of it called *Scene*, or *Upper Egypt*, but which are not numerous enough to make a separate section of in this chapter.

* Vol. xiv. p. 41, & seq. 223, & seq. & alib pass. † *MAZ-*
mor, ub. sup. ‡ Vol. iii. p. 671.

